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THE

EXPEDITION

FOR THE

SURVEY OF THE RIVERS

EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS,

CARRIED ON

BY ORDER OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT,

In the Years 1835, 1836, and 1837;

PRECEDED BY GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE REGIONS SITUATED BETWEEN THE RIVERS NILE AND INDUS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

WITH FOURTEEN MAPS AND CHARTS, AND EMBELLISHED WITH NINETY-SEVEN PLATES, BESIDES NUMEROUS WOOD-CUTS.

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL CHESNEY, R.A., F.R.S. F.R.G.S.

COLONEL IN ASIA;

COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION.

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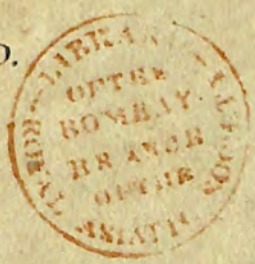

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EXPEDITION

TO THE

EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS.

CHAPTER I.

Seat of Paradise and its four Rivers.—State of the World before the Deluge —Supposed residence of Noah.—Description of the first Babylonia.—Construction of the Ark.—First Settlements in Armenia.—State of Antediluvian Knowledge.—Primeval Astronomy, and its preservation among the Kirghis Kazaks.—Cycles of the Ancients.—Traditional History.—Records preserved in Armenia.—Shem proceeds to Shinar.—Japhet and Ham continue in Armenia.—Noah's precepts.—First Human Immolation by Lamech.—Arkite Worship.—Antediluvian Idolatry or Sabaism.—Ham's Sin and Curse.—Trifling change caused by the Deluge.—Noah's Allotment.—Japhet occupies the northern extremity of Asia and Europe. —Shem occupies Babylonia, Syria, &c.—Ham removes from Asia Minor to Byblus.—Possessions of Cush.—Ham's Idolatry in Syria.—Canaan and Mizraim's Territories.—The Emim, Amalekites, Philistines, Thamudites, Himyarites, and other Tribes in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt.—The Cushites invade Babylonia and expel the people of Shem.—Rise of Nimrúd's Kingdom, and establishment of Ham's Religion.—Construction and object of the Tower of Babel.—Spread of Mankind in consequence.

THE preceding volume contains an account of the four great rivers of Western Asia, also of the countries which they fertilize, together with a general description of the territory stretching eastward and westward of those streams, as far as the banks of the Indus in the former, and those of the Nile in the latter direction. The first volume descriptive.

Several circumstances, in addition to those briefly enumerated in the Twelfth Chapter, appear to connect that part of the world which contains the rivers in question with the ter-

Eden represented by ancient Armenia.

ritory of Eden, with which also ancient Armenia, the postdiluvian seat of mankind, appears to be identified. According to the limits already traced,[1] the country whither Adam was driven to tabernacle on the eastern side of the garden of Eden[2] seems to be the mountainous district near Sinjár, which may be said to overlook the plain of Shinar, from whence Cain went forth subsequently to dwell in the land more eastward, in which he built the city of Enoch, and became a husbandman.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that one section of the Tauric chain forms the water-shed of this part of Western Asia, and that from its bosom, probably issuing from a basin or mass of waters,[3] flow the rivers Araxes and Halys on the northern, and the Tigris and Euphrates on the southern, slopes of these mountains.

Its subdivisions.

It is manifest, from the comprehensive language of Moses,[4] that to our first parents there had been allotted an extensive territory, whose subdivisions, namely, Cush, Havílah, and Ashur, were watered by four great rivers. It has been seen that one of these had changed its name from Gihon to Araxes, while the scriptural names of the third [the Hiddekel, Dekel, or Dijlath (going before Assyria)] and fourth rivers, as well as the country which they enclose [Mesopotamia (Aramnaharaim)], having been happily preserved, the southern portions of the primeval settlement are thus unquestionably identified.

It has been seen that in the tract within the river Araxes, there are numerous traces of the ancient people of Cush: and again, in that which is within the Halys are found the gold, pearls, and other productions of the land of Havílah.[5]

On reference to the index-map, it may be observed that the presumed locality of Paradise and the postdiluvian seat of

[1] See the index-map, and vol. I. from p. 267–277.

[2] Gen., chap. III., verse 24. Bellamy's translation.

[3] See above, vol. I., note at page 268.

[4] Gen., chap. II.

[5] At page 415 of the Chronicon Paschale, the Moschi and the Macrones as Cushites, and the river of the Ethiopians, are mentioned in connexion with one part of Armenia, and in another part of this kingdom the Gymnosophystœ are amongst the people of Havílah. For other particulars concerning the latter tract, and also that of Cush, see above, p. 273–277.

mankind comprised extensive countries. The former was surrounded and fertilized by four great rivers, which flowed towards the cardinal points, while four inland seas were situated near its borders, namely, the Mediterranean westward, the Euxine towards the north, the Caspian on the east, and the Persian Gulf towards the south.[1] Watered by four rivers and bounded by four seas.

As the extensive region spreading from hence to the Nile, and again to the Indus in the opposite direction, was the theatre of the most important events in the history of the world, it has been thought proper, before entering upon an account of the British expedition to the two principal rivers within the limits of this territory, to offer some brief notices of those events. The leading circumstances connected with the spread of the human race will be also stated, and it is hoped that some light may be thrown upon scriptural history, by means of the positive and descriptive geography collected for this work. The changes to which the political states of the countries were successively subjected by the incursions of Sesostris and Cyrus—the movements of the multitudinous armies of Xerxes, the conquests of Alexander, and the wars of his successors—will also be described, and there will be added a brief notice of the influence which the eastern campaigns of this mighty conqueror had upon the progress of commerce and civilization in Europe.

With reference to the catastrophe which destroyed the old world, not only are its effects to be traced on the earth in a striking manner, but the fact is acknowledged by the inhabitants of almost every land, as a circumstance known by tradition from their ancestors, whether savage or refined: and this event, the most awful ever recorded, is invariably attributed to the same cause. Traces of the Deluge.

Ovid relates that previously to the Deluge violence reigned as far as the earth extended, and all men seemed to have entered into a compact to be wicked.[2] Another writer, who enters more fully into the subject, says that there was in these times a great resort of people of various nations, who inhabited Chaldea, and lived in a lawless manner, like the beasts of the Depraved state of the old world.

[1] See above, vol. I., pp. 269, 270.

[2] Met., lib. I., p. 24.

Union of the Cainites and Sethites.

field.[1] From these passages, as well as from the book of Genesis, we learn that every imagination of man's heart was only evil continually.[2] With respect to the expressions, "Sons of God, and daughters of men,"[3] it appears that the descendants of Seth, who for a long period had maintained the worship of the true God, represent the former; and that the nomad and fallen race of the Cainites, whom they joined probably in Babylonia, were the latter.[4] This decided falling off commenced amongst the Sethites about A.M. 1073,[5] but an additional period of 583 years elapsed before the fallen race had become men of renown,[6] or mighty men and giants, not in stature but in apostasy, as the original, Nĕphilim, has been translated by Bishop Horne. This was just before the Deluge, when it is supposed mankind became sufficiently numerous to people the coast of Phœnicia, Arabia Felix, the valley of the Nile, part of Central Asia, Assyria, and Syria. In the last country we are told that the names of Genus and Genea,[7] and those of their descendants, were conferred upon the mountains which they occupied, as Casius, Lebanon, and Brathu.[8] Very little has reached us concerning the countries just mentioned at this remote period, but with respect to Babylonia and the adjoining territory we are better informed. Noah's separation from the sons of Seth, to avoid their wickedness, is expressly stated by the Jewish historian;[9] and that he continued in a great measure to live apart, is probable from the circumstance of his maintaining his righteousness; it may also be inferred that his distance from Babylonia was not very great, from his

Antediluvian population.

[1] From Alexander Polyhistor: see the Cosmogony and Deluge. Ancient Fragments by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq., p. 22. W. Pickering, London, 1832.

[2] Gen. chap. VI., v. 5. [3] Ibid., v. 2.

[4] Compare Bibliothèque Orientale, d'Herbelot, Art. Aulad, with the Chronology and Antiquity of the most Ancient Nations of the World, by J. Jackson, vol. I., p. 203.

[5] Ibid., vol. I., p. 60. [6] Gen., chap. VI., v. 4.

[7] These individuals are supposed to represent Cain and his wife; the former name having been derived from Cain by successive transformations which may be easily traced. Whittaker's Univers. Hist., vol. I., p. 47.

[8] From the Cosmogony of Sanchoniatho. Ancient Fragments by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq., pp. 5, 6. W. Pickering, London, 1839.

[9] Jos. Ant., lib. I, c. iii. s. 1.

preaching faith and repentance to the inhabitants of that and the adjoining region.[1] In the districts about Sinjár, the seat of the Sethites, bordering on Paradise,[2] Noah might have found the requisite materials for building the Ark, namely, bitumen and Gopher wood,[3] so that this vast structure might have been prepared in the course of a short time by his family alone. Berossus, in his Babylonian Antiquities, states that Babylonia is a country situated between the Tigris and Euphrates, producing abundantly wheat, barley, ocrus, and sesame; the lakes produced the roots called gongae, which are fit for food, and in point of nutriment similar to barley; also that there were palm-trees, apples, and a variety of fruits, likewise fish and birds, both those of flight and those which frequent the lakes: he adds, that the country bordering upon Arabia was without water and barren, but the parts lying on the other side,[4] that is Susiana and the Cossœan or Cordyean mountains, were fertile.

Noah's preaching.

Products of Mesopotamia.

Berossus further states that Oannes, or Xisuthrus (Noah)[5], appeared on the shores of the Erythrean sea,[6] bordering upon Babylonia, where he was enjoined to write a history of the beginning, procedure, and conclusion of all things, and deposit it in Babylonia, at Sippara, the city of the Sun;[7] it is added that he was also ordered to build a vessel, and take with him into it his children and his friends, and everything necessary to sustain life, together with the different animals, both birds and quadrupeds, and then to trust himself fearlessly to the deep.[8]

Noah's instructions.

Jos. Ant., lib. I., c. iii., sec. 1.

[2] Georgius Cedrenus, p. 17. Bekker, Bonn, 1838.

[3] Other timber, but more particularly the pine, the cedar, and cypress contend for this honour; all three are found in this part of the country, but the similarity of Gopher to the Hebrew Goupher and the Arabic Káfúr give a preference to the last, the Cupressus sempervirens, which may be said to be almost indigenous to the districts near Babylon.

[4] Ancient Fragments by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq., pp. 21, 22. W. Pickering, London, 1832.

[5] Eusebius, Canon. Chronici. in the Greek. Fol., Amst. 1658, pp. 6, 8.

[6] The Persian Gulf was thus called. Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients, &c., vol. II., p. 4.

[7] 2 Kings, c. XVII. 24. 31 v.

[8] Ancient Fragments by I. P. Cory, Esq., pp. 26, 27, compared with Gen. chap. VI., VII.

Noah is said to have obeyed the Divine admonition; but the vessel which he constructed is described as having been five stadia in length, by two stadia in breadth, whereas the dimensions given by Moses are much less.[1]

Stability of the ark.

In a subsequent part of this work it will be seen[2] that this floating habitation might have been prepared in Upper Mesopotamia, even by a single family, without any serious difficulty: the decks with the firm walls and roofs braced with cross beams,[3] in addition to those dividing and supporting the necessary compartments, would give sufficient stability, particularly as the structure was to be floated without being launched; and the coating of pitch within as well as without, perfected the work.

The Múhammedan writers tell us, that during the progress of his operations, Noah was tauntingly charged with having become a carpenter; and that he was constantly reviled for his useless labour in preparing a vessel, where it could not by any possibility be conveyed to the water.[4] But his task being accomplished, the increase of the waters commenced, according to the Babylonian records quoted by Berossus,[5] on the 15th of the Chaldean month,[6] Jiar or Jar, the second from the vernal equinox; and the swelling floods having raised the Ark fifteen cubits above the culminating point of Mount Ararat, the triumph of faith was complete, when the patriarch of the old, and the progenitor of the new world, sailed upon what has been happily called a shoreless ocean,[7] which covered the remains of the animal and human inhabitants of the former world.[8] From the accounts handed down by the Chaldean writers, it appears

Swelling of the waters.

[1] Gen., chap. VI., v. 15.

[2] See Chapter on the Arts and Sciences of I'rán at the end of the volume.

[3] Jos. Ant., lib. I., c. iii., s. 2.

[4] Bibliothèque Orientale, Noah; also p. 9 French translation of Múḥammed Tabari's Chronicles, translated by M. Dubeux.

[5] Cory's Anc. Fragments, p. 33.

[6] Apud Syncel., pp. 30, 38.

[7] The Just ones toiled on the sea, which had no land. From the Elegy of Aeddon: see Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, by Edward Davies, p. 495. J. Booth, London. 1809.

[8] Bishop Burnet, in his Theory of the Earth, states that there were 10,737,413,240 souls; but the number of antediluvians have been computed at 519,755,813,889.

that, when the flood had been some time upon the earth, and was again abated, Xisuthrus sent out birds from the vessel, which, not finding any food, nor any place whereupon they might rest their feet, returned to him again.[1] After an interval of some days, he sent them forth a second time, and they now returned with their feet tinged with mud. He then made a trial with these birds for the third time, when they returned to him no more; from this he judged, that the surface of the earth had appeared above the waters.[2] He now made an opening in the vessel, and upon looking out, found that it was stranded upon the side of some mountain: he immediately quitted it with his wife, his daughter, and the pilot. Decrease of the waters.

Having paid his adoration to the earth, and constructed an altar, he offered sacrifices to the gods;[3] and disappeared, after admonishing his family to pay due regard to religion, and return to Babylonia, in order that they might search for the writings deposited in Sippara, also called Pantibibla,[4] which they were to make known to all mankind: he informed them that the place where they were was the land of Armenia.[5] It was pretended that some part of the vessel remained till recent times in the Corcyræan mountains of Armenia, where the people of the country used to scrape off the bitumen, with which it was outwardly coated, and make use of it as an alexipharmic and amulet. The story related by Berossus is given nearly in the same words by other profane writers, particularly Abydenus and Apollodorus,[6] and it agrees with that given by Moses. Indeed, the express mention of a coating of bitumen by the ancient authors, and the place of descent being generally fixed in Armenia, are remarkable circumstances. We find in this part of the country the mountain Báris, or Bárit, *i. e.*, of the ark or ship;[7] also Masis and Noah's altar in Armenia.

[1] Cory, pp. 27, 28. W. Pickering, 1832.
[2] Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 28; Gen. chap. VIII., v. 11, 12.
[3] And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, Gen. chap. III., v. 20.
[4] Probably from the Chaldee Sephar, a book, or record.
[5] Cory's Anc. Fragments, pp. 28, 29.
[6] Ibid., p. 30–35.
[7] Valpy's edition of Stephanus' Thesaurus, p. 322; Jos. Ant., lib. I., cap. iii. s. 6; and Bryant's Mythology, vol. II. p. 357.

Mountain of the ark.

Mesezousar, or mountain of the ark.[1] In the Hebrew, we meet with Har-Irad, or mountain of descent,[2] and Shamanim (mountain of the eight), all denoting that the Patriarch first touched the earth at this place. As a farther commemoration of this important event, we find at the foot of the mountain in question,

Place of descent.

a district and town called Arnohwote, or Noah placed foot,[3] also a spot called Akhooree, that is, he (Noah) planted a vineyard,[4] and in the same vicinity was built the city of Nakhchiván, probably the Aporatēeion of Josephus;[5] the place from which the first colonies emigrated, taking with them the knowledge that had existed in the former world.

The extent of this knowledge may be fairly presumed to have been considerable, having been acquired during sixteen centuries; unless we suppose that man in his original state, although possessing in an eminent degree the requisite powers of body and mind, continued for so long a period without instruction, or the benefit of experience. This, however, would be incompatible with his nature, his wants, and his aptitude for learning and improvement. Indeed we are warranted in

Progress of knowledge

believing that the reverse was the case. A knowledge of the animal and vegetable world, had, as we know, been imparted to mankind at the creation;[6] and, amongst those nations who have had the least intercourse with the rest of the world, it may be seen that a clear stream of knowledge has descended through succeeding generations. The arts of life evidently belonged to the earliest state of the old world: the Cainites, for

in the old world.

instance, who were by many years the older of the two sections of mankind, invented weights and measures,[7] and worked in metals,[8] being artists in general.[9] They were likewise mu-

[1] Tavernier's Travels, book I., ch. ii.

[2] Bryant's Mythology, vol. III., p. 5.

[3] Derived, according to Moses Choronensis, from the Armenian words —Ar, placed; Noh, Noah; and wote, foot.

[4] From the Armenian—Akh, he planted; and oor, vines. No. VIII., p. 339, of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[5] Or Apobaterion: Antiq., lib. I., c. iii., sec. 5.

[6] Gen., chap. I., v. 27; chap. II., v. 19, 20.

[7] Jos., lib. I., c. ii. s. 2.

[8] Gen., chap. IV., v. 22.

[9] Tubal Cain, translated into English, is brassfounder or artist.

sicians,[1] and also acquainted with the more ordinary arts of life. They were shepherds,[2] agriculturists, and architects; they were also skilled in the formation of defensive works; for they constructed the fortified city of Hanock or Enoch; and they were the first who made the sword.[3]

Knowledge imparted to Adam.

A very advanced state of science was no doubt the result of that knowledge which had been imparted by the Creator to Adam, who, it will be remembered, lived during three-fourths of the whole antediluvian period, to transmit this knowledge to his descendants. We are therefore warranted in believing that the progress of the antediluvians must have exceeded any estimate founded upon the present life of man.

Seth's line cultivates astronomy.

We are informed that Seth's line persevered in the worship of the true God, and in the contemplation of His wisdom, also in the study of the motions of the heavenly bodies, the result of which, it appears, they engraved on two pillars, one of stone, the other of brick;[4] and it is added, that Enoch was the promoter of new inventions or discoveries, as astrology, or astronomy.[5] Even if these circumstances had not been noticed by Josephus[6] and other ancient writers, we could not doubt that some kind of knowledge of the latter science must have existed almost from the origin of the human race; indeed, the concerns of life, even in the very rudest state of society, would have rendered this indispensable, and the necessity would be still greater in the agricultural state, in order to ascertain the duration of the seasons, and regulate the operations connected with seed-time and harvest, as objects of this nature could not be accomplished without daily observations: these attentively made, must, in the course of time, have enabled the ancients to determine the motions of the heavenly bodies with considerable precision,[7] without any other assistance than such as was derived from the fields as an horizon,

[1] Gen., chap. IV., v. 21. [2] Verse 20.
[3] Gen., chap. IV., v. 17. 22; Jos., lib. I., c. ii.
[4] Georgius Cedrenus, p. 16. Bekker, Bonn, 1838.
[5] Euseb. Præp., lib. IX., c. 17, p. 419.
[6] Ant., lib. I., c. ii., sec. 3.
[7] Historical Account of Astronomy, by John Narrien, Esq., F.R.A.S. and F.R.S., pp. 38, 55, &c.

and the features of the country, as points to mark the heliacal risings and settings, and the motions of the sun, moon, and stars.

That a certain amount of astronomical knowledge may in this way be obtained, is proved by that which has descended from father to son, among the remains of a primitive people of the present day, who wander with their flocks over the vast steppes of Central Asia. Constantly living in the open air, the Kirghis Kazak, under the shade of a rock, a cave, or a tent, watches the motion of the sun during the day, and the more interesting spectacle presented by the heavens on a serene night. Like the earliest Chaldeans and Egyptians, he has no other means of measuring time than those afforded by the sun, moon, and stars, distributing his days by the heavens, as a European does by his watch. Having no other occupation than his pastoral cares, he studies the celestial arch almost without being aware that he is doing so, and soon becomes familiar with its principal phenomena, adding to this knowledge, like his prototype of Chaldea, a system of astrology, in accordance with the rude principles of which, he peoples the heavens with good and evil spirits, who preside over the days of the year, and to whose influence he supposes all living beings to be subject. By such means he professes to be able at pleasure to intimidate his enemies, or console and encourage his friends. The names in use for the constellations seem to denote a common origin with those of the ancient astronomers. The North Pole, more particularly as a directing point, occupies the first place in the heavens, and is called the Iron Stake; Venus takes the name of the Shepherd, as rising when the cattle are brought home, or taken out to pasture; the Great Bear they compare to seven wolves following a grey and a white gelding; the Pleïades to wild sheep, and when absent, supposed to be bringing grass for the terrestrial sheep; the Milky Way is called the road of the birds, emigrating north and south.[1]

The Kirghis Kazaks.

Pastoral astronomy.

Notions concerning certain clusters of stars.

[1] Alexis de Levchine. Description des hordes, &c., des Kirghis-Kazaks, traduite du Russe par Ferey de Pigny, revue par E. Charrière. Paris, 1840, p. 386, and some preceding pages.

It may here be observed, with reference to this subject, that a week, or a period of seven days (which coincides with that of the creation, and also with a phase of the moon), appears to have been the first step taken by mankind towards the measurement of time. Early knowledge of weekly,

Syncellus states that from Adam to the 165th year of Enoch, years of seven days only were used; and in the earliest ages, the weekly period prevailed among the Arabians, and other oriental nations, as the Assyrians, Egyptians, Indians, &c.[1] To this succeeded the lunar circle of thirty days,[2] which continued for many ages to be the established year, without any longer measure of time. Afterwards, twelve such revolutions, each commemorated by the festival of the new moon,[3] comprised the longer period of 360 days. This discovery is ascribed to Enoch, to whom, by God's command, the knowledge of the month, the tropics, and the year just mentioned, were revealed;[4] and it is evident that the latter period continued in use, up to the time of Moses, from 150 days being given to the five months of the deluge.[5] lunar, and annual periods.

The collected fragments of ancient authors[6] leave little doubt that, at a remote period of the world, a knowledge was obtained of other cycles, as the Saros, Neros, Sossos, &c.[7]; the last was merely a day, and one of the others may have been Saros, Neros, Sossos.

[1] Compare Scaliger, de Emendat. Temporum, pp. 6, 9, and Pref. p. xlvi.; Selden, de Jure Nat. et Gent., lib. III. c. xix; Syncellus, from Alexander Polyhistor, p. 33; Spectacle de la Nature, t. VIII. p. 53.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. I. p. 5; Varro, apud Lactant. Instit., lib. II., xiii., p. 169; Plin., lib. VII., sec. 48; Plutarch in Numâ, cap. xviii.; ex Eudoxo Proclus. in Tim. p. 31; Stobœus, Phys., p. 21; Gemin., p. 34; Suidas, in voce, Ηλιος, vol. I., p. 1659. (Gaisford, Oxford, 1834.) Syncellus, p. 41. Edit. Goar. Paris, 1642. Folio.

[3] It was celebrated by many ancient nations. Spencer, de Leg. Hebr. Ritual, lib. III., sec. 1, dissert. 4.

[4] Jewish Tradition from the book of Enoch. Apud Syncellus, p. 41, Goar Ed. Paris, 1642. Folio.

[5] Compare Genesis, ch. VII., v. 24, with Mr. Richard Allen's Dissertation, p. 144, *et seq.*; also p. 291 of Whiston's Theory of the Earth. London, 1755.

[6] Translated from Berossus, Abydenus, Megasthenes, Nicholas Damascenus, Eupolemus, and others, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq. W. Pickering, London, 1832.

[7] Ibid. p. 32.

the astronomical period of 600 years, at the expiration of which the sun and moon return to the same positions nearly in the heavens, which they occupied at its commencement.[1] The ancients were also acquainted with the cynic or canicular year, by some called the heliacal, and by others the eniautus, or the *year*, being the interval between two heliacal risings of Sirius. They are supposed also to have discovered what they called the great year, in which they imagined that the sun, moon, and all the planets complete their courses, and return to the same sign of the zodiac from which they originally set out.[2]

The canicular year.

Traditional history,

That such periods are mentioned by those writers, goes far to show that they had been previously determined, and handed down, either by written testimony, or the streams of traditional history radiating from a common centre, which, although dimmed by a mixture of error, are found everywhere to preserve essential marks of truth; nor is it difficult to imagine, and even to follow the links of such a chain. One individual would have been sufficient to transmit a knowledge of the events which preceded the flood. Lamech, for instance, (son of Methuselah,) lived from the time of Adam to that of the second progenitor of mankind; from whom again the three patriarchs, Eber, Isaac, and Levi, would have sufficed to carry the chain down to Moses himself. Such a link would equally prevail among the correlatives of this branch in Arabia, where Yaafar, the great-grandson of Himyár, might have carried down the traditionary chain from Shem to Jethro (the father-in-law of Moses). The historian of the early Hebrews only gives a complete genealogy of the line of Seth, which he continues through that of Shem, whilst he brings down the other great antediluvian branch only to the daughter of Lamech; but if, as will be presently noticed, Naamah was in reality the wife of Ham, a further account would naturally have been preserved by some of this race. Sanchoniatho, their historian, gives, like Moses, and with a certain degree of resemblance in the names, ten generations from Adam to Ham, whilst the records pre-

and its preservation.

[1] Josephus, lib., I. c. 3.

[2] From Censorinus: see Ancient Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., p. 323. W. Pickering, London, 1832.

served amongst the sons of his eldest brother (Japhet) are still more minute, for which, as will be seen, the earliest locations of his descendants in the vicinity of Ararat afforded peculiar advantages.

Central Armenia.

Owing to the difficulties of the language, and exaggerated accounts of the dangers in traversing this mountainous region, Armenia, especially the tract occupied by the Kurds, has seldom been visited; and as late as the year 1831 the populous districts along the right bank of the Euphrates, namely, Gurun, Malaṭíyah, 'Aïn-táb, Sïs, and 'Aín-zarbah, which formed part of Armenia Minor, may be said to have been scarcely known.

Antiquity of the Armenian language.

The Armenians, as we learn from Moses Choronensis, Michael Chamish, and others, trace their language, and the line of their kings back to the Deluge, and, the people having lived almost entirely apart from the rest of the world, within the deep recesses of the Taurus, it may be presumed that the former was long preserved among them in its original state. We are informed by one of the writers just mentioned that Noah's family remained in Armenia Major some considerable time subsequent to the Deluge, where they intermarried;[1] but at a later period there was a separation of the families, and the people may from that time be considered as divided into separate tribes. Shem, the eldest, by appointment, was the first to seek another country; and we are told that he proceeded in a north-western direction, to the foot of a lofty mountain, bounded by an extensive plain, delightfully watered by a river passing through the middle of the tract. Here he remained for a short time, when, having given his name (Shem) to the mountain, and left Taron, one of his youngest sons, at the town that he had built, which afterwards bore the name of Tamberan, he proceeded thence towards the south-east, a course which, presuming he quitted the plain of Erz-Rúm, would carry him to the land of Shinar.

Settlements near Ararat.

Ham, now become the last by inheritance, appears to have continued near Mount Ararat, Japhet being already settled westward of that mountain; so that the temporary locations of

[1] History of Armenia, by Father Michael Chamish, translated from the original Armenian, by Johannes Avdall, Esq. Calcutta, 1827.

Noah's three sons were within reach of the moral and religious instruction of the Patriarch. Therefore it probably was in the fruitful valleys of Central Armenia that Noah delivered the celebrated precepts which were intended to restore the purity of the Divine Law, and which have become an interesting link between the antediluvian and postdiluvian religions:—

Noah's religious

1. Not to follow *strange worship*, or idolatry.
2. Not to blaspheme the name of God.
3. Not to commit murder.
4. Not to commit incest.
5. To abstain from theft and rapine.
6. To appoint just judges and judicatures, &c.
7. Not to eat flesh with the blood of it.[1]

It will be seen that the first and second refer to man's duty towards his Creator, the former being manifestly intended to overcome that idolatrous worship which probably had already been given to the heavenly bodies instead of their great Creator himself.

and moral precepts.

The next four regulated man's duty towards his neighbour, and the last forbade cruelty to other creatures, though it permitted the use of flesh for food as well as for sacrifices. It is probable that the Cainites had not confined the latter to the fruits of the earth, or even to animals, for Lamech, the earliest polygamist, is supposed to have immolated a human being—his own son:—

"Ye wives of Lamech, hearken to my speech, for I have slain a man to the wounding of myself, and a stripling to my own bruising."[2]

The primeval religion and strict moral code, which were to be thus restored for the guidance of Noah's posterity, appear however to have undergone some modifications, one of which was introduced in order to commemorate the recent catastrophe, and the signal deliverance of Noah and his family.[3]

[1] Bishop Patrick's Preface to the Book of Job.

[2] Gen. IV., v. 23; and read p. 201 of Frederick von Schlegel's Philosophy of Hist., translated by James Brunton Robinson, Esq. Bohn, London, 1847.

[3] In a recent work it has been ably shown, that the Arkite worship was at one time extensively in use throughout the greatest part of the world,

The Arkite rites

That Noah's first altar, and well-known sacrifice, should have had a direct reference to the vessel constructed by Almighty command, and from which he had recently escaped, seems to be quite natural; and it is equally probable that the continued use of this type was expressly enjoined to his descendants. The ark was the constant symbol used to represent an altar, and this was in the shape of a crescent, probably from Luban or the Moon, one of the names of Mount Ararat: it is remarkable that in the ancient stone found near Dundalk, a ship's hull is plainly represented.[1] It is believed that the Druids were in reality Arkites;[2] also that Stonehenge and Avebury in Wilts, Manister Grange (near Limerick), the fourteen circles of large stones, in the neighbourhood of Sligo, called the Giant's Grave, and other similar structures at home and abroad, are the remains of structures which were sepulchral, and at the same time connected with a system of religious worship that once generally prevailed in Great Britain and[3] throughout the ancient world; but probably, like that which is exemplified in the Chinese temples dedicated to Kwan-Ya'n, or the Goddess of Mercy and of the Sea,[4] more or less mixed with idolatry.

were added to primeval worship.

Doubtless the primeval worship, as renewed by Noah immediately after the Deluge, was free from this taint, which however must have followed at a later period, since it was expressly forbidden by the first and second commandments;[5]

dating from the Descent itself. Doctrine of the Deluge, by the Rev. Vernon Harcourt. See also the Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, pp. 90, 91, 107, 178, 180, 492, 493, 494, 495. J. Booth, London. 1809.

[1] Naoi is the Irish word for Ship, and hence Naïads or Shipmen. Harcourt's Doctrine of the Deluge, vol. II. p. 23. [2] Ibid, vol. I., p. 75.

[3] Arkite rites prevailed in many parts of Britain, and the rites of Bacchus or Noah were duly celebrated, pp. 184, 131. Davies' Mythology of the British Druids. Booth, London. 1809.

[4] The Sea-God was Oannes, and the Fish-God of the Babylonians, Dagon. Chronological Antiquities, &c., by John Jackson, vol. I., p. 209. London, 1752.

[5] Arkite theology embraced some memorials of the history of the Deluge, together with an idolatrous commemoration of Noah, of his family, and of his Sacred Ship; and in many countries the worship of the host of heaven has existed in conjunction therewith. Ibid. to 492.

and it appears elsewhere from Scripture that Sabaism was liable to judicial punishment, in the time of Job.[1] But from the existence of a city (Sipparah) dedicated to the Sun, as well as from the first of Noah's precepts "forbidding strange worship," it would appear that this and other kinds of idolatry must have existed previously.

Sabaism

Sanchoniatho attributes Sabaism to Genus and Genea (Cain and his wife), who stretched forth their hands towards the Sun, as the only Lord of Heaven, adding that the first men worshipped those things on which they themselves lived;[2] it is also stated by Maimonides, from tradition, that in the time of Enos the children of Adam began to sin greatly. They built temples, and made images to represent the heavenly bodies which they worshipped, saying that God had created the stars to govern the world and had given them honour by setting them on high.[3] Moreover it is presumed that idolatrous images of some kind were in use, even in Noah's family; for in a modern version of the Book of Genesis we read that Ham, the father of Canaan, exposed the religious symbols of his father, which he declared to his brethren without; that is, he strove to overturn the worship of God; and for this purpose he endeavoured to place the unclean things, or idolatrous images, within the tabernacle of the true worship, as he had already done in the tabernacles of his son Canaan.[4] It is added that when Noah had ended his wine-offering (for he knew that his younger son had offered for himself), he declared the divine command regarding Ham's posterity.[5]

is renewed by Ham.

Now, assuming this to be the more correct reading, it follows that Ham's sin regarded the cherubim, and the religious ceremonies confided by Noah to Shem, who had been chosen high priest, to the exclusion of his ambitious brother. The latter, instead however of submitting, was induced to set up his own laws, and it is supposed that the previous or antediluvian idolatry on which they were based was in consequence renewed.

[1] Ch. XXXI., v. 26, 27, 28.
[2] Cory's Ancient Fragments, pp. 5, 6.
[3] Vide Hottinger, Smegma Orient., p. 322.
[4] Gen., chap. IX., v. 22. Note by Bellamy.
[5] Ibid., v. 24. Bellamy's Translation.

This, as will be presently seen, appears to have speedily taken a more settled form in Syria, from whence it was spread over Greece by the issue of Japhet, whilst it prevailed amongst the descendants of Shem in Arabia, and likewise in Babylonia, where it is understood that Seruch (Serug) afterwards introduced the use of painting as part of the rites and ceremonies of idol-worship respecting persons who had been deified.[1]

In addition to the religious precepts he inculcated, Noah made such a distribution of the earth as would enable his descendants to find space in different directions for their rapidly increasing members; and the knowledge of the old world which he must have possessed would have enabled him to allot the most desirable tracts. Neither trees nor plants appear to have formed a part of what was preserved in the ark, and as we know that the olive and the vine survived the Deluge, it may fairly be concluded that the surface of the earth did not experience any great alteration, a circumstance which is in some degree established by geological examinations.[2]

Trees and plants survive the flood.

The position of Central Armenia greatly facilitated the immediate extension of the postdiluvian people. The opening between the Black and the Caspian Seas necessarily conducted one section towards the tracts lying in that direction. The Mediterranean Sea conducted another portion towards Arabia and Africa, whilst the slopes of the Taurus would carry a third eastward, and a part also westward of Mount Ararat. The first region called Garbia, or the North, according to 'Abú-l-Faraj, fell to Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras,[3] and other branches hereafter to be noticed.

Mankind spread

This in the sequel comprised Spain, France, and the countries of the Greeks, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, Turks, and Armenians; so that it included the whole of Asia north of the Taurus, and probably also the tracts extending through Europe to the Atlantic.[4] To the children of the second son, as the

into Europe,

[1] From Epiphanius, see p. 54 of Cory's Ancient Fragments.

[2] Researches in Babylonia, Assyria, &c., by W. Francis Ainsworth, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Geologist to the Euphrates Expedition. J. W. Parker, London, 1838.

[3] Gen., chap. X., v. 2.

[4] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 8, compared with Bochart's Phaleg, chap. XIV., and Müller's Sammlung Rüssischer Geschichte. II. Stück, p. 3.

heir, was allotted what has been denominated the centre of the earth, namely, Armenia, Shinar, and the rest of Mesopotamia, with Assyria, Media, and Persia, as far as the Indus, likewise Asia; Palestine and Arabia. To the sons of Ham, the last by allotment, were given Cush and the region about the Persian Gulf, namely, Susiana, and the principal part of the territory lying in the second or western direction: Canaan having Palestine, Palestine, &c. &c.; Mizraim, Egypt and Lybia.[1] But according to 'Abú-l-Faraj,[2] Ham also had Teman or Idumea,[3] as well as Nigritia, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Scindia, and India east and west of the river Indus. This allotment, though made by Divine appointment,[4] was only partially followed by the sons of Noah when they quitted the patriarch in Armenia. The Shem possesses Shinar followers of Shem, it is true, occupied, in the first instance, a part of the countries destined for them, for, having proceeded from Armenia, accompanied by a portion of the sons of Japhet, they took, as already mentioned, a south-easterly direction, and in all probability followed the course of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris to the plain country.[5] In allusion to this change, Eusebius states, that the sons of Noah were the first who descended from the mountains, and having fixed their habitations in the plains, they persuaded others who, on account of the recent flood had been afraid to venture, to follow their example. The plain, it is added, which was thus occupied, is called Shinar, and God commanded them to send forth colonies to people the earth.[6]

and part of Syria. Being thus in possession of Mesopotamia as a centre, the Shemitic people appear to have gradually extended their limits westward, from the borders of Assyria to those of Syria and Samaria;[7] and we know that their high-priest Melchizedek was at Salem, when Abraham came into the country, where he probably had been settled for some time.

But the most powerful, and by far the most numerous, of these branches, was that of Ham, who appears to have con-

[1] Hales' Chron. Hist., vol. I., p. 354.
[2] Hist. Dyn., p. 16.
[3] Jeremiah, chap. XLIX., v. 7, 20.
[4] Euseb. Chron., p. 10.
[5] Euseb. according to Polyhistor, I., c. v., and Jos., lib. I., cap. iv., s. i.
[6] Idem.
[7] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dyn., p. 16.

tinued at no great distance from Mount Ararat; one of his grandsons, Havílah, occupying, it is supposed, part of the eastern side of Lesser Asia; and Ludim, another grandson, a tract lying to the westward of the river Halys. This branch appears to have occupied what afterwards became the territory of Lydía, for we find them subsequently at Smyrna and Umbria taking the name of their leader, Tyrrhenus the son of Átys, who had conducted them thither.[1] Three of Ham's sons, namely, Cush, Mizraim, and Phut, appear to have been born in Peræa,[2] a name which was equally applied to the tract beyond the Jordan, and the country on the other side of the Euphrates; but the latter was first occupied after the flood. Subsequently to the allotment, Ham appears to have proceeded from Asia Minor[3] to the more central position of Byblus,[4] in Phœnicia,[5] his sons being viceroys over the different countries of which they had originally obtained unlawful possession. Cush or Cutha was king of the territory called Kusdi Nimrúd,[6] or Sinaar, which took the name of Babel after the dispersion. But or Put, the Chaldaic of Phut[7] or Pha,[8] was, it is presumed, sovereign of the extensive regions lying eastward of Babylonia, which from Khous, son of Ham, were called Kusdi Khorásán.[9] At Byblus, Ham appears to have renewed his idolatrous practices; and Bishop Cumberland thinks it more than probable that Niemaus, who is mentioned by Sanchoniatho as being one of the wives of Chronus or Ham, was Naamah, the sister of Tubal Cain, for (he adds) it is not

Ham's posterity in Asia Minor.

They reign in Phœnicia.

Cush in Shinar.

[1] Herod., lib. I., cap. lxxiv. xciv.

[2] P. 13 of Ancient Fragments, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq., W. Pickering, 1832; and Cumberland's Times of First Planting of Nations, p. 174, compared with Scaliger, pp. 116, 197.

[3] Manes, son of Jupiter, supposed to be Jupiter Hammon, or Ham, founded the Lydian Monarchy: Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 472.

[4] Once Gebel of the Amorites, and now Jubeïl on the coast of Phœnicia: see above, vol. I., p. 453.

[5] Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 11.

[6] St. Martin, Mémoires sur l'Arménie, tome II., pp. 72, 373. Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. IX; Syncel., Chron. 44. Euseb., Chron. 13.

[7] Wise's Fabulous Ages, p. 9.

[8] The Bhud of the East. Harcourt's Doctrine of the Deluge, vol. I., p. 91.

[9] St. Martin, Mémoires sur l'Arménie, tome II. p. 392, 393.

likely, that Moses would have noticed this woman only if she had not been a person of great fame in the world, as well as the last of Cain's line,[1] and therefore the last of the "daughters of men."

Ham's Cainite wife.

The circumstance itself is of no trifling importance; for if the supposition of a Caïnite wife be correct, it would, in a great measure, explain the cause of Ham's apostacy. He had, we are told, studied the science of astrology before the flood, and, knowing that he could not introduce his books into the Ark, he engraved his sacrilegious inventions on metals and rocks, which he found again after the flood, and thus perpetuated the knowledge he had acquired.[2] This seems to be the means by which idolatry spread among the followers of Ham, who elevated their leader to the rank of Patriarch of the Deluge, to the exclusion of Noah himself.

Early astrology.

Worship of the sun,

Bel, who is generally called Saturnus,[3] was considered as the primary object of worship; and we are told that, when there were great droughts, the people of Phœnicia stretched forth their hands to heaven, and towards the sun, for him they supposed to be God, calling him Beelsamin. This, in the Phœnician dialect, signifies Lord of Heaven;[4] and Ham appears to have added the worship of the moon,[5] dedicating their city to Baaltis,[6] or Ashtaroth, from Astarte,[7] one of his wives, and the Queen of Byblus and Melcander.[8] The serpent, as an emblem of the sun, being also that of time and eternity, was in some way or other connected with those luminaries in Phœnicia, and its worship was subsequently adopted by Nimrúd, and became general amongst the people of Chaldea.[9] Ham

moon, and the serpent.

[1] Bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 108.

[2] Cassianus, Collatio VIII. cap. xxi.

[3] Euseb., Præp. Evan. IX. cap. xvii., xviii.

[4] Which is equivalent to Zeus. See Sanchoniatho: Ancient Fragments by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq., pp. 5, 6. W. Pickering, London, 1832.

[5] Bel the Sun, Belthis the Moon: Jackson's Antiquities, &c., vol. III., p. 24, note.

[6] Mistress, from Ba'al; Sanchoniatho, from Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 15; and Abydenus, apud Euseb. Præp., lib. IX., c. xli., p. 456.

[7] Ibid., p. 14. [8] Plutarch, de Iside.

[9] Compare Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 17, with Lucian, de Diis Syris; Syncel. I., c. iii., p. 49; and Euseb. Præp., lib. IX., chap. 17.

or Chronus, whom the Phœnicians called Il, was after his death deified, and assigned to the planet which bears his name, Bel, Belus, or Saturnus;[1] and in later times the Chaldean creed became a part of Sabaism, which, according to Sanchoniatho, had been founded by Cain and his sister-wife.[2] Ham assigned to the planet Saturn.

It appears that Canaan was born at Byblus,[3] and, his elder brother Mizraim having already passed on to govern the region southward, he received the territory afterwards occupied by the descendants of his eleven sons, namely, the Hivites, the Avim,[4] Anakim, &c.: this tract took his name, its limits being Sidon to the north, and Gaza to the south.[5] Adjoining this tract, to the south-westward, were the Pathrusim and Casluhim, of whom came the Philistines and Caphthorim, both from the branch of Mizraim; and the former were already a considerable people, under a king of their own, when Abraham came into the country.[6] From the preceding circumstances, it may safely be inferred that the migration of the children of Ham took place almost simultaneously with that of Shem; and the fact of having made their way from Asia Minor into Syria, is indicated by the question propounded in the book of the prophet Amos, "Have I not brought the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?"[7] The Canaanites. Philistines.

In addition to the territory occupied by the Canaanites, &c., at the time that the children of Israel quitted Egypt, other sections of the giant race of Ham appear to have inhabited the country westward of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea. One branch of the Amalekites,[8] as well as the Amorites,[9] occupied antecedently the tract near the present Wádí El Ghor, where they were at the period of Abraham's arrival in the country. In the tracts north-westward of these, at short

[1] Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 17; Euseb., Præp. Evangel., lib. IX., chap. 17.

[2] Euseb., Præp. Evang, lib. I., p. 34.

[3] Cumberland's Times of the First Planting of Nations, pp. 176, 177. London, 1724.

[4] Deut., chap. II., v. 23.

[5] Gen., chap. X., v. 15–20.

[6] Gen., chap. XX., v. 2.

[7] Amos, chap. IX., v. 7.

[8] According to the Arabs, the father of the tribe was Amalek, a son of Ham.

[9] Gen., chap. XIV., v. 7.

The Emim, &c.

distances from one another, were the Emim,[1] the Zuzim,[2] the Rephaim,[3] and the gigantic Zamzummim;[4] the Horims of Mount Seir being immediately southward of the last.[5]

The Horites and Thamudites.

As these sections of the line of Ham had been the earliest occupants of that tract of country which was in possession of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Horites, during the exodus of the children of Israel, it is not improbable that some of them, particularly the first and the last, may have constituted the lost tribe of Thamúd. To this people belonged the extensive tract of pasture-land lying between Ḥijáz and the borders of Syria, which is known by the general name of El Hadjar:[6] they lived in caverns excavated in the mountains, such as those of Wádí Petra and Wâdí El Ḳarí,[7] in which they had wells;[8] but it is added[9] "they were destroyed by a storm from heaven," as a punishment for their obstinacy in not listening to a prophet sent from God, expressly to warn them and turn them from their impiety.[10]

The Amalekites.

Towards the interior of Arabia are traces of another portion of the ancient Amalekites, namely, Imlik, Amalek, or Amaleka, whose giant size passed into a proverb to express anything great.[11] The remains of this people, according to the Arabs, are between Bahreïn and Ḥaḍramaút, and also again towards Ṣan'á and Taïf; there are, besides, two sections along the shores of the Red Sea, where they dwell under the names of Obaïl and Laff, who are said to have formed part of the Amalekon;[12] and the situations indicated are in accordance with the gradual extension of this great tribe to the southward, from the shores of

[1] Deut., chap. II., v. 10, 11.
[2] Gen., chap. XIV., v. 5.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Deut., chap. II., v. 20.
[5] Gen., chap. XIV., v. 6; Deut., chap. II., v. 12.
[6] Edrisi, ed. Jaubert, tome V. Recueil de Voyages et Mémoires, &c., par la Société de Géog., Paris, 1836.
[7] Arabic MSS., Nos. 7357 and 7505, in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.
[8] Numerous tanks and cisterns still exist.
[9] Arabic MSS. as above.
[10] The locality, the warning, and the catastrophe, mentioned by the Arabian geographer, agree with the destruction of the cities of the plain.
[11] Arabic MSS., Nos. 7357 and 7505, in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.
[12] Ibid.

Palestine. Some of the people occupied intermediate places between the present cities of Mekkah and Medina,[1] also towards Ṣan'á, and others united with the Ḥimyarites at Thifar;[2] the remainder passed into Assyria.

The 'Adites. The 'Adites, another branch of this people, seem either to have taken a more southerly course in the outset, or else they migrated from Yemen towards the country between Bahreïn and Ḥaḍramaút,[3] instead of passing into Africa with the bulk of the Arabian Cushites and the followers of Mizraim. Thus it will be seen that, during the first migrations, the latter branches, generally speaking, proceeded to the more distant countries, such as Yemen, Africa, &c., whilst the sons of Canaan remained in Syria and Phœnicia.[4]

Progress of the Hamites We learn, however, from Berossus, that the principal branch of the Hamites had taken quite another direction, and proceeded from Armenia towards Babylonia by a circuitous route.[5] They followed a northerly course, probably keeping for a time near the banks of the Gihon or Araxes, till they approached the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea where they turned southward and entered Susiana; from which fine tract they afterwards moved westward[6] into the plain of Shinar. Having driven a portion of the sons of Shem from the latter towards Assyria, and the higher parts of Mesopotamia about O'rfáh and Háran, they erected temples and built cities, so that the country was again into Babylonia. inhabited;[7] an expression which seems to imply that it had been occupied at the time of the Flood.

Such is the Phœnician and Chaldean account of this period: it is derived from tradition, and possibly from some records which it is supposed had been preserved, such as the pretended

[1] Arabic MSS., Nos. 7357 and 7505, in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

[2] Jihán Numá, p. 495.

[3] According to Arabic MSS. 7357 and 7505, near the desert of Aḥḳáf.

[4] Where we have Sidon, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite, Gen., chap. X., v. 15–18.

[5] Berossus, from the Ancient Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., p. 29.

[6] And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there, Genesis, chap. XI., v. 2.

[7] Syncel., Chro. 31; Euseb., Chro. p. 8.

Ancient writings.

books of Adam,[1] and those of Seth, of Noah, Enoch, and Jasher,[2] the contemporary of Moses. These writings are now lost, with the exception of the two last, one of which is considered to be apochryphal;[3] but, be this as it may, such a work must at one time have been extant in some way or other, since we are told that Enoch, who was the seventh from Adam, also prophesied, &c.[4] Moses naturally derived his information from his own line, that of Shem; but doubtless records of some kind had been preserved in the line of Ham also,[5] and it will be recollected that Sanchoniatho, like Moses, gives the same number of generations from Adam to Ham.

Nimrúd builds or restores

We learn that the acquisition of the plains of Dura by the children of the latter was followed by an increase of territory, which was at first made gradually by Cush,[6] but subsequently on a greater scale by his son Nimrúd,[7] who in the beginning caused to revive or. make famous, all the principal places in his kingdom, as Babel,[8] Erech,[9] Accad,[10] and

[1] Part of one of the three sacred books of the Sabean Mandaites (now called the Christians of St. John), of which an account has been given in the Journal des Savans, Paris, 1819, by Sylvestre de Saci, has been published under the title of "Codex Nasaræus, Liber Adami appellatus," 5 vols. 4to.

[2] Jasher appears to have been the son of Caleb and Azubah; compare 1 Chron. chap. II., v. 18, with Joshua, chap. X., v. 13, and 2 Samuel, chap. I., v. 18.

[3] The book of Enoch the prophet, supposed for ages to be lost, translated from an Ethiopic MS. by the Rev. Richard Lawrence, LL.D., Archbishop of Cashel.

[4] General Epistle of Jude, v. 14.

[5] Josephus mentions (lib. I., cap. iii., sec. 8), Antediluvian Records.

[6] Called an Ethiopian.—Euseb., Chron. Armen. I., p. 53.

[7] The giant warrior of the Syrian version; the Nebroth, Nebrod, and Nimrúd, or terrible giant of the Arabs (Euseb., Chron. Armen. ed. in folio, pp. 37, 39); the Ẓoḥak, or Zohauk, of the Persians (see Bibl. Orient., Art. Dhohák); also the well-known Belus of the Greek writers, and the Nimrod of Gen., chap. X., v. 8, 9.

[8] Gen., chap. X., v. 10, Bellamy's translation.

[9] Now the mount of El 'Assayah.—See above, vol. I., p. 116. It is supposed that the city and tower were built to commemorate the descent of the Ark, and that it represents the A'rcaa of the Hebrews, and the city of the Ark. Compare Harcourt's Doctrine of the Deluge, vol. I., p. 196, with Bryant's Ancient Mythology, vol. II., p. 524.

[10] The celebrated mound of 'Aḳar Ḳúf.—See above, vol. I., p. 117.

Lieut. Fitzjames R.N. del.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the Queen

BIRS NIMRUD.

Calnéh,[1] all of which are within the limits, as now defined, of the land of Shinar.[2] the eight primeval cities.

Pursuing his conquests, we are told that Nimrúd went forth to war against Assyria, and there he built Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth,[3] and Calah,[4] and Resen, between Nineveh the great city and Calah.[5] On this occasion no doubt some of the sons of Asshur were expelled for the second time, the remainder being subjected; the Pyramid at Nimrúd or Resen[6] was probably constructed[7] as a step towards the establishment of the conqueror's secular and priestly authority: for, (as it has been rendered) he (Nimrúd) profaned to be mighty in the earth;[8] concerning which thing it shall be said, like Nimrúd the mighty destroyer in the presence of Jehovah.[9] This appears to allude to his determination to abolish the remains of the primeval patriarchal worship, of which no doubt the Cherubim was the type; and to establish throughout his dominions the religion which had been adopted by his grandfather in Phœnicia. There was already a temple on the mount at Erech[10] dedicated to the moon,[11] and it is probable that at this time the patriarchal worship was much corrupted among the Shemitic people of Mesopotamia. Nimrúd aims at priestly authority.

[1] Or Chalanne, afterwards Carchemish, on the Mesopotamian Khábúr. —See above, vol. I., p. 117. [2] Ibid.

[3] Below the Khábúr.—See above, pp. 52, 119.

[4] Now Sar-púli Zoháb, on the slopes of the Zagros, and on the high road leading from Baghdád to Kirmán-Sháh, vol. IX., p. 36, of Royal Geog. Journal.

[5] Gen., chap. X., v. 11, 12. See the Holy Bible, containing the authorized version of the Old and New Testaments, with 20,000 emendations. London, Longman, Brown, and Co., 1842.

[6] See above, vol. I., pp. 21, 22.

[7] The recent excavations, and the interesting Assyrian remains found beneath this structure, have determined this site.

[8] Committed profanation by abolishing the true worship, and substituting idols, in order to become popular.—Note on Gen., chap. X., v. 8, Bellamy's translation.

[9] Gen., chap. X., v. 9, Bellamy's translation.

[10] Irka, Irké, or 'Irkah. Compare Bryant's Mythology, vol. II., p. 524, and Harcourt's Doctrine of the Deluge, vol. I., p. 194.

[11] The Babylonian Juno.—Jackson's Chronology of the most Ancient Kingdoms, vol. III., p. 33.

Nimrúd proposes to build a city and a tower.

With a view to the establishment of his religion, as well as the consolidation of his power, Nimrúd is supposed to have said, "We will build for us a city and tower, with its head like heaven; which we will make as a monument to render our name (שֵׁם Shaim,) famous; lest we should be scattered on the face of the whole earth."[1] A building was therefore meditated which should be superior to all other structures; its dimensions were to be stupendous, that it might be visible throughout a large portion of Babylonia, and become a grand landmark, as well as the centre of Nimrúd's priestly and secular power. According to Eupolemus,[2] the city existed previously, and the tower was erected not within its circumference, but in its vicinity;[3] Bírs, or Báris, the name of the tower, signifies high; and the dome or top is supposed to have represented the heavens, and to have been ornamented with the zodiacal constellations,[4] on which the Sabaism of the Chaldeans was afterwards partly based.[5] Like the later structures of the same description in Egypt, it was intended to serve as the tomb of the founder, Nimrúd or Belus;[6] and in the temple there was to have been an image holding a sword as a protection against men and demons.[7] When Babylon was visited by Herodotus, the court, as well as the temple on the summit, were dedicated to Jupiter Belus;[8] the ruins of which, as well as those of the observatory on the summit, still remained in the time of Diodorus Siculus.[9] But whatever may have been the symbol of worship originally represented on Nimrúd's temple, afterwards that of Bel,[10] the chief object of its construc-

The tower intended to serve as a tomb.

A temple with an observatory.

[1] Gen., chap. XI., v. 4, Bellamy's translation.

[2] Euseb., Præp., lib. IX., cap. xiv., p. 416, and cap. xvii., p. 418.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Gen., chap. XI., v. 4, note by Bellamy; and Bryant's Mythology, vol. I., p. 477; Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. I., pp. 41, 42.

[5] For an account of the Chaldeans, see the latter part of the next chapter.

[6] Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 730, and Arrian, Exped. Alex., lib. VII., cap. 17, compared with Pliny, lib. VI., cap. 26, and Diod. Siculus, lib. II., cap. 9.

[7] See the Jerusalem Targum.

[8] Herod., lib. I., cap. clxxxi., clxxxii.

[9] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. ix.

[10] Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Testament, vol. I., p. 96.

tion, namely to prevent the dispersion of the people over the face of the earth, was frustrated; and the ruins are, to this day, a monument of the failure of their presumptuous undertaking.

The Shemites go down to Babel.

The Shemites, as has been said, occupied Upper Mesopotamia, with a part of Syria, and they continued to dwell in those regions up to the period in question; the seat of their government being Salem, and their ruler the mysterious high-priest Melchizedek,[1] who was of the line of Shem, if not the patriarch himself.[2] In a late edition of the Bible it is stated, with reference to the passage relating to the destruction of Babel, that Melchizedek received a command from between the Cherubim to go down to Babel and confound the vain words of the people. Jehovah said, "Behold another people,[3] all of them with vain lip: even at this time, they profane with their offerings; and now shall nothing be restrained from them of all that they have imagined;[4] come, we will descend,[5] and then confound their doctrines, so that a man shall not hearken to the speech of his neighbour."

Nimrûd's design frustrated.

This was done, that the true religion might not be destroyed by the new settlers from the East; and God having communicated his will respecting the idolaters of Babel, the people of Shem went thither to confound their purpose. Being a powerful people, they readily impeded the progress not only of the idolatry, but they also prevented the consolidation of a government which would soon have extended to Canaan, and thus caused what is called the Dispersion of Mankind: but this dispersion may, perhaps with some propriety, be considered as a reoccupation of the regions inhabited before the Flood. The persons who quitted the land of Shinar, had, in all probability, some knowledge of the regions to which they proceeded; and it may be presumed that they were not by any means in a savage state, but that they carried with them a certain degree of civilization

[1] Gen., chap. XIV., v. 18.

[2] Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, Melchizedec.

[3] Ham's descendants, as worshippers of idols, were called another people.—Note by Bellamy on Gen., chap. XI., v. 5.

[4] Gen., chap. XI., v. 6, Bellamy's translation.

[5] Meaning the people of Salem were to descend, not the Almighty.—Note by Bellamy, Gen., chap. XI., v. 7.

and some knowledge of the arts and sciences of that time, though their religion was already deformed by Sabaism. The influence which their civilization and their religion had on the countries to which they journeyed, and in the sequel on Europe, after the time of Alexander the Great, will be among the subjects of occasional notice in the succeeding chapters of this volume.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISPERSION.

SPREAD OF MANKIND EASTWARD, NORTHWARD, AND WESTWARD, FROM BABYLONIA.

Limits of the Territories about to be occupied.—Directions taken Eastward and Westward.—Noah's Family commingle in Armenia.—The Shemitic People reoccupy Babylonia.—The mixed Tribes of this Territory called Chaldeans.—Spread of the Cushites from Babylonia to Media, Persia, and Central Asia.—Phut, the supposed Leader of the Mongols.—Georgian and Tibetan character.—Similarity of Eastern and Western Architecture.—Western origin of the Chinese.—Spread of the Cushites Northward and again Westward, along the Taurus.—Second commixture of the Sons of Japhet and Ham.—Descent of the Chasdim into Babylonia.—The Cushite Dominions centre in Babylonia.—Spread of the Sons of Togormah, Gomer, and other Descendants of Japhet.—Nimrúd's Death.—Ninus or Belus II. invades Armenia.—Ḥaïk and his Descendants govern Armenia.—Tombs of Noah and his Wife.—Ḥaïkanians and Togormeans.—Aramaïs changes the name of Gihon to Araxes.—War of Aram with the Medians.—Derivations of the name of Armenia.—Settlements of Togormah.—Meshed and Askenaz.—Northern spread of the Sons of Japhet.—Ham's Posterity in Syria and Arabia.—The 'Adites and other lost Tribes of Arabia.—Traditional Account of the Curse of Ham and his Descendants in Africa.—Cusha-dwípa, within and without.—Sanc'ha-dwípa.—Axumitic or Amharic character.—Countries of Habache or Ethiopia, Nubia, &c., first occupied, next Egypt.—Architecture carried into Greece.—The Chaldean Kingdom of U'r.—Ḳaḥtán and his followers occupy Arabia.—Possession of Jerah and Uzal.—The Cushites pass into Africa.—Chaldeans, their Language used in Mesopotamia.—Derivation of the name of Chaldean.—The Chaldean Tribes.—The Chaldean Nation and Priests.—Chaldean Philosophy, &c.

With the exception of the tracts mentioned in the preceding chapter, as having been partially occupied to the westward by the descendants of Mizraim, the possessions of the sons of Noah had scarcely hitherto extended beyond the limits of Armenia

Extension of Noah's sons.

and Shinar. But it will be seen, that the countries into which these branches are about to be followed, embrace very extensive territories, which, although they were peopled by numerous ramifications from the original stocks, contained comparatively few nations. These territories formed a belt, which extended nearly round half the globe, and comprised the middle region of the world, within about 115° of longitude; namely, from the western shores of Europe to the borders of Sinae,[1] in the far east. Of this extensive tract, which may be considered the historical zone, Armenia occupies the centre; and from hence the migrations necessarily extended westward and eastward. Those who took the former course, having almost in the outset the chain of the Hæmus (Balkan) on the one side, and the river Danube on the other, would, as they proceeded westward between the Alps and the Rhine, eventually reach the western shores of Europe; originating during their progress, the different tribes or nations of this continent. The other section, by taking an opposite direction, would, whilst peopling Media and Persia, have as limits the two great chains[2] at the northern and southern borders of these kingdoms; from whence again, the migratory band would eventually be conducted along the Caucasian chain and the slopes of the Himálaya, originating, as they spread towards China, the Hindú and Mongol nations; whose ramifications, in the process of time, probably included the earliest tribes of America.

One section spreads towards Europe, and the other towards Central Asia.

At the period described near the close of the last Chapter, namely, about the 140th year of Faleg (Phaleg), when the abandonment of the great work which had been contemplated was attended by a separation of the people into seven different nations,[3] the human race consisted of three great divisions under the sons of Noah: this arrangement will now be followed, although it is obvious that the divisions must have in some measure commingled in Armenia; and the subsequent inter-

Three races of mankind.

[1] China is called the Land of Sinim, Isaiah, chap. XLIX., v. 12.

[2] Vol. I. pp. 64, 67, 73, 74, and 189.

[3] These, according to 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 2–18, were the Persians, Chaldeans, Greeks, Egyptians, Turks (Tartars), Indians, and Chinese.

course in Babylonia must have tended to increase their amalgamation.

The Shemitic branch appears to have regained part of its original allotment, about the beginning of the dispersion. For, besides those who occupied a portion of Syria and Arabia, as far as Ḥadramaút and 'Omán,[1] we find that the followers of Elam inhabited the country eastward of the river Tigris; and those of his four brothers had possessions north-westward of Babel, where Nimrúd appears to have remained;[2] some being in Assyria, near Nineveh, others under Arphaxad settled at Háran, which he called after his son;[3] and the remainder in Mesopotamia, where they bore indifferently the names of Arameans, Mesopotamians, and the Syrians or Assyrians; also the Kadḥani, Kelání, or Chaldeans, who were, according to some, the same people as the Nabatheans.[4] The two first were interchangeable, and had been, as well as the other appellations, at one period, in common use for the people living between Babylon and the gulf of Issus.

The Shemitic possessions.

The Nabatheans supposed to be the same as the Chaldeans,

Moreover, it appears that the Suriani or Syrians, and the Athuri or Assyrians, were identical with the last, being mixed; and Mas'údí adds, that they inhabited 'Iráḳ Arabi, where they were divided into several tribes, such as Yununni or Ninavi (Ninevites), the Gordyæ or Gordyans, Aram or Arameans, and Nabṭ el 'Iráḳ, the Nabatheans of 'Iráḳ; in short, all the dependencies of the Chaldean empire spoke a language approaching the Syriac.[5] The latter appears to have been derived from that of the Chaldeans, who, as a people, will be noticed more at large, after having followed the sections of the line of Ham, spreading westward as well as eastward.

and Syrians or Assyrians.

The earliest migrations of the postdiluvian people are stated in the book of Genesis, and have been particularly noticed by

[1] Golden Meadows of Mas'údí, p. 9, Arabic MSS. in the British Museum.

[2] Jackson's Antiquities, &c., vol. I., p. 229.

[3] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 16, and Chron. Syr. p. 7.

[4] Mas'údí, Extraits des MSS. du Roi, tome VIII., p. 141, &c. par Sylvestre de Saci; also Golden Meadows of Mas'údí, Arabic MSS. in the British Museum.

[5] Compare Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 756, with Herod., lib. VII. c. 63, and Mas'údí, Golden Meadows, chap. IV.; also Extraits des MSS. du Roi, tome VIII., p. 141., par Sylvestre de Saci.

the ancient writers Herodotus and Strabo: they have been described subsequently by Moses Choronensis, and in later times by De Guignes, Cumberland, Jackson, Hyde, Faber, &c.; but the learned Bryant appears to have been the first who, in a satisfactory manner, traced the routes followed by the different branches of the human family.

Spread of the Cushites to Syria;

In describing the supposed site of Paradise, the countries occupied by the first Ethiopians have already been partially considered in connexion with the Asiatic Cush;[1] and in the preceding chapter of this volume, it is shown that, up to the time of the dispersion, the line of Ham occupied the chief part of Syria, in addition to the countries along the shores of the Red Sea, and also a part of the mountainous districts lying north-westward of Babylon. The followers of Nimrúd retained Babel, also part of the territory eastward of the Tigris. For it appears that the name of Kúsh, the Chaldean Chuth, or Kushasdan, land of the Sun,[2] also that of the Cathai and Cesi,[3] or Cossœi, and the modern Khúzistán, was carried to the latter country.[4] The Cushites, the reputed ancestors of the Huns, are described as having quitted the plains of Shinar in two great bands.[5] One of these, after occupying the Cossœan mountains, spread onward, and probably became the Budii of Media:[6] they subsequently extended eastward of the latter territory; for it appears that the whole of Persia had at one time the name of Kúsh, and that the people were called Kushanians; which name, observes Saint Martin, comes to us, with accessories denoting a Syriac origin.[7] The name of Kúsh was likewise applied to the western side of India, at least;[8] the adjoining territory of I'rán being called Kusdi Khorásán or Kúsh, westward of the Indus. This tract comprised Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Hyrcania, and Parthia; and Khusru Núshírvan, one of the monarchs of I'rán, was styled King

also into Khúzistán,

Media,

Persia,

and Central Asia.

[1] See vol. I., chap. xii.
[2] Vol. I., p. 281.
[3] Plin., lib. VI., cap. vii., xx., and xxvii.
[4] See above, vol. I., pp. 202–205 and 281.
[5] De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, vol. I. p. 1.
[6] Ritter, Erdkunde, vol. II., p. 896.
[7] St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie, tome II., p. 392.
[8] Kitab al Bolden, No. 617, in the library at the East India House.

of the Cushites, who, it may be observed, are expressly called the ancestors of the Persians and Indians.[1] The central situation of I'rán not only afforded an easy intercourse with India itself, but likewise with Tartary and China: and, that such connexion existed, may be gathered from the incidental notices of Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus. The tract west- India.
ward of the Indus was the country of the straight-haired or Asiatic Ethiopians of Herodotus,[2] as well as of Eusebius, who says, that beyond Carmania there is a country called Ethiopia looking towards India.[3] This territory, with that of the Paracanians, formed the seventeenth Satrapy, and paid 400 talents.[4] The Indi, who constituted one branch of the Origin of the Magi, Brahmins, and Buddhists.
eastern Ethiopians, are called the wisest of mankind,[5] and it is understood, that from them were derived the Magi of Central Asia, as well as the Brahmins,[6] and a still more numerous and influential class, the Buddhists. The Brahmins were at first seated on the borders of the Black Sea,[7] and afterwards became powerful in India. The leader of the Buddhists, the Hermes of the East,[8] and the well-known Budd, is supposed to have been Phut, the son of Ham,[9] whose worship was carried by the spread of mankind in this direction; namely, through Central Asia to China, the Djénasdan of the Armenians, the Tchinistan of the Persians, the Sin of the Arabians,[10] and land of Sinim.[11] It may here be mentioned, in corroboration of what has been said, that the Kuzari, or

[1] Kitab al Bolden, No. 617, in the library at the East India House, compared with vol. II., p. 373 of St. Martin.

[2] Herod., lib. VII., cap. lxx.

[3] Chronicon Pasch., p. 29, edition 1688. [4] Herod., lib. III., c. xciv.

[5] Philostratus, Vit. Apollon., lib. IV., p. 6.

[6] Maurice's Hist. of Hindústán, vol. II., p. 187.

[7] Cedrenus, tome I., p. 203, and Syncellus, p. 239.

[8] Creuzer, Symbolik, tome I., p. 15.

[9] Bot in Arabia, Bod in Persia, Pout or Poutti in Siam; in Tibet Pout, Pott, Pot, and Poti; in Cochin China But; in China Proper Fo or Fo-hi (De Guignes); in Japan Bo, in Celtic Bud, in India Buda, and in Egypt Phtha. See Sprengel; Ehrman's Bibl. der Reisebeschreibungen, vol. XXXIII., p. 155, compared with Harcourt's Doctrine of the Deluge, vol. I., p. 405.

[10] St. Martin, Mémoires sur L'Arménie, tome II., p. 15.

[11] Isaiah, chap. XLIX., v. 12.

Nail-headed characters. in Tibet.

ancient characters of Georgia, are nail-headed: these, with one or two exceptions, are the ground of all the Tibetan letters, in which there is an upright line with a nail-headed top. According to the Lamas themselves, the latter are derived from Sanscrit characters, the oldest of which, the Dévanágarí, are manifestly compounded of nail-headed perpendicular strokes; and these circumstances confirm the opinion that the Indians derived their astronomy and literature from Assyria.[1]

That this was the direction taken by one portion of the Cushites, may be inferred from the preceding, as well as other circumstances. Throughout those countries, the traveller cannot fail to notice the extensive bunds, canals, pyramids, rock-temples, and colossal statues, which have been executed; and we are told (what these structures evidently bespeak), that they were erected by branches of the same family: the pyramids, in particular, are similar to those of Assyria. It also appears that the Cushites excelled in the practice of medicine, the knowledge of herbs, the cultivation of the vine, &c.; and to the Egyptian, Indo, and Chinese Cushites, unquestionably belonged the arts of manufacturing silk and cotton, with that of dyeing. To these, in the instance of the latter people, may be added the knowledge of gunpowder and the mariner's compass, with sun and moon dials, calculated to suit different latitudes. The use of knotted cords,[2] which were succeeded by decimal calculating boards called Swanpan,[3] writing paper and wooden blocks for printing, which have long been known in China, likewise bespeak a considerable advance in the arts. Hence it is evident that the founders of this, as well as those of the adjoining empire of the Hindús, far from being in a savage state, must, on the contrary, like the Egyptians, another branch from the Assyrian root, have been well acquainted with the arts of social life. An isolated exclusive system of policy appears to have handed down these blessings in China, and to have preserved,

Cushite knowledge in eastern Asia.

The first Egyptians and Asiatics compared.

[1] Dissert. on the Babylonian Inscriptions, by Joseph Hager, D.D., p. 41–43.

[2] In the most ancient ages, this simple contrivance enabled the Chinese to recall their own ideas, and communicate their thoughts to others. Martini, Hist. de la Chine, liv. I., p. 21.

[3] Corresponding to the Abax of the Greeks.

at the same time, the most ancient form of government in the world—namely, the tribal or patriarchal form; whilst the ancient knowledge of the inhabitants of the country watered by the Nile, is only known to us from the wonderful monuments which remain there to this day. It may also be observed, in corroboration of what has been said regarding the nail-headed characters, that those engraven on the agate and other Babylonian cylinders, closely resemble Chinese letters; and a traditional belief generally prevails amongst the people of China, that their ancestors came from a distant part of the west, and that they looked up to the King of Babel.[1] Even the names of Sem, Hoam, and Fohi,[2] with a traditional account of the Deluge, have been preserved in that country.

The Chinese from Babylonia.

Reverting to the other section that quitted Shinar about the same period as the preceding branch, but taking a different direction, it is stated, that, after proceeding northward into the mountain valleys of Media and Georgia, accompanied by some of the sons of Japhet, they separated from the latter in Central Armenia, and turned westward, along the slopes of the Caucasus, into those tracts,[3] which, at one time, had been occupied by some of this people; and the name of Kusdi Kabgokh, or Chus of the Caucasus, was given in consequence to the whole tract lying between Khúzistán and the Caucasus.[4] On the slopes of the latter range, under the name of Chasas or C'hasyas, the Chasdim, or Cossais according to some, became a powerful tribe,[5] which spread westward, gradually peopling the fertile valleys of Armenia, and some of those in Lesser Asia, through which tracts they may be traced. On the slopes of the Caucasus, northward of the river Araxes, (the presumed Gihon,) is ancient Albania, once called Kusdi,[6] and at the western side of the range, the Djani or Chaldeans of Colchis,[7] afterwards the

The Chasdim and

[1] Called the King of Kings. Mas'údí, translated from the Arabic, by Aloys Sprenger, M.D., pp. 309, 366.

[2] De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, vol. I., p. 45. [3] Ibid., p. 1.

[4] St. Martin, Mémoires de l'Arménie, tome II., pp. 371, 392.

[5] Lieut. Wilford on Egypt and other countries, from the ancient books of the Hindús. Asiatic Researches, vol. III.

[6] St. Martin, Mémoires de l'Arménie, tome II., p. 357; and tome III., p. 197. [7] Ibid.

Chamitoe. The other branches occupying the rest of the territory have already been followed westward,[1] as far as the Leuco-Syrians. country of the Leuco-Syrians or Cappadocians.[2] The latter occupied a part of the territory now given to Ḥavílah, that is, the country within the river Halys,[3] and they appear to have been the earliest workers in brass and iron, as well as the inventors of steel;[4] from which circumstance they derived the name of Chrysor.[5]

As the Macrones and Mossynœci were Chusites,[6] and the Chalybes were not only linked with the former, but also with the Sanni, the Tibareni, and some of the other branches in question, it seems clear that the whole belonged to the mixed race of Assyrians or Chaldeans,[7] who were evidently the same people as the Chasdim;[8] and who, at a period no doubt long The Chasdim invade Babylonia. anterior to the call of Abraham, being then a considerable nation, descended from the north and conquered Babylonia from the sons of Shem.

Doubtless, on this occasion, the Chasdim were conducted, as they probably had been in their preceding migrations, by a class of men possessing that influence which science confers throughout the east: this class assumed the authority of priests of Belus,[9] and were astronomers,[10] magicians, and soothsayers.[11] They were continually devoted to the study of philosophy[12]

[1] See above, vol. I., pp. 275, 276. [2] Plin., lib. VI., cap. iii.

[3] See chap. XII.

[4] Ammian. Mar., lib. XXII; Apol. Argon., II., v. 374.

[5] Sanchoniatho, ed. Orell, pp. 17, 20, et seq. [6] Chronicon Pasch., p. 415.

[7] Herod., lib. VII., cap. lxiii., also lib. I., cap. xxviii.; and Strabo, lib. XII., p. 549.

[8] Dion., V. 767; Apol. I. 2; and Pliny, lib. VI., cap. iv.

[9] Herod., lib. I., cap. clxxxi.; and Diod. Sic., lib. I., cap. xvi., also lib. II., c. ix.

[10] The Chaldeans, says Cicero, who came originally from the Caucasus, observed the celestial signs by following the motions of the planets, and were the priest-class of Babylonia.—De Divinatione, lib. I., cap. xix.

[11] Magic and incantations are attributed to Chus as the inventor, and were practised among his sons.—Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib I., cap. x. p. 35; Dan., chap. V.

[12] Clement of Alexandria, Stromat, lib. I. p. 359, and Strabo, lib. XVI.; also Faber, vol. III., p. 435.

and astronomy, and their attainments were transmitted in succession from father to son; hence they became, in a great measure, the chief people of Babylonia.[1]

The descendants of the sons of Noah.

The race to which the Chasdim belonged was very numerous. Moses mentions only fourteen descendants of the line of Japhet, and twenty-six in that of Shem, whilst those of Ham numbered thirty-one; and in other respects they were the most important of the three, having, as we have just seen, had in Babylonia the first regular government with an established religion,[2] and no doubt also a system of laws. Elsewhere the Cushites were indifferently known by the designations of Auritœ, Scuthai, &c.;[3] their territories, says 'Abú-l-Farâj, extended from Rhinoclura to Gadira;[4] and according to Strabo,[5] they occupied the principal countries as far as India, and again quite to Mauritania in the opposite direction. One of their seats, where they had a temple only second to that of Babylon itself, was Aúr, or Our, or U'r of the Chaldees,[6] and the Orchoe of Ptolemy;[7] the site of which, nearly twenty-five miles westward of Sheïkh el Shuyúkh, appears to have been successfully identified with the mound of Mujáyah.[8] There were, however, two other places which also bore the name of U'r, viz., the cities of U'rfah and Kal'ah Skerkát; the latter of which is on the western bank of the Tigris between the greater and lesser Záb;[9] and from its situation on the borders of Assyria, it was probably occupied when the followers of Asshur were driven from Babel to Nineveh. Besides the derivation of the word Ethiopia, which has been already given,[10] another has been founded on the name of the object of worship, among the people of the

Three places called U'r.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxi.
[2] Pausanius, Messen., p. 261, and Diod. Sic., lib. I. c. xvi.
[3] Bryant's Ancient Mythology, vol. III., p. 245.
[4] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Chron. Syr., p. 7.
[5] Lib. I., pp. 31, 35.
[6] Bryant's Ancient Mythology, vol. I., p. 13, and above, vol. I., p. 93.
[7] Lib. V., cap. xxiv.
[8] See above, vol. I., pp. 93, 116, and Ainsworth's Assyria and Babylonia, pp. 179, 180.
[9] Royal Geographical Journal, vol. XI., p. 4–7, and Cumberland's Times of the First Planting of Nations, p. 232.
[10] Vol. I., p. 281.

region so designated; it is conceived to be formed by the monosyllable OPS, with the prefixes EL, which signifies light, splendour, Almighty power, and majesty, and THEOS (God); thus it would signify either the eternity of heaven and earth, or eternal God over earth; which would accord with the knowledge allowed to be possessed by this people,[1] one of whose designations was, the God-like Cushites; while another was, sons of light, or wise men, who divine secret things.[2]

Japhet's possessions.

From the eldest son of Noah came a portion of the Medes, Iberians, Sclavonians, and Babylonians; also the followers of Ashkenaz and Riphath in Lesser Asia,[3] who appear to have settled in Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia.

Regarding the descendants of Togormah, the son of Gomer,[4] we find from Armenian history that Haïk or Haïcus, the representative of the line of Japhet, and the undoubted father of the Armenians, collected his followers to the number of 300, and quitting Babylonia, apparently with the second Cushite branch, at the time of the confusion of language, he proceeded to the foot of Mount Ararat; this event took place about the year B.C. 2107, or rather 2607 of the Julian period.[5]

Commixture of the sons of Japhet and Ham.

On arriving, they were joined by a portion of the people who had been settled in that part of the country, secluded from civilized intercourse since the descent from the Ark. They probably had been without any regular form of government, but they spoke the primitive language of Noah. These were, it is presumed, a portion of the followers of Ham, who had continued in the neighbourhood, when the bulk of the tribe quitted that part of Armenia; and if this view of the matter be well founded, the sons of Ham became a second time mixed with those of Japhet.

[1] An explanation given by Mr. Colin Mackenzie, who came to this conclusion, from the fact that Opism is a generic mode of worship or reverence among many nations; such as Oropian, a worshipper, or descendant of the sun and earth, from Orus, the Egyptian Apollo; Oropus, a city of Macedonia, Oropus, a city of Bœotia, &c.

[2] Arpha-chasd, M. Court de Gibelin, Monde primitif, pp. 8, 9.

[3] 'Abú-l-Faraj. Hist. Dyn., pp. 8, 11.

[4] Wells' Geography of the Old Testament, vol. I., p. 58.

[5] Moses Choronensis, cap. IX.

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RUINS OF NINEVEH

Having remained here a short time, Haïk proceeded with the principal part of his tribe in a westerly direction, leaving his grandson Cadmus near Ararat. After journeying for a few days, he reached an extensive plain, to which he gave the name of Harc (Fathers), in order that his posterity might be always thus reminded, that their founder and father was of the race of Togormah. Country of Harc or Haïts-d-sor.

Here he took possession of the fertile district, lying along the Murád-cháï, probably a little to the north of Músh, and built a town which he called Haicashen,[1] after his own name; here also he became fixed, and the people already there submitted readily to his laws and government.[2] The people in question, in all probability, were some of those left by Shem in the second stage of his progress towards Shinar; and as Haïk had already been joined by some of the Cushites near Ararat, the commixture of the three races in Armenia at this early period seems evident.

The country then occupied and called Harc, was the tract lying westward of Lake Ván, and extending in the same direction from thence to Erz-Rúm; the central part of which was afterwards known by the name of Haïts-d-sor,[3] or the valley of the Armenians.

Reverting now to Babylonia, the country recently quitted by the Armenians, we find that, during the height of his power, Nimrúd entrusted the government of the northern portion of his dominions to his son Ninus, who was in consequence promoted from the Assyrian city of Telane, which was probably built by Nimrúd under the name of Tunim,[4] to the capital of the empire, Nineveh, a name signifying the habitation of a son, or a place to receive the descendants of Nimrúd.[5] Whilst governing this part of the empire as deputy, Ninus considerably enlarged the city which had been built by his father, and constructed a wall around it 100 feet high, with 1500 towers;[6] Ninus reigns at Nineveh;

[1] Michael Chamish, Hist. Armen., translated by J. Avdall, Esq., vol. I., p. 5.

[2] Ibid. [3] Or Haïsudsor, Moses Choronensis, lib. I., cap. x., p. 29.

[4] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 15.

[5] Bishop Cumberland's Times of Planting Nations, p. 165.

[6] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. iv.

succeeds Nimrúd,

and when the decease of Nimrúd opened to his enterprising spirit a wider field, he took the name of Belus the Second, and extended his power not only over the Babylonians, the Nabathœï, the Chaulotoeï (Ḥavílah), and the Agroeï,[1] but also over all the conquests of Nimrúd, with the exception of Armenia. Circumstances having now given him a pretext for the invasion of the latter country, he despatched a mission to Ḥaïk; and on the latter refusing to return to his former allegiance, he proceeded to invade the country on its weakest side, that of Ararat. This part of the territory was abandoned on his approach, and Cadmus, one of the princes of Armenia, sought the protection of his grandfather, who drew up all the forces he could muster, to make a stand on the shores of Lake Ván. The

and is killed by Haïk.

result of this battle was favourable to the Armenians, and Belus was killed by an arrow directed by Ḥaïk himself, which penetrated his brazen breast-plate.[2] On returning in triumph to the city of Harc, the victor took upon himself the sovereignty of Armenia; and thus commenced a second monarchial government, independent of that of Babylon, which continued without interruption in the family of Ḥaïk during the lengthened period of 1342 years.

Owing to his success in overcoming the idolatrous Belus, Ḥaïk was considered the earliest champion of the true religion. He died about eighty years after the defeat of Belus, being then, as the Armenians state, 500 years old.[3] His son Armenac, who next ascended the throne, quitted Harc soon after his accession, with a large portion of the people; and having advanced a few days' journey towards the north-east, he settled in a plain delightfully situated at the foot of a mountain, along which ran a river of the purest water. Here he built a city which he called Aragaz, or Armenagaz, situated near Arnohwote,

Place of descent.

or the place of Descent, to which, as well as to Aporatēeion in the same neighbourhood, allusion has already been made. In this city, as Josephus informs us, was the sepulchre of Noah.[4] And in support of this assertion it may be observed, that

[1] Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 767. [2] Moses Choronensis, lib. I., cap. x., p. 29.

[3] MSS. of Armenian History, collected in 1831 by the Author; see also Moses Choronensis and Michael Chamish.

[4] Lib. I., cap. iii.

according to Armenian tradition Noyanzar, or Nemzar, Noah's wife, was buried here by her sons; it is certain that the place bore the name of Marant or Maranta,[1] up to the time of Tavernier.[2] But to the mountain itself, Armenac gave the name of the "foot of Armenac," after himself, which it retains to this day in common with that of Ararat.[3] Tomb of Noah's wife.

Manavaz, the brother of Armenac, remained at Harc, where his followers took the name of Manavazerans; and from Buz, another brother who had settled near the north-west shore of the sea of Akhthamar (Lake Ván), came the name of a second branch, the Buzonians; but the most general name for the descendants of Haïk, at this remote period, was that of Haïkanians; although they were also known by the different appellations of Ascanazians, Japhetians, or Togormeans, from Togormah,[4] father of Haïk, their capital being Harc. According to Michael Chamish,[5] Aramais, the son of Armenac, having succeeded to the sovereignty on the death of his father, built a city of hewn stones on a small eminence in the plain of Aragaz, close to the river then called Gihon, which name he now changed to Arax,[6] after his son Arast or Eraskh;[7] but the new city, which now became the capital of his kingdom, he called Armavir, after himself.[8] The circumstance just mentioned may serve to strengthen the opinion, that the Gihon of Genesis is the same as the river Araxes. The plain of Aragaz lies beyond the left bank of the Araxes, to the north of Mount Ararat; and the site of Armavir itself was probably between Echmiyadzin and the river. The Togormeans, &c. River Gihon becomes the Araxes.

Amassia, his son, succeeded Aramais, and having settled two of his sons in villages, bearing their names (Pharacote and Zolakert), close to the foot of Ararat, he gave to the latter the

[1] "The Mother is here."

[2] Voy. de Tavernier, tome I., cap. ii., and Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, No. 8, p. 340.

[3] Michael Chamish, vol. I., p. 12. [4] Ezekiel, chap. XXVII., v. 14.

[5] Vol. I., p. 12, translated by J. Avdall, Esq.

[6] This river, instead of its original name of Gihon, took successively those of Armais, Arashe, Raski, Eris, Araksis, Arras, Araxes, &c.—See above, vol. I., p. 11.

[7] In Armenian, grandson of Armenac. [8] See vol. I., p. 16.

name of the "foot of Masis," after himself; and the district at its base he called the country of Masis.

Gelam's territories.

Gelam, the son and successor of Amassia, having left a deputy in Armavir, quitted that place with a large body of people, and proceeded to the north-eastward in order to extend his dominions by the establishment of colonies. On reaching the sea, or lake of Seván, now called Goukcha also, he built a number of towns and villages along its shores, giving them as usual his own name. This sea therefore became known henceforward as the sea of Gelam,[1] which name it still retains; and the whole of the lands on its borders were bestowed on the renowned Sisac, the most skilful archer, as well as the most eloquent man of those days. He covered the whole face of this tract with villages and hamlets, whose inhabitants were known by the name of Sisakans or Seunics, and dwelt chiefly in the country lying eastward of the lake Seván.[2] Gelam, however, still prosecuted his conquests, particularly towards the banks of the river Cur; the inhabitants of the whole country eastward, as far as the shores of the Caspian, willingly submitting to his sway, and taking the name of Aluans from one of his surnames. Gelam continued to reside in his newly-acquired territory, and was succeeded by his son Harma, who not only fortified Armavir, but embellished the surrounding country with pleasure-houses.[3]

That branch of Noah's family which descended from Madai, third son of Japhet, became now of sufficient importance to attract the attention of their neighbours, who were under the dominion of Aram. This prince, who had recently succeeded his father Gelam, by his policy and the exercise of splendid talents, consolidated and greatly extended the dominions bequeathed to him. His first success was in repelling the sons of Madai, who were signally defeated when attempting to invade Armenia;[4] and another inroad made about the same period by Barsham, prince of the Babylonians, shared the same fate. Encouraged by these advantages, Aram now successfully in-

Aram succeeds Gelam.

[1] Michael Chamish, History of Armenia, translated by J. Avdall, Esq., vol. I., p. 14.

[2] Ibid., p. 15. [3] Ibid., p. 16. [4] Ibid., p. 18.

vaded Cappadocia, where he left Meshak [1] as governor, who built a city which he called Meshok after himself. This was corrupted into Majak and Mazaca by the inhabitants, the Cappadocians; and the name was subsequently changed into Cæsarea or Gaysarey; the country around this city being annexed by right of conquest to the paternal kingdom, which still bore the ancient name of Haïk. Thus Cappadocia is styled the First Armenia, and the conquests northwards from thence, towards the Black Sea, the Second Armenia, whilst those which were made to the southward, being chiefly the present Páshálik of Mar'ash, constitute the Third Armenia; and the whole of them together were called Armenia Minor, to distinguish this tract from the original country of Haïk, which, in compliment to Aram and his followers, took the name of Armenia (afterwards Armenia Major); and, from this time, the inhabitants became known by their present name.[2]

City of Mazaca.

First, second, and third Armenia.

Besides the Medes, and the descendants of Togormah who occupied Cappadocia, part of that country was possessed by the posterity of Meshech. The descendants of Askenaz settled in Pontus, and those of Riphat adjoining them in Paphlagonia;[3] the sons of Ham being partially mixed with them.[4] The tract in question, Armenia Major, comprises the rich valleys of Georgia and great part of the supposed land of Eden, from whence Ham's descendants spread round the Caspian Sea into Media and Tartary; whilst those of Japhet took, in the first instance, two directions. One portion spread along the northern shores of the Euxine into the tracts lying westward of this sea; where they appear to have been joined by the other branch, which had crossed the Hellespont after moving westward along the southern shores of the Black Sea: and both, in their onward course, as already mentioned,[5] peopled Europe and the isles of the Gentiles. The remainder of this people continued in Asia Minor.

Europe peopled by the sons of Japhet

[1] The Mosoch of the Greeks, and Mosocheni, Jos. Ant., lib. I., chap. vi., s. 1.

[2] Michael Chamish, History of Armenia, vol. I., chap. i., translated by J. Avdall, Esq.

[3] Jos. Ant., lib. I., c. vi., s. 1.

[4] Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 472.

[5] See above, p. 30.

Concerning the subdivisions of this branch of Noah's family, Gomer is considered to be the progenitor of the Sarmatians, and the Gomeræ, or Galatians and Gauls;[1] Magog of the Scythians, Javan of the Ionians and the Greeks, Tubal of the Tibarenians, Meshech of the Muscovites, and Tiras of the Thracians; the whole territory occupied by them extending from Media westward to Gadira, including, consequently, the countries of the Franks and Spaniards: the northern part of Asia was also peopled by the posterity of Japhet; and it is not improbable that they may likewise have spread into America.[2]

likewise the northern parts of Asia.

Having thus briefly described the early migrations of the human family towards the regions lying eastward and northward of Babylonia, those moving southward and south-eastward from the same part of the world, are now to be shown.

The Shemites occupy Mesopotamia, &c.

The Shemitic people no doubt occupied the upper extremity of Mesopotamia, with some of the adjoining portions of Syria westward, and of Assyria eastward, more particularly the neighbouring province known as the territory of the Arapachites;[3] the city of Háran[4] being their principal seat at this period. Owing to the weakened state of Babylonia, consequent on the dispersion of mankind, the descendants of Shem gained considerable power in that territory; and that they obtained the chief authority soon afterwards, may be inferred from the colonies which they sent out from thence: these colonies long continued in some degree dependent upon that city.

The Hamites part of Syria and Arabia

After the allotment of the earth to the sons of Noah, and previously to the dispersion of mankind, the sons of Ham possessed the greater part of Syria, in addition to the tract which extends from the shores of the Red Sea into Arabia Felix and Hadramaút; and of these sections, now denominated the lost tribes of Arabia, the 'Adites were one of the first, being probably derived from Nimrúd himself, who was an 'Adite, or giant in power. The others, already enumerated,[5] were the

[1] Jos. Ant., lib. I., cap. vi., sec. 1.

[2] Gen., chap. IX. v. 27. Compare Hales' Chronological History, vol. I., p. 351, with Bar Hebræus, Chron. Syr., p. 7.

[3] Ptolemy, lib. VI., cap. i.

[4] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 11, ed. Poc. 1663.

[5] See above, vol. I., p. 659.

Thamudites, the Amalekites, and the Obaïlites, in Arabia Felix; also the Ṭasim, and Beni Ṭasim, and Beni Jadis, tribes towards Baḥreïn, with the Beni 'Abd Dhakhan, and the Omayyim or Omaim, who are said to have been the first to build houses, that is, to become fixed. Such are the names given to these branches,[1] who were, it appears, worshippers of the moon, the Ba'alat of Ham.[2] The lost tribes.

That the sons of Ham occupied the banks of the Nile at a very remote period is generally admitted; and we learn from Eusebius, that Ægyptus, who is also called Mizraim, was born to Cham, the son of Noah. He was the first who went to Egypt in order to settle there when the dispersion of the people took place.[3] Although the time cannot be fixed with very great precision, yet the circumstance of their migration, as well as their route thither, may be traced in the accounts which have been handed down to us by the people of India: these describe the curse of Ham in the spirit, although not quite in the precise words, of the book of Genesis. Charma, it is related, having laughed at his father Satyavrata, (who had by accident become intoxicated with a fermented liquor,) was nicknamed Hasyasila, or the laugher. The royal patriarch, (Satyavrata,) was particularly fond of Jyapete, (Japhet,) but he cursed Charma. The children of the latter being obliged to quit their native country, called Cusha-dwípa (within), they commenced their journey after the building of Padmámandira, (Babel,) on the banks of Cumudvate, or Euphrates. How long they may have continued in Asia, cannot be precisely determined, although there is a strong reason to believe that some, or all, remained a considerable time in Yemen or Cusha-dwípa, before they crossed over and carried the same name into Africa.[4] The Indian account of Ham's sin, &c.

All tradition appears to coincide in placing the sons of Ham in the valleys of Africa, as early as about the second century after the flood. As this portion of the globe was occupied in conformity with the original allotment of their grandfather, and Africa occupied.

[1] Arabic MSS. 7357, British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.
[2] Ibid. [3] Chron. Arm., ed. in fol., tome I., p. 498.
[4] Lieut. Wilford's Asiatic Researches, vol. III., pp. 313, 322.

Mizraim and Thoth.

doubtless, also, with a knowledge from tradition of the fertility of those regions, it is not surprising that the followers of Mizraim and his son Thoth should have crossed the straits of Báb-el-Mandeb by means of boats or rafts, to the western shores of the Red Sea. After peopling this tract, which was at first regarded as part of Arabia,[1] and spreading into the interior, they at length arrived on the banks of the Nile or Cali, giving the name of Sanc'ha-dwípa to the country. This was Cusha-dwípa (without), and included Ethiopia and Abyssinia: his (Charma's) descendants were called in the Sanscrit Hasyasilas, and in the spoken dialects, Hasyas and Habashí.[2]

The Sukkims, &c. of Scripture.

By those descendants of Charma, the African Negroes are meant, and they are supposed to have been the first inhabitants of Abyssinia, or the Sukkims of Scripture,[3] because after quitting Arabia, or Cusha-dwípa, to cross over, they dwelt as Troglodytes in sucas,[4] or dens on the opposite side: and it may be added, the Abyssinians say that they came from Arabia.[5] But, adds Lieutenant Wilford, it is probable that the posterity of Pingacsha (Phœnicians), or the Yellow Hindus, divided, and proceeded in two bodies, the one to Phœnicia, and the other along the Arabian shores.[6]

The region called Sanc'ha-dwípa, in a confined sense, meant the whole of the eastern shore; whilst, in a more extensive acceptation, it comprised all Africa, being the last place to which the name of Cush has been applied: and the former, or Cusha-dwípa (within), extended from the shore of the Mediterranean and the mouth of the Nile, to the district of Sirhind, on the borders of Hindustán.[7]

It appears that the inhabitants of Arabia and of the eastern parts of Africa, were, in early times, intimately connected; for the Homeritæ and the Sabæi, according to Procopius, were

[1] See Lieut. Wilford on Egypt and other Countries, from the Ancient Books of the Hindús: Asiatic Researches, vol. III.

[2] Ibid., pp. 302, 313, 330. [3] 2 Chron., chap. XII., v. 3.

[4] It is probable that the word Sucas signified an arbour or booth, as well as a den, though it was originally taken in the sense of a cave, from Sanc'ha.—Asiatic Researches, vol. II., p. 342.

[5] Michaelis, Spicilegium Hebræ, p. 147.

[6] Asiatic Researches, p. 322. [7] Ibid., p. 301.

one and the same people, being merely separated by the Red Sea;[1] and Meroë itself once bore the name of Sabá.[2]

Arabians and Abyssinians the same people.

One branch of the Sabæans under the name of Agaazi, founded Axum, the capital of Habesh, where they were found at a later period still speaking the dialect of Geez, which is pure Arabic: they also claimed to descend from the Arabians,[3] and used the Axumitic, or Amharic nail-headed characters.[4] Moreover, Ludolphus states, that their ancient language, which we call Ethiopic, approaches very nearly to the Arabic, without being so much like it as to denote a late transmigration. And the people themselves resemble the Arabs in complexion, as well as in following many of their customs.[5] It is remarkable that the name of Habashí, which is applied to the people in this part of Africa, is to be found in Sanscrit;[6] and the circumstance indicates an eastern or Assyrian origin.

Egypt peopled from Abyssinia.

From Habesh, the tide of emigration was evidently northward, along the valley of the Nile; for, according to tradition, Osiris led a colony from Ethiopia into Egypt, which country received from the parent state the practice of deifying kings, together with hieroglyphical writing, the usage of embalming, the forms of their sculptures, andthe whole sacred ritual.[7]

Pritchard, in his elaborate work,[8] considers that Egypt was peopled from the regions towards the south, and this supposition has been followed subsequently by Heeren, as well as by Jahn,[9] and a recent traveller, Mr. Hoskyns. Heeren endeavours to show that it is deducible from monumental evidence, as well as from written testimony, that in Africa, Upper Egypt was the first seat of civilization, which was afterwards extended by means of colonies, sent out from thence towards the north; also that in the same regions a priest-class was first established.[10]

[1] Procopius, Gazaous in Comm. ad 3 Reg. X. I. to the Queen of Sabá.
[2] Jos., lib. I., cap. x.
[3] Mich., Spicil. Geogr., lib. I., p. 47, from Dionysius and Syncel. Chro.
[4] See Ludolph., Grammatica. Amharii, cap. I.
[5] Ludolphus, Hist. Ethiop., 1.
[6] Dissert. on the Babylonian Inscriptions, by Joseph Hager, D.D., p. 41.
[7] Diod. Sic., lib. III., cap. ii.
[8] Pritchard's Physical History of Mankind, vol. I., p. 384, London, 1812.
[9] Jahn's Hebrew Commonwealth, p. 8.
[10] Heeren's African Researches, vol. I., p. 339, et seq.

Architecture, &c.,

That the first settlers reached this part of Africa from the southern part of Arabia, instead of rounding the northern extremity of the Red Sea, may be inferred not only from the monuments themselves, which mark a less advanced state of the arts in Nubia than in the country lower down the Nile, but also from the difficulties that would have been encountered in passing through the long tract of desert country bordering upon the Red Sea. Whereas by the other route, the progress was comparatively easy into Arabia Felix; and from thence subsequently along the western shore of the Red Sea to the valley of the Nile, where papyri found with the mummies, and other specimens discovered elsewhere, show that the written character goes back almost to the time of the earliest settlements, whilst the stupendous pyramids and many other works of art, still remain to attest the civilization which was then attained by those who had come thither from Assyria. From the models of ancient art yet existing in Egypt, the Greeks probably derived that architecture, which they afterwards brought to such perfection; and it has been supposed that in this way the European nations obtained the first principles of the arts and sciences from Babylonia, through the medium of the Phœnician and Egyptian Cushites.[1]

derived from Assyria.

About this period the territory of Western Arabia was destined to become almost the exclusive possession of the tribes belonging to one of the two great Shemitic branches, which quitted Babylonia, soon after the dispersion, under Kahtán; for the persons who subsequently accompanied Abraham and Lot, only peopled Palestine and the borders of Arabia, with a portion of the interior of the latter country.

Kingdoms of Háran and Zobah.

The principal seat of the descendants of Shem was, however, the upper extremity of Mesopotamia, especially the Chaldean kingdom of U'r, in which, as will subsequently be seen, the patriarch Job flourished, and which at a later period comprised the separate kingdoms of Háran and Zobah (Nisibis).

Referring to the former migration, the sons of Kahtán,

[1] Josephus, Ant., lib. I., cap. viii., s. 2, says, that astronomy was carried from Chaldea to Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks; and Zonares, lib. I., cap. i., p. 22, says the same thing of the arts in general.

says one of the earliest Jewish historians, finding that they had not any particular allotment, in consequence of the second division of the world, about the time of the death of Phaleg, selected as leaders, Sheba, Asir or Ophir, and Gjawílah or Ḥavílah,[1] under whose guidance they quitted Babylonia, and proceeded to make conquests and settlements in another part of the world. Joktan, the descendant of Eber, had thirteen sons, who are mentioned as being leaders or heads of nations;[2] and their dwelling was from Mesha, "as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east.[3]" The resemblance of the former name to Mekkah, appears to indicate that one extremity of their territory was in the neighbourhood of that city, while Rás Seger, a bold cape rising to about 3000 feet at the south-eastern coast of Arabia, would seem to represent the mountain at the other extremity. The identity of the latter seems to be established by various circumstances connected with its position. The fine plain of Ḍhafár or Ẓhafár, stretches eastward from this headland to the town of Morbát or Mirbat, situated at the foot of another high range, which still produces gum and incense, as in the time of Edrisi.[4] The latter, called Jebel Subhán, seems to be connected with Rás Seger, by a range of mountains from 3000 feet to 4000 feet high, which encloses the luxuriant tract alluded to, with the extensive ruins of El Balad and several towns, as El Ḥáfár, Ṣallálah, Diríz, El Robát, &c. The remains of an export trade in myrrh, frankincense, and gum-arabic, from these places, as well as from that of Morbát, in connexion with Ḥaḍramaút, in addition to the preservation of the ancient language by the neighbouring tribe of Bení Mahrah, or Mehreh, near Morbát,[5] appear to show that this must have

Descendants of Joktan.

Supposed to reside between Mekkah and Rás Seger.

Exports of Hadramaút.

[1] Bar Hebræus, Chro. Syr., p. 8.

[2] Howard's History of the World, vol. II., p. 63, and Gen., chap. X., v. 26 to 29. [3] Gen., chap. X., v. 30.

[4] P. 54, Edrisi, ed. Jaubert, tome Cinquième, Recueil de Voyages et Mémoires, &c., par La Société de Geographie, &c., Paris, 1834, compared with Niebuhr, Desc. de l'Arabie, p. 248.

[5] Edrisi, ibid., pp. 150, 151, compared with Abú-l-Fedá, translated by De la Roque, p. 328, and Haines' Memoir on the South-East Coast of Arabia, p. 116–119, vol. XV. of Royal Geographical Journal, also Captain Saunders' Survey of the Coast of Arabia, vol. XVI., pp. 174, 175, 187, 194, &c.

Seat of the Himyarites.

been a part of the Ḥimyaritic Thafar.[1] As will presently be seen, the territory lying between the latter tract and Mekkah was more particularly the seat of the Ḥimyarites and the Kaḥṭánites. It comprised the southern part of Nedjd, and nearly the whole of Yemen, or the greatest portion of the country denominated Happy Arabia; whose most extended limits included, as has been seen, not only Ḥaḍramaút, but also the tract stretching eastward from thence to the Persian Gulf.[2]

The bulk of the descendants of Ham, the followers of Mizraim and Thoth, appear to have crossed from the western side of Arabia Felix into Africa,[3] but some traces of those who remained are still supposed to be found in certain parts of Arabia. Sabá or Máreb,[4] the Mariaba of Pliny and Strabo, and once the capital of the Sabeans, possibly took its name from Seba, son of Cush;[5] and the district of Khaalan, or Kaulán, (south of Asír,) may have derived its appellation from Havílah,[6] the second son of that patriarch. Sabtah,[7] Ramah,[8] and Sheba,[9] are also places whose names are presumed to have been given by the posterity of Cush. There are, likewise, the Bení Kusi,[10] Beït el Khusi,[11] and Bení 'A'd,[12] whose language, says Edrisi, is still spoken by the people of Khuryán Muryán,

Descendants of Ham in Yemen.

[1] There is also a town in Yemen, near Jerím, called Ḍhafár or Saffar.—Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, tome III., pp. 206, 251.

[2] See above, vol. I., pp. 656, 657. [3] Ibid., p. 659.

[4] Máreb, once Sabá, at which place, adds Edrisi, is the Dike.—P. 53, tome Cinquième, Recueil de Voyages et Mémoires, &c., ed. Jaubert, Paris, 1836; also 'Abú-l-Fedá, p. 323, translated by M. De la Roque, Amsterdam, 1718.

[5] Compare vol. I., pp. 624, 625, with Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxviii., and Strabo, lib. XVI., pp. 586, 777; also Niebuhr, vol. III., p. 252, Descr. de l'Arabie, &c.

[6] Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, vol. I., pp. 234, 253.

[7] See Appendix to vol. I., p. 722, Sabhah.

[8] Appendix to vol. I., p. 716, Ramah, and also a village near Ṣan'á, Niebuhr, p. 203.

[9] Appendix to vol. I., Table 2, p. 705, and Table 3, p. 707; also Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, tome III., p. 224.

[10] Dwelling in a district of the country of Rema.—Niebuhr, vol. III., pp. 216, 253. [11] Ibid.—Niebuhr, pp. 228, 253.

[12] 'Abú-l-Fedá, p. 316, on the hills north of Ḍhafár, translated by De la Roque, Amsterdam, 1718, and also on the borders of El Hajar, vol. I., p. 630, and Haines' Memoir on the South-East Coast of Arabia, vol. XV., p. 112, of the Royal Geographical Journal.

or Khartán and Martán;[1] though unknown to the other Arabs of the present day. Except a knowledge of the former existence of these tribes, and some traditions handed down of the idolatry of the last,[2] also some remains of the Amalekites in 'Omán and Baḥreïn,[3] no traces remain of the Cushite settlers in Arabia; and the gradual intermixture of these with the posterity of Ḳaḥtán, will probably account for the almost total extinction of the people of 'A'd, and those of Thamúd, Ṭasim, Jadis, the Imlik or Amalék, and other sections faintly known to us as the lost tribes.[4] Doubtless the people of Ḳaḥtán, who are designated pure Arabs by their descendants,[5] had their principal seat in Yemen, where they lived under Ya'rab ben Ḳaḥtán, probably Jerah;[6] his brother Jurham or Hadoram being ruler of the Ḥijáz:[7] and both names are still preserved by the Benî Jurham, or Benî Jerâh, near Mekkah.[8] Eastward of Mekkah we still find the large tribe of Benî Ḳaḥtán; and on the eastern side of the province of Asír, is the district of Ḳaḥtán or Nedjeran, and a tribe bearing the former name; likewise an ancient site, Beït-el-Ḳaḥtán, or dwelling of Ḳaḥtán,[9] and again in Ḥadramáut is the tomb of the patriarch, and that of his father Heber or Houd;[10] also, a town called Kohhtân,[11] which was no doubt connected with the former name.

Remains of the lost tribes in

Yemen and Hijaz.

Southward of Ṣan'á is the small district of Khaulan or Ḥavílah, probably from the twelfth son of Joktan, and the ancient name of the capital itself, once Esal or Osal,[12] appears to have been derived from Uzal, his sixth son.

San'á, once Esal or Uzal.

[1] The Curia Muria Isles.—See Edrisi, ed. Jaubert, pp. 48, 49, tome Cinquième, Recueil et Mémoires, Paris, 1836; and Haines' Memoir, vol. XV., p. 121 of the Royal Geographical Journal.

[2] Among the people of Mahri.—See vol. I., p. 639.

[3] Add. Arabic MS. 7357 in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

[4] Arabic MSS. 7505 and 7496 in the British Museum, and Lane's Ḳorán, p. 12.

[5] See Table 2, vol. I., Appendix. [6] Gen., chap. X., v. 26.

[7] Arabic MS. 7357 in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D. [8] Appendix, vol. I., pp. 705, 711.

[9] Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, tome III., pp. 238, 252.

[10] See above, vol. I., p. 638; and Edrisi, p. 54, ed. Jaubert, tome Cinquième, Recueil et Mémoires, &c., Paris, 1836.

[11] Niebuhr, tome III., pp. 249, 252.

[12] Vol. I., p. 623, and Gen., chap. X., v. 27.

Besides the preceding, we have the Beni Sheba,[1] probably the descendants of the tenth son, also the Beni Jobab[2] from the thirteenth; and it has been remarked by the great Arabian traveller, that Ḥaḍramaút itself, may have been the territory of the third son Hazarmaveth.[3] It thus appears, that, whilst traces of some of the earlier descendants of Ham are found in Arabia, the names and indications of those of Shem are still more numerous, particularly in Yemen, which became the seat of the Tobbáï and of the Ḥimyarites.

Hazarmaveth or Ḥaḍramaút.

'Abd-el Shems, the slave or worshipper of the sun, and the descendant of Ḳaḥṭán, succeeded Ya'rab in the sovereignty of this territory, and from Ḳaklán, his successor, descended the Beni Lakhim, Ghassan, and, also, the celebrated dynasty just mentioned, which was founded by Ḥimyár,[4] the fourth descendant of Peleg, and almost the cotemporary of Abraham, who was the fifth in another line.[5] The posterity of the former patriarch is no doubt represented by the Beni Ḥimyár.[6] The recovery already noticed of Babylonia by the Shemitic people, previously to their occupation of Yemen, agrees with the account given by Arabian historians, and likewise with those of Ptolemy and Strabo. The former calls the Babylonians a colony from Arabia Deserta,[7] and the latter particularly notices the resemblance in character, frame of body, language, and mode of life, between the Syrians, Armenians, and Arabs.[8] Elsewhere he identifies the Babylonians with the Chaldeans of Gerrha.[9] It appears from Mas'údí that the Chaldeans spoke the same language as the Arabians, and were the same people as the Syrians or Assyrians, who inhabited 'Iráḳ Arabi.[10] This author also distinguishes the northern Cushites, who entered

Sons of Ḥimyár.

Syrians, Arabs, and Chaldeans.

[1] Appendix to vol. I., Tables 2 and 3, pp. 705, 707.

[2] Beni Djoudob, vol. I., Appendix, Table 2, p. 705.

[3] Descr. de l'Arabie, tome III., p. 252.

[4] Or El 'Arenjej, also El 'Arfej.—Arabic MSS. Nos. 7353 and 7357 in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

[5] Ibid.—Arabic MS. 7357.

[6] Eastward of Damascus.—Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, vol. III., p. 341.

[7] Lib. V., cap. 20. [8] Lib. XVI., p. 784, and lib. I., p. 41.

[9] Lib. XVI., p. 254.

[10] Extraits des MSS. du Roi, tome VIII., p. 141, par Sylvestre de Saci.

Babylonia, from the Nabatheans,[1] with whom they amalgamated. These circumstances appear to have given rise to the opinion of an eminent historian of the day, who, in speaking of the steppes of Mesopotamia, observes, "It cannot be "doubted, that at some remote period, antecedent to the "commencement of historical records, one mighty race pos- "sessed these vast plains, varying in character according to "the nature of the country which they inhabited; in the "deserts of Arabia pursuing a nomad life; in Syria apply- "ing themselves to agriculture; and taking up settled abodes "in Babylonia," &c.[2] We are likewise informed that this extensive race spoke the same language as the ancient Babylonians[3] or Chaldeans. The Shemitic Chaldeans.

The question concerning the origin of the Chaldeans, and whether they were a distinct nation, or merely the particular section of a people, has given rise to many different opinions; it is therefore here intended to give some account of them, and of the state of knowledge which prevailed among them; endeavouring, at the same time, to distinguish the Sabean followers of Cush from the descendants of Shem,[4] who were equally designated Chaldeans.

This appellation was not, as has been supposed, derived either from Arphaxad or Chesed, but rather from Arfkesed, the compound of the Arabic Orf and Chasd; which, instead of an individual, evidently designates a people.[5] The name derived from Arfkesed.

It was not, however, always applied under the same circumstances, or even to the same race, being found at various places, and with different significations, between the Ganges and the Nile; moreover, the difficulty of the subject is increased by finding, both in sacred and profane history, that the name is at one time given to a nation, at another to a tribe, and again to a priest-class, whether the descendants of Shem or Ham. Michaelis supposed that the Chaldeans came from the north, Different applications of the name.

[1] Arabic MS. in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

[2] Heeren's Historical Researches concerning the Asiatic Nations, &c., vol. I., p. 46, Bohn, London, 1846, compared with Mas'údí, Arabic MSS.

[3] Heeren, ibid., p. 407. [4] See above, vol. I., p. 92.

[5] Michaelis, Spicilegium Geogr., II., p. 76, and Schlötzer's Universal Hist., XXXI., p. 235.

and were of Sclavonian extraction, while Diodorus Siculus pronounces them to have been Egyptians; Gesenius embraces this last opinion, on the ground that Nimrúd, the chief of Babylonia descended from Cush, and that this circumstance may have been the foundation of the fable of Berossus, that Babylonia was peopled by a sea monster.

The Chaldeans as tribes,

In one part (and probably the most ancient) of the Scriptures, it is said that the Chaldeans, doubtless alluding to a tribe, made three bands and fell upon the camels.[1] Elsewhere, and also alluding to the tribal state, "bands of the Chaldeans, "bands of Assyrians, and bands of the Moabites" are mentioned.[2] There are likewise the Chaldeans of Mizpah;[3] and elsewhere the C'hasas of the east,[4] or the Cesi of Pliny,[5] also the Chasdim on the slopes of the Graucasus or Coh-cas (Caucasus).[6] Moreover, Ptolemy speaks of a tribe of Chaldeans in Lower Mesopotamia,[7] where there were other branches of Chaldeans, particularly the Orcheni and Borsippæans.[8]

as a priest-class, and as

Again, the Chaldeans are mentioned as a priest-class by Herodotus[9] and by Ammianus Marcellinus. They are also named by Arrian,[10] and in several places by Diodorus Siculus;[11] and more particularly by Strabo, who says, that in Babylonia a place is specially allotted to the native scientific men, who occupy themselves with philosophy, and are called Chaldeans.[12]

They appear as a separate class in the book of Daniel, viz., the Astrologers, Sorcerers, Chaldeans, and Soothsayers.[13] The

a nation.

Chaldeans appear under a third denomination, that of a nation, being mentioned as coming with Nebuchadnezzar from the north, with horsemen and companies and much people.[14] Again, they are more clearly designated as such in the book of Isaiah, where it is stated, that the land of the Chaldeans was founded

[1] Job, chap. I., v. 17. [2] 2 Kings, chap. XXIV., v. 2.
[3] Jer., chap.. XL., v. 10.
[4] The C'hasapa, between the Indus and the Jumna.
[5] Lib. VI., cap. 20. [6] Ibid., cap. 17. [7] Lib. V., cap. 20.
[8] Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 701. [9] Lib. I., cap. clxxxi., p. 145.
[10] Exp., lib. III., cap. xvi.; lib. VII., cap. xvi., xvii., xxii.
[11] Tom. 1, lib. II., cap xxi., pp. 173, 273, 275, 280.
[12] Lib. XVI., pp. 701, 739. [13] Chap. II., v. 2, 4, 10.
[14] Ezekiel, chap. XXVI., v. 7.

by the Assyrian, for them that dwelt in the wilderness; or, as it has been more correctly translated, "Behold the country "of this nation, which had not been till Ashur allotted it to "the inhabitants of the desert."[1] The appellation is in many other places given to them as a nation, as in the 2nd Chronicles, where mention is made of the "King of the Chaldees;"[2] and again, the "Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation;"[3] we find, also, "Nebuchadnezzar, King of the Chaldeans;"[4] and again, "Darius, King over the realm of the Chaldeans;"[5] and these, it may be observed, correspond with profane history, Evechius, or Nimrúd the Cushite, being the first of the line of Chaldean kings.[6]

Nimrúd the first Chaldean king.

The Cushites were no doubt the earliest Chasdim, for the whole territory which they occupied near the shores of Pontus was called Chaldea (Chasdim).[7] As has been noticed already, the latter name was carried from thence into Babylonia, where the Chasdim, and another people, the Kazd, Kadhani, or Kelání from the south, appear to have amalgamated. The name in question therefore equally belonged to the races of Ham and Shem; Nimrúd and his successors belonged to the former race; and, to the latter, Arphaxad, Chesed, Serúg, Terah, and many others. Abraham, especially, was greatly distinguished for his knowledge of the celestial sciences;[8] and according to Arabian historians, the Shemitic Chaldeans are represented by the great tribe of Bení Khaled;[9] different branches of which, as the Bení Rabiah, &c., (equally Chaldees,) are still found at different places in the Arabian peninsula.[10]

The Chasdim came from the north.

The Shemitic Chaldeans in Arabia.

It will be seen, from the preceding statements, that the

[1] Isaiah, chap. XXIII., v. 13. [2] Chap. XXXVI., v. 17.
[3] Habb., chap. I., v. 6. [4] Ezra, chap. V., v. 12.
[5] Daniel, chap. IX., v. 1.
[6] Preface, p. xix., and pp. 67, 68 of Ancient Fragments, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq.; Pickering, London, 1832.
[7] Eustathius, ap. Dionysii Periegetes, 769.
[8] Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. VII., cap. viii.
[9] Arabic MS. in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.; also Niebuhr, tome III., p. 333, Utrecht, 1774, compared with Burckhardt, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabis, p. 215.
[10] See above, Appendix, vol. I., pp. 716, 722, 723.

The priest-class,

expression Chaldeans was indifferently applied to a tribe, to a nation, and to a particular caste; the last signification, however, was the most general, being, in a great measure, established by custom. Alluding to the priest-class, we are told by an ancient writer, who may be called their historian,[1] that the Chaldeans, whom he styles the most ancient Babylonians, were in the habit of turning days into years in order to support their claim to antiquity.[2] Their manner of life, he adds, is similar to that of the Egyptian priests; secular employment being forbidden, as in the case of the latter, in order that they might devote themselves exclusively to philosophy, and more especially to the knowledge of astronomy. Instruction commenced in this science with infancy; and the precepts inculcated descended from father to son, with an authority which checked the desire of seeking anything new.[3]

their philosophy and

The state of knowledge, which had in consequence become, as it were, hereditary among this people, is thus described by the historian. The Chaldeans believed the world to be eternal, and the fabric of the universe to be ordered and supported by Divine providence, by which, and not by chance, they considered the motions of the heavenly bodies to be regulated.[4]

In some matters, however, the Chaldean tenets were crude; for instance, they believed the earth to be hollow, and they had the most incorrect ideas of the relative distances of the planets, whose different times of revolution were attributed to the different rates of their motions, rather than to the various extents of space which they traverse. On the other hand, the canals constructed and the vast structures raised by the same people, bespeak architectural and mechanical skill; and that some knowledge of mathematics must have been included in their acquirements is evident, from their being acquainted with the use of the gnomon and clepsydra; as well as from the fact that they had determined, with some degree of precision, the revolutions of the planets. They were also aware that the

[1] Histoire Universelle de Diod. Sic., traduite par M. L'Abbé Terasson, Paris, 1737, tome I., liv. ii., chap. 21.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxi., p. 275.

[3] Ibid., p. 274.

[4] Ibid., p. 275.

moon has a borrowed light; and the cause of her being occasionally eclipsed was likewise understood.[1] Moreover, the Chaldeans were the first to divide the day into twelve parts,[2] and they were acquainted with different cycles, as the Saros, Neros, &c., and the lengths of the lunar and solar years; the former they made to serve for ordinary, and the latter for astronomical purposes.[3] knowledge of astronomy.

Ptolemy details some of the eclipses which had been registered in Babylonia. These, however, only go back as far as 720 B.C., and the times are expressed merely in hours.

It may safely be inferred, that the knowledge of the celestial motions, derived by that people from a long series of observations, had, in the first instance, become subservient to ancient Sabaism, and, at a later period, to judicial astrology, its offspring. By the influence which this knowledge gave them, the Chaldean priesthood established the belief that they could with certainty foretel events affecting the most powerful nations, as well as ordinary individuals.[4] The system of worship based on astronomy by the Babylonians, as well as that which was in use among the people of Háran and the Magi, so closely resembled the religions of Egypt and Canaan, where they worshipped the host of heaven on the housetops,[5] that J'amblichus considers them all to be identical.[6] This opinion was doubtless founded on the general prevalence of the particular branch of worship under consideration, for whether merely including the sun and moon, as in the modified Arkite form,[7] or the whole of the heavenly bodies, which was more general, it is evident that, antecedently to the Christian dispensation, no part of the world was free from the taint of Sabaism. Astronomy subservient to Sabaism. Sabaism general throughout the world.

The alternations of day and night, with those of the seasons and the productions of the earth, from their connection with the

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxi. [2] Herod., lib. II., cap. cix.
[3] Hales' Anal. of Chron., vol. I., p. 41. [4] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxi.
[5] Zeph., chap. I., v. 5; and 2 Kings, chap. XXIII., v. 5, "The idolatrous priests who burnt incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven."
[6] Hebenstreit, Diss. de Jamblichi, Philosophi Syri Doctrinâ Christianæ Religioni, &c., Leipz., 1704.
[7] See preceding chap., pp. 15, 16.

Astro-meteorology based

periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies, appear to have given rise to the belief, that each of those bodies was a celestial spirit, to whom, agreeably to the confused idea which prevailed among mankind that some kind of atonement for sin was necessary, a high mediatorial office was ascribed.

It has been supposed with great probability, that this belief led to the first departure from the purer light of the primeval religion, which was transmitted, though dimly, through Noah's immediate descendants. To the celestial bodies, as divine intelligences, were ascribed an intermediate place between the earth and that Almighty Being, who had thus been partly forgotten, or, according to the Chaldean creed, was by far too exalted to take cognizance of what is passing in the terrestrial world.

on the five planets,

The planets occupied the most prominent places in the astro-meteorological system, and amongst these, the Chronus of the Greeks, or Saturn,[1] also the Babylonian Venus, and the Ẓoḥák of the Arabs,[2] were supposed to exercise particular influences; but the sun,[3] as having the greatest power of all the celestial bodies, was believed to have most weight in the production of important events.

The Chaldeans, like the Greeks at a later period, distinguished all the visible planets by particular names, as Merodach (Mars), Meni (Venus), Nebo (Mercury), and Bel (Jupiter); and the whole five were styled interpreters, as being supposed to mark by their risings, settings, and colour, the events to which individuals are to be subjected. The phenomena of nature, such as the appearance of a comet, the occurrence

and comets.

of an earthquake, and eclipses, were supposed to indicate the approach of events connected with nations and their sovereigns, as well as private individuals.[4]

Subordinate to the five planets were thirty stars called counsellors, one half destined to observe what passes below, or

[1] Also called Il, as well as Saturn.—Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. I., cap. 10.

[2] A temple was dedicated to this deity at Mekkah.—See Lane's Ḳorán, p. 29, Madden and Co., London, 1848.

[3] The Assyrians gave the name of Bel to the Sun as well as to Saturnus.—Procopius, Comm. in Esai, cap. xlvi.

[4] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxi.

the actions of men, and the remainder what is passing in heaven; mutual intercourse being maintained by means of messenger stars traversing, once in ten days, the space which separates the celestial and terrestrial worlds. Messenger stars.

To each of the twelve principal of these counsellors was allotted a month of the year, and one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac;[1] through which latter, the motions of the sun, moon, &c., appear to have been determined with considerable precision. The Chaldean system of astrology appears also to have included twenty-four constellations beyond the Zodiac, one-half in the northern portion of the heavens, and the other in the southern. The latter was supposed to have reference to individuals who are deceased, and those of the former, which are visible, to the actions of the living, and these were considered to influence the whole train of good and evil to mankind: to these were added, as an additional means of predicting what is to happen, the art of divination by the flight of birds, the entrails of victims, and the interpretation of dreams.[2] Supposed influences of the constellations.

The divine mediatorial power attributed to the planets, &c., appears to have been followed by a lower kind of idolatry, namely, the use of images; which being made under certain aspects of those bodies, and consecrated by magical rites, were believed to continue under their influence. It is sufficiently clear, that images of this kind, whether small or great, were connected with Babylonian worship,[3] and doubtless, they were similar to the Teraphim mentioned in Scripture:[4] but it may here be observed, that as the names of these images are Shemitic, and correspond with those of the heavenly bodies,[5] it has been inferred that they were purely astrological. Consecrated images.

[1] Compare Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxi., with Ideler, Ueber der Ursprung des Thierkreises. Letronne, while questioning the derivation of the Zodiac from the Chaldeans, admits that the Dodecatemaries came from that people to the Greeks.—See his Review on Ideler's work, Journal des Savans for 1839, pp. 493, 528.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxi. [3] Dan., chap. III., v. 6, 7, 11, 15, &c.

[4] Judges, chap. XVII., v. 5, chap. XVIII., v. 4 and 20; Genesis, chap. XXXI., v. 19, 34, chap. XXXV., v. 2, 4.

[5] Ba'al, Nebo, Merodach, Succoth, Benoth, &c., note by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

Such is the account which has been transmitted to us of the Chaldeans and their leaders, at the period when the knowledge and influence of the priest caste probably were greatest, namely, between the departure of Kaḥtán and that of the other Shemitic branch from Babylonia towards Canaan; the settlement of this branch in the latter territory will be noticed more fully in the succeeding Chapter.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF ARABIA FROM THE DEPARTURE OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF JOB.

Abraham quits U'r of the Chaldees.—The Patriarch proceeds from Háran to Damascus, Palestine, and Egypt.—Settlement of Abraham and Lot.—Invasion and Discomfiture of the Assyrian Kings.—March of the latter through the Desert.—Destruction of Sodom from natural and supernatural causes.—The Alliance of Lot's Daughters with the people of the country, originates the Moabites and Ammonites.—Birth of Ishmaël and Isaac.—Expulsion of the former.—Territory of Ishmaël's Descendants.—The Sons of Keturah and the Midianites.—State of Egypt from the time of Abraham to that of Joseph.—Historical interest of Egypt.—Invasion of the Hyk-sos, part coming through Abyssinia.—Their Dominion in Egypt, and Period of their Expulsion.—The Sons of Esau occupy Mount Seir.—Mingled People of Arabia.—Amalekites, Edomites, Saracens, &c.—The Horites. Eliphaz the Temanite.—Position of the Land of Uz.—Period of Job's Trial.—The Localities about O'rfáh correspond with the circumstances in the book of Job.—State of Knowledge in Arabia in the time of Job.—The Tobbaï of Yemen.—Expedition of the Ḥimyarites into Central Asia.—Samarcand founded.—Language and written Character of the Ḥimyarites.—Inscriptions found in Yemen, also at Ḥiṣn Ghoráb, Nakb-el-Ḥajar, &c., and others near Ṣan'á.—Arḍ-es-Sabá, or Land of Sabá.—Ḥimyarí Inscription found near 'Aden.—Traces of that People in distant countries.—The Hebrew Language, its Cognates and written Character.

Abraham's departure an important epoch.

THE settlement of the principal branch of the Shemitic people in the central and southern parts of Arabia, as detailed in the preceding Chapter, was at no distant period followed by the occupation of the north-western extremity of the peninsula by another section of the same race. The possession of Palestine afterwards took place; and this event had in the sequel, the greatest influence upon the state of the neighbouring nations, more particularly on the empires of Egypt and Assyria.

The departure of Abraham for the promised land, became

one of the most interesting events recorded in the Old Testament; but the previous removal of the patriarch from Lower to Upper Mesopotamia, has not been distinguished with sufficient clearness, from the subsequent journey which he made by Divine command from Háran.

Abraham removes from Lower to Upper Mesopotamia.

Causes of Abraham's change of residence.

Alluding to the former, Josephus gives as the cause of this change of residence, that the patriarch Terah hated Chaldea, on account of the loss of his son Háran;[1] who died in the presence of Terah his father, in the land of his nativity, in U'r of the Chaldees.[2] But elsewhere he alludes to another and a more powerful reason, viz., an opposition excited by the Chasdim of Mesopotamia. This took place at U'r, the birthplace of Abraham,[3] who is thus particularly described by Berossus, without being actually named: "After the Deluge, in the tenth generation, there was a certain man among the Chaldeans, renowned for his justice and great exploits, and for his skill in the celestial sciences."[4] The latter circumstance apparently gave umbrage to the hierarchy of Babylonia, which was no doubt increased by the opposition of the patriarch to their doctrines; for he not only inculcated the great truth that there is but one God, the Creator of the universe, and taught that if other gods contribute in any way to the happiness of mankind, it is by His appointment, and not by their own power;[5] but according to another authority, he proceeded to set fire to the temple of the idols in U'r of the Chaldees, and Harán, his brother, having gone in to extinguish the fire, was there consumed.[6]

His knowledge excites the enmity of the Chaldees.

It is also stated by Múḥammedan writers, that Abraham refused to continue his former vocation of selling images for Azár or Terah, his father;[7] and elsewhere it appears that he opposed the astrology of the day; maintaining that the hea-

[1] Jos., Ant., lib. I., cap. vi.

[2] Gen., chap. XI., v. 28, Bellamy's translation.

[3] Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. IX., cap. iv., from Eupolemus.

[4] Ibid., lib. IX., cap. xvii.

[5] Jos., Ant., lib. I., cap. vii., compared with Zonares, Annales, tome 1, p. 22, Paris, 1686.

[6] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 11. Bruns and Kirch, Leipsic, 1788.

[7] Bibliothèque Orientale, Arts. Azar, and Múḥammed fils de Málik-sháh

venly bodies were subservient to Him who commands them; to whom alone men ought to offer honour and thanksgiving.[1] Abraham opposes Sabaism.

Abraham having been converted by a special revelation to the true faith,[2] from which his family had departed, in the way so particularly described by Epiphanius;[3] or (as it is elsewhere expressed), "delivered from the fire of the Chaldeans,"[4] and the patriarch and his kindred being determined to abandon idolatry, and no longer "to follow the gods of their fathers,"[5] they removed to another part of the country; or, as it is more clearly expressed in Scripture, "they (Terah and Abraham, &c.) went forth from U'r of the Chaldees, to go to the land of Canaan; so they came to Háran, and dwelt there."[6]

Epoch of his departure from Mesopotamia.

According to the chronology given by Josephus, this event took place 420 years after the Deluge, and 1020 years anterior to the building of Solomon's temple.[7] Commentators differ very little regarding the latter period; and adopting that of Crossthwaite,[8] the departure of Abraham from Mesopotamia in the year 2031 B.C., will become a cardinal point to determine the subsequent dates, which will be chiefly taken from those of the valuable historian of the Jews.

Being now settled at such a distance as Háran, Abraham and his family could freely follow the purer light which had been handed down through Shem; and the preservation of that light was thenceforth specially entrusted to them.

The change of residence is distinctly mentioned as having taken place in the sixtieth year of the patriarch, and as he was seventy-five when he quitted his father's house, it follows that B.C. 2016.,

[1] Jos., Ant., lib. I., cap. vii., also Zonares, Annales, tome I., p. 22.

[2] Acts, chap. VII., v. 2.

[3] "And from the times of Tharra, the father of Abraham, they introduced images and all the errors of idolatry, honouring their forefathers and their departed predecessors with effigies which they fashioned after their likeness. They first made these effigies of earthenware, but afterwards they sculptured them in stone, and cast them in silver and gold, and wrought them in wood and other kinds of materials."—Anc. Fragments, by I. Preston Cory, Esq., p. 55.

[4] 2 Esdras, chap. IX., v. 7.

[5] Judith, chap. V., v. 6, 7.

[6] Gen., chap. XI., v. 31.

[7] Ant., lib. VIII., cap. iii., sec. 1.

[8] Crossthwaite's Synchronology, &c. Parker, London, 1839.

Abraham accompanied by a numerous suite.

he had remained above fourteen years at that city[1] before he departed thence to perform the higher duties which had been commanded.[2] Taking, therefore, Sarai his wife,[3] and Lot his brother's son, with all their substance, and the souls they had gotten in Háran, Abraham now went forth to go into the land of Canaan.[4] This portion of sacred history mentions the fact very briefly; but from later circumstances it is evident that, in quitting Háran, Abraham was accompanied by a considerable body of people, such as would form a large tribe in the present day, which is an important circumstance in connexion with the increase of the Hebrew people.

He is said to have reigned at Damascus.

It is expressly stated that Abraham came with an army from the region situated above Babylon, that of the Chaldees, and reigned as a stranger or foreigner in Damascus, where, even now, his name is celebrated, and a part of the town shown which is called the dwelling of Abraham. It is added, that not long afterwards he removed with his people to the region then called Khananea, but now Judea.[5] From this city, which is said to have been founded by a sovereign called Marsuphus, or El Murephus, about twenty years before the patriarch was born,[6] Abraham took as his steward an inhabitant named Eleazer;[7] but shortly after his arrival, in consequence of a grievous famine, the party proceeded from Judea into Egypt.

B. C. 2014.

Arithmetic and astronomy imparted to the Egyptians.

Being highly esteemed for his wisdom, Abraham, as we are informed, greatly ingratiated himself with the people, by communicating to them a knowledge of the arts, particularly of arithmetic and astronomy, which were thus brought from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence carried into Greece.[8]

[1] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 13, compared with Philo Judæus, 16, Migrath. Abrah. p. 415.

[2] "Now Jehovah had said to Abraham, go forth from thy land, also from thy kindred, and from the household of thy fathers, to the land which I will show thee." This consequently refers to a time anterior to his removal from U'r.—Gen., chap. XII., v. 4, Bellamy's translation.

[3] Gen., chap. XII. [4] Ibid., v. 5.

[5] Nicolaus Damascenus, lib. IV., Historiarum.

[6] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 13. [7] Gen., chap. XV., v. 2.

[8] Annales, Johannis Zonares, tome I., p. 22, Paris, 1686, compared with Jos., Ant., lib. I., cap. viii.; Euseb., Præp., lib. IX., cap xvi.; St. Augustin, lib. XVIII., cap. xxxvii., de Civit. Dei.

From this incidental circumstance it is evident, that the state of knowledge on the banks of the Nile was at this time inferior to that of the Chaldeans; or, in other words, that the Babylonians had made considerable progress during the interval between the departure of the first settlers towards Egypt and that of Abraham.

After continuing about five years imparting this knowledge to the Egyptians, Abraham and Lot, taking all their substance, retraced their steps into Judea; where an amicable separation speedily took place. Finding their flocks much too great for the country, Lot chose in consequence the fertile pasture-ground lying eastward of the river Jordan, and Abraham settled more to the westward, in the promised land; namely in the plains of Mamre, near Hebron. Shortly after the establishment of the former patriarch amongst the descendants of Ham, a circumstance occurred which has a particular historical interest, since it not only shows that a constant intercourse was maintained between this part of the country and Babylonia, but also that the Assyrian dominion, founded by Nimrúd, extended to the borders of Syria and Palestine, and most likely included those countries also.

B. C. 2009.

Return to Judea, and separation from Lot.

Previous to the settlement of Lot, and whilst Abraham, then in his seventy-first year, was still at Háran, the war of Chedorlaomer commenced,[1] and the Assyrians having made a hostile inroad, imposed a tribute on this part of the country, as well as the adjoining territory of Syria. This appears to have been regularly paid during the succeeding twelve years;[2] but a rebellion in the thirteenth year caused a fresh invasion, and Tidal or Thadel, bearing the high-sounding Assyrian title of King of Nations, marched at the head of the chief princes of his territories—namely, Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites; Amraphael, king of Shinar; and Arioch,[3] king of Ellasar, in Assyria; and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, the Emims in the valley of Kiriathaïm, the people of Jebel Jelád, and the Horeeans or Horites of

Subjection of Syria,

B. C. 2008,

[1] 'Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 11. [2] Jos., Antiq., lib. I. cap. ix.

[3] Major Rawlinson, vol. IX., p. 47, of Royal Geographical Journal, and Judith, chap. I., v. 6.

Mount Seir; and having pushed their conquests along the northern side of Wádí El 'Arabah as far as the wilderness of Paran, and towards the shores of the Mediterranean, smiting as they returned by Enmishpat (Kadesh) all the country of the Amalekites, likewise that of the Amorites in Hazezon-tamar, they finally entered what was then called the vale of Siddim, or the woodland valley. Here they encountered and vanquished the assembled forces of the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboïm, and Bela or Zoar, taking all their substance; and amongst other captives was Lot, the ally of these kings.[1]

and subseqent invasion of the Assyrians.

On receiving intelligence of this successful invasion, Abraham hastily armed his followers, and being supported by the forces brought by Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, he overtook the Assyrians on the fifth night at Dan, near one of the sources of the Jordan, and before they had even time to arm, he put them to the route, and continued a close pursuit till they were again overtaken on the second day at Hobah, on the left hand, or north of Damascus. Here, as the fruits of a complete victory, Abraham and his allies, in addition to the spoil, rescued his relative as well as the captive Sodomites; and it was in returning in triumph that the patriarch was welcomed by Melchizedek, the king of Solyma (now called Jerusalem), a most ancient city.[2] It may here be observed, that as the death of Shem occurred about 502 years after the Flood, it is quite possible, as already hinted (p. 27), that the king of Salem may have been that patriarch himself; to whom, as the high-priest of God,[3] the expulsion of the people of Ham must have been peculiarly acceptable.

Rescue of Lot and meeting with Melchizedek.

It has been inferred from the limited number of men stated to be with him (318), that Abraham repelled a mere foray, or, at most, a partial inroad of the Assyrians; but if these were the men regularly armed and trained, and if an estimate be formed on the moderate scale of four unarmed persons to each of these, his followers would number about 1600. Moreover, it

[1] Josephus, lib. I., cap. ix., compared with Gen., chap. XIV., v. 1 to 14, and Zonares, Annales, tome I., pp. 21, 22.

[2] Zonares, Annales, tome I., p. 21.

[3] Jos., lib. I., cap. x., and Gen., chap. XIV., v. 18, 19.

must be remembered, that the patriarch's means were not confined to the number of his own followers, but included the Amorites, led by the confederate chiefs already mentioned, who probably brought a considerable force into the field. It is not, therefore, difficult to imagine that a retreating horde, encumbered with captives, spoil, &c., and necessarily covering an extensive space, might be completely routed by the sudden and judicious attack made at Dan by night, when eastern people are seldom prepared to resist an enemy. This success was followed by a close pursuit, and a second victory at Hobah. The route taken on this occasion by the retreating Assyrians was evidently different from that by which they had advanced against the kings of Sodom. For the Cushite tribes on the borders having made common cause with the latter, the Assyrians, instead of passing through the cultivated tract in the line of Hobah and Dan, which would have afforded to the invaded time to assemble their forces, chose the shorter and more direct route of the Desert; then, as has just been mentioned, by skirting the borders of the wilderness, the Rephaims, Zuzims, and the five kings of the territory now occupied by Lake Asphaltites, being overcome in succession, the invaders followed the valley of the Jordan to Dan, and thence along the western side of Damascus to Hobah, where their final destruction took place.

Abraham's followers and allies.

Advance and return of the Assyrians.

About three years after the skilful rescue of Lot, Ishmaël was born, in the encampment between Kadesh and Bered;[1] and thirteen years subsequently the fair portion of territory occupied by Lot, was the scene of the most awful catastrophe hitherto recorded, the Deluge alone excepted; for according to the Scripture[2] account, as well as that given by Strabo,[3] thirteen cities of the plain were, from the joint effects of natural and supernatural agencies, overwhelmed by an inundation of burning sulphur. The vale of Siddim, being full of slime, or bituminous pits, at the time of the battle of the kings, and these pits having been ignited by fire sent down from heaven,[4] the asphaltum also burning freely, the materials were gradually consumed, and the conflagration at length produced the basin

B. C. 2005.

The catastrophe in the Vale of Siddim

[1] Gen., chap. XVI., v. 14.
[2] Gen., chap. XIX., v. 24, 25.
[3] Lib. XVI., pp. 760, 763.
[4] Verse 24.

now occupied by the Lake of Sodom and Gomorrah; which has been ascertained to be in one part about 1200 yards deep.

produces the Lake of Sodom.

The peculiar salt and bitter taste of the waters of the Dead Sea, and the quantity of bitumen collected on its surface, in the manner described by Diodorus Siculus,[1] with its powerful exhalations, which are perceptible at the distance of many miles,[2] are so many circumstances in accordance with the brief account of the destruction of this tract of country given in the book of Genesis, as well as with that of profane historians,[3] and the traditions of the Arabs. The latter state, that in this locality the Thamudite giants[4] (in whom may be recognised the people of Sodom) were destroyed.

Lot's flight to Bela,

It was during the awful conflagration in question that Lot fled to Bela, a small city which had been spared for his sake; and from thence he speedily removed to a cave in the vicinity.

According to the version given by Onkelos of the portion of Scripture contained in the fourteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Genesis, namely, "sons-in-law, who *were* to marry his daughters,"[5] it would appear that the latter had only been affianced according to eastern custom; an explanation which, though different from that hitherto given, appears to be borne out by two incidental circumstances connected with this part of the narrative. The first is suggested by the particular words used by Lot himself regarding his daughters, at the beginning of the eighth verse; and the second, by the fact that no reference is made to any other daughters but those who escaped with their father.

and circumstances connected therewith.

There is likewise a different version given of another circumstance connected with Lot's posterity, which is approached with much diffidence. This version, if correct, would make the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites much less objectionable than that which has been hitherto ascribed to them.

[1] Lib. II., cap. xxix.; also Tacitus, lib. V.

[2] Ibid., pp. 310, 311; and above, vol. I., pp. 402, 403, 404.

[3] Ibid., lib. II., cap. xxix.; Strabo, lib. XVI., pp. 760, 763, 764; Pliny, lib. V., cap. xvi., p. 504.

[4] Arabic MSS., No. 7357, in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

[5] Gen., chap. XIX., v. 14.

Marriages of Lot's daughters, B. C. 1991.

According to a recent translation, the sense of the passage is as follows:—The elder of Lot's daughters said to her sister, "Our father is old, and there is not a man to come to us, as is the custom of all the land, therefore we will drink wine with our father, then we will abide from him; thus we shall procure posterity after our father. So they drank wine with their father that same night, when the first-born abode from her father, but he knew not where she abode, neither when she married."[1] "Now it was in after time that the first-born said to the younger, Behold, I abode in time past from my father: we will drink wine also this night, then go and abide from him; thus we shall procure posterity after our father. Then they drank wine also that night with their father, and the younger married and abode from him; but he knew not where she abode, neither when she married. Thus both the daughters of Lot conceived unknown to their father. Then the first-born bare a son who was called Moab, and the younger also bare a son, and she called his name Ben Ammi."[2]

The disobedience and deception practised by Lot's daughters on these occasions, were sufficient to bring a curse upon the offspring, which was thus derived from the guilty people of the land, and they continued in consequence distinct nations. The former, or the Moabites, occupied the city of Ar, and the rest of the country on the banks of the river Arnon, from whence they expelled the giant Emims of the race of Ham:[3] the capital of the latter was Rabbah of Ammon, the city of waters,[4] from whence they expelled the Zamzummims.[5] The Moabites and Ammonites being under these circumstances chiefly Cushite, continued, as might be expected, in consequence separate branches.

The Moabites and Ammonites continue separate tribes.

About the period of the destruction of Sodom, the name of the Hebrew patriarch was changed from Ab-ram (high father) to Abraham, the intended father of a multitude of nations; and a few years afterwards the promised heir was born in his tent near Beersheba; on which occasion, at the instance of B. C. 1987.

[1] Gen., chap. XIX., v. 31 to 33, Bellamy's translation.
[2] Gen., chap. XIX., v. 34 to 38, Bellamy's translation.
[3] Deut., chap. II., v. 10, 11.
[4] 2 Sam., chap. XII., v. 26, 27.
[5] Deut., chap. II., v. 20.

Ishmaël's expulsion.

Iscah or Sarah, Ishmaël was sent forth to enjoy an inheritance elsewhere. But even if this fact did not appear in the sequel, it can scarcely be doubted that in the richly-figurative language of the East, the bread and water provided for Hagar and her son, denoted that an ample provision had been made for the fugitive. Indeed, it can scarcely be imagined that a wealthy prince could have banished his youthful son as a helpless wanderer, instead of bestowing upon the future Arabian prince some part of his ample flocks, and even a proportion of his numerous followers to tend them. Ishmaël, and those who accompanied him, may therefore be considered as constituting a new tribe in the valleys of Arabia Petræa, and by no means an unimportant one, since the chief was of sufficient consequence to form an alliance with the Cushites of Egypt;[1] and subsequently, a marriage with the daughter of Mozauz or Modhaudh, the chief of the powerful tribe of Jorham, (Jurham); and, with the twelve princes, his sons, commenced the grafted race, or El Arab Mostcaribé.[2] Their territory must have been considerable, for we are told that it extended from Havílah unto Shur,[3] as thou goest towards Assyria, or, as it is clearly implied in another part of the same verse, from the confines of Egypt to Havílah on the higher Euphrates; so that, in fact, it included the whole of the upper or western part of Arabia Deserta. No doubt Ishmaël's descendants had intermixed with the earlier inhabitants, as he himself had done; and it is evident that they gained the ascendancy to some extent, for the name is preserved, sometimes separately, at other times in conjunction with that of the Hagarenes, who, it is asserted by a Hebrew commentator (Kimchi), were descended from Hagar by an Arab husband.

His descendants intermingle with other tribes.

The death of Sarah, about 1944 B.C., and the alliance of Abraham with a Canaanitish woman, Keturah or Tour,[4] gave rise to other inhabitants of Arabia. Subsequently to the death of Abraham, some, or perhaps all of these sons, appear to have settled near the Elanetic Gulf; in a tract of country which

The sons of Keturah, &c.

[1] Gen., chap. XXI., v. 21.
[2] See Appendix to vol. I., Table III.
[3] Gen., chap. XXV., v. 18.
[4] Price's Essay towards the History of Arabia, p. 80.

probably took its name from Midian, and became afterwards so remarkable for its wealth and civilization.

The Hebrews were numerous from the time of Abraham.

Reverting now to the Hebrew tribes, the principal branch descended from the heir of promise, and considering that the chief part of Abraham's numerous followers, who accompanied him into Canaan, belonged to this race, it is evident that they must have been a considerable people at the time they went down into Egypt. In pursuance of the Divine purpose of preserving the chief line of the Patriarch's posterity,[1] during the coming years of famine, Jacob's favourite son was conveyed as a slave to a neighbouring empire, whose important position among the nations of the world, became from henceforth better known in consequence of this new link.

First government of Egypt.

A concentrated territory, like the Valley of the Nile, the upper portion especially, was admirably adapted for the progressive improvement of a fixed government. This government appears to have been commenced on the establishment of the followers of Mizraim in the country, towards the middle of the second century after the Deluge:[2] and as the new settlement was not liable to be weakened by extension and subdivision, as in the case of tribes spreading into wider regions, its advancement would necessarily be rapid. Accordingly it will be remembered, that only 321 years after the commencement of this kingdom, Abraham found it an established monarchy, with those gradations in rank and office on which its successful maintenance depends at home; and from the knowledge which the Patriarch had of the country previous to going down to Egypt, it may be inferred that the necessary commercial and political relations already existed, for drawing wealth and prosperity from abroad.

B. C. 1813.

Social state of Egypt.

The state of the country at this period is very briefly and generally noticed; but at the time now under consideration, namely, about 201 years later, Joseph found there a learned caste, consisting of priests, physicians or embalmers, called Healers; also distinct classes of husbandmen, watermen, and

[1] Gen., chap. XLV., v. 7.

[2] Manes began to reign, says Shuckforth, P.D. 116, or, according to Galterer, 153 P.D.

shepherds. In fact, everything denoted the existence of a well-regulated and extensive kingdom, which, in addition to its various products at home, already enjoyed those of distant regions by means of caravan commerce.

Probability that a pure religion existed in Egypt.

At this period, the country was under the sway of the Memphian Pharaoh; and that some knowledge of a purer religion had been preserved by the people of Egypt, is evident, from the impression made on the monarch by his dream, as well as from the conduct of one of his predecessors in restoring Sarah to her husband.[1]

Government of Egypt at the coming of Jacob.

It appears that when Jacob came thither, about 215 years after Abraham's visit, the monarch was attended by courtiers, and high officers of state, and that his court was regulated by a strict ceremonial. There was a state prison under the charge of a captain of life-guards; and no doubt there was then a regular army: at a rather later period this numbered 600,000 men.

The early civilization and science of Egypt were such as to render it improbable that the whole should be due to the gradual improvements made on the creation of an infant colony, and it may rather be ascribed to the progressive extension of the attainments already possessed by the first persons who migrated towards that part of the old world.

Egypt recalls to our minds a train of historical associations which command a high degree of interest; and the monuments of art with which the country abounds, appear to justify the opinion that she originated the architecture which, in Greece, was afterwards carried to such perfection.

With regard to one period of her early history, the establishment of the shepherd race on the banks of the Nile is thus described by an ancient historian:—

Coming of the Hyksos,

"It came to pass during the reign of Timaus, that God was displeased with us, and there came up from the East, in a strange manner, men of an ignoble race, who had the confidence to invade our country, and easily subdued it by their power, without a battle. Having demolished the temples of the gods,

[1] Gen., chap. XII., v. 15–20.

and inflicted every kind of barbarity upon the inhabitants, they at length made one of their number king, whose name was Salatis. The seat of his government was Memphis; and Lower Egypt (called the Arabian *nome*)[1] being now tributary, he stationed garrisons in suitable places, and directed his attention chiefly to the eastern frontier as a protection against the Assyrians, foreseeing that they would one day undertake an invasion of the kingdom."[2] and their conquest of Egypt.

From the term "ignoble," it may be inferred that the conquerors were not, like Manetho himself, derived from a pure Cushite stock, but had been part of the Shemitic people who, at a later period, had followed the sons of Mizraim into Arabia, and again into Africa; and the successive inroads into the latter country, with other circumstances, make it probable that some were Cushites, and others branches of the Himyarites. It is stated that the latter and the Sabæi were one and the same people, only divided by the Red Sea; and from the similarity of the Ethiopian language to the Arabic in its most ancient state, as well as the practice of circumcision, it would appear that they had come from thence at a very early period.[3] According to tradition, preserved from time immemorial among the Abyssinians, another Cushite colony came into that country soon after the flood, and settled in a ridge of mountains on the confines of Atbara. Here they excavated dwellings, and spread industry and arts eastward and westward from thence; Axum and Meroë being the earliest cities which they founded.[4] Another section, called Shepherds or Berbers, occupied the tract extending along the African coast, southward and northward of the Straits of Báb-el-Mandeb. These were considered the ordinary class, who, being partly nomadic, moved with their numerous flocks from place to place; having their principal seat in the country now called Beja. The former branch, A Cushite colony enters Abyssinia.

[1] Jos., Cont. Apion., lib. I., s. 14.

[2] From Manetho.—See Ancient Fragments, pp. 169, 170, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq. W. Pickering, 1832.

[3] Ludolphus, Hist. Æthiop. I., and Comment. ad suam Hist. Æthiop., lib. XVI., p. 60, compared with Hudson, Geog. Min., tome I., p. 46.

[4] Bruce's Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, vol. II., pp. 12, 13, 14, 18, Dublin, 1791; Jos., Ant., lib. II., cap. x.

however, being the warrior and dominant class, were more particularly considered the Hyksos.[1]

The name of Shepherds probably given to two races.

From the preceding circumstances it would appear that the name of Shepherd, at least, was equally applied to the two races who peopled Africa at distant intervals; such as the Cushites in the first instance,[2] and subsequently the Sukkims,[3] and other Shemitic branches. But that a numerous people denominated Pastors descended along the Nile, is manifest from the remains of troglodyte dwellings at Axum as well as Meroë, and likewise from the circumstance of their first stronghold having been in the Theban district; to which it will be recollected, they afterwards added Lower Egypt. Here, on account of their vocation, which was an abomination to the Egyptians, they continued to live almost as a separate people till the time of their expulsion, when agreeably to the terms of the capitulation they quitted Egypt, and the main body retired into Palestine. Joseph seems to have been alive at that time, and it is probable that the Israelites lived amongst them previously to their departure, since Jacob and his followers, who were of the same race, and followed a similar calling, obtained permission from Pharaoh, who was a shepherd king, to settle in the land of Goshen.

Sabaism of the Shepherds.

The shepherds, as might be expected, were opposed to the Egyptians, not only in the use of cattle for food, but also in the worship of images; they adored the heavenly bodies; and a remarkable proof that they were conversant with the motions of these is given by Syncellus, who states,[4] that Assis or Asith, their sixth king, added five intercalary days to the year, which previously consisted of 360 days. The calf was deified as Apis during the reign of that monarch.[5]

The inroad of the Hyk-sos,[6] or Shepherd Kings of Arabia, one of the most remarkable events connected with the history of Egypt, has been placed as late as 1176 B. C., and their ex-

[1] Bruce's Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, vol. II., pp. 20, 21, 23, Dublin, 1791. [2] See vol. I., p. 281. [3] See preceding Chapter, p. 33.
[4] P. 123. [5] Ancient Fragments, by I. Preston Cory, Esq., p. 141.
[6] Hyk denotes a king, in the sacred dialect, and Sos, in the vulgar language, signifies a shepherd, and hence shepherd king.—From Manetho, p. 171 of Ancient Fragments of Isaac Preston Cory, Esq. W. Pickering, London, 1832.

pulsion in the year 1070 ;[1] but both the inroad and the expulsion probably took place at a more remote period. Coming of the Shepherds and

In the second chapter of the second book, Manetho states that the shepherds quitted Egypt during the reign of Tuthmosis, the seventh king of the eighteenth dynasty,[2] whose exploits in delivering the country are made prominent on the walls of the Memnonium. The date of their departure is placed 393 years before the flight of Danaus to Argos ;[3] that is, soon after Joseph's death, between 1620 B. C. and 1630 B. C. or, according to Josephus, 1623 B. C. The latter period,[4] with the addition of 259 years and 10 months for the reign of the first six shepherd kings,[5] and 100 for their successors up to the close of the war, in the 9th year of Thummosis,[6] would place the arrival of the shepherds 1982 B. C. their expulsion from Egypt.

It may, however, be observed that Manetho elsewhere mentions that the Hyk-sos and their descendants, retained possession of the country during a period of 511 years,[7] which would carry back their first invasion to about 2134 B. C. As this was about two centuries after the time of the settlement of Mizraim's followers in Egypt, and is anterior to the departure of Kahtán from Mesopotamia, it would in this case show that the earliest shepherds were Cushites.

Josephus evidently confounded the exodus of the Israelites with the departure of the shepherds, which mistake may possibly be in some measure explained, by the latter being chiefly composed of his own, that is, the Shemitic race. Mistake of Josephus.

[1] Synchronology, &c., by the Rev. Ch. Crossthwaite, pp. 116, 117, 240, 241. Parker, London, 1839.

[2] Ancient Fragments, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq., p. 116, from Manetho.

[3] Ancient Fragments, p. 138, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq.

[4] Cont. Apion., lib. I., s. 16, and II., s. 2, in speaking of the departure of the shepherds, on the authority of Manetho, 393 years before the flight of Danaus, he places that event 612 years previous to the building of the temple: 1011 + 612 = 1623.

[5] Salatis, Baeon, Apachnes, Apophis, Sethos or Ianias, and Assis, making 259 years 10 months.—Ancient Fragments, pp. 140 and 170, by Isaac Preston Cory, Esq.

[6] Amosis, Chebron, Amenophis, Memphres or Mephres, Mispharmuthosis, and Tuthmosis (or Thummosis), 100 years.—Ibid., pp. 141, 142.

[7] Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 171, from Manetho.

Esau removes to Mount Seir.

The other Israelitish stock, namely the five sons of Esau by his two Canaanitish wives,[1] and his second marriage with Bashemath, Ishmaël's daughter, had proceeded in another direction, and became part of the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula; having removed with their father, after Isaac's funeral, to Mount Seir.[2] These were the latest additions to the Arab race, and with the preceding offsets from the stocks of Abraham and Lot, they gradually formed the part of the inhabitants expressively called the mingled people of Arabia. The intermixture, however, took place chiefly with the Amalekites, Amorites, and other Cushite tribes on the borders of Palestine; without materially changing the state of the pure or ancient Arabs in the interior of the peninsula. The distinctive appellations of Edomites, Midianites, Ishmaëlites, Moabites, and Hagarenes,[3] appear to have been the longest preserved in north-western Arabia; to these, the designation of Nabatheans succeeded, and was applied in a general way, by Diodorus Siculus and other writers, to the whole of the nomad races of the upper part of the peninsula. At a later period, however, it was replaced by that of Sharkeyn, or Eastern people, afterwards Saracens, which was adopted almost universally by European writers; its partial use by orientals being probably derived, as already noticed, from Zaraka,[4] a town, rather than from Sarah, the wife of Abraham; whose descendants were confined to two branches, namely, the Hebrews and the sons of Edom.

B. C. 1801.

The Nabatheans, Hagarenes, Saracens, &c.

The latter on coming into Arabia, appear to have found the sons of Esau enjoying a patriarchal government under the Horite kings, which in all probability differed but little from that of the Sheïkhs of the present day. These princes were succeeded by the dukes of Edom, for it is remarkable that this title had not been in use whilst the sons of Esau were in Canaan. Nor was it adopted till some little time after they settled in Mount Seir; for Eliphaz, son of Adah, was at first

Eliphaz the Temanite, and time of Job.

[1] Gen., chap. XXXVI., v. 2.
[2] Ibid., v. 6, 8, and chap. XIV., v. 6.
[3] Psalm LXXXIII., v. 6, 9.
[4] See above, vol. I., p. 631.

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GREAT MOSQUE & INTERIOR of URFAH

styled the Temanite, from that portion of the new territory which fell to his lot.[1]

The distinction thus incidentally made may be of some importance; for if this individual were in reality the oldest of Job's friends, the circumstance may assist in determining the period to which one of the most interesting, and one of the oldest portions of Scripture belongs.

Several particulars, which will presently be noticed, go far to show, that the residence of Job could not have been in Idumea, nor even, as has been supposed by Dr. Lee, in the tract between Damascus and the river Euphrates; but in all probability it was in the vicinity of O'rfáh, where a tank and a well on the road to Diyár Bekr, with other localities, are connected with the name of the great Patriarch.

Upper Mesopotamia, the land of Uz.

It will be remembered that the district in question was one of the seats, and possibly the principal one, of the Shemitic people; it was also the land of Buz, son of Nahor,[2] and probably also that of the eldest son of Aram,[3] to whom the foundation of Damascus has been attributed,[4] with the more probability, since this place might have been occupied by this branch of the sons of Noah, as they spread westward.

The Shemites in Mesopotamia and Arabia connected.

As a constant political intercourse appears to have been maintained between the central government of Assyria on the one hand, and the dependent provinces about the borders of Syria on the other, it can scarcely be doubted that tribal, and still more strongly kindred ties, would be equally maintained between the descendants of Shem living in Mesopotamia, and those who occupied the borders of Syria and Arabia. And it may be observed that, agreeably to the prevailing customs of the east, such a journey as that from Idumea to the supposed rendezvous at O'rfáh, would only be an ordinary circumstance, willingly undertaken in order to mourn with and comfort the distinguished chief of their tribe: some distance is certainly implied by the necessity of making an express appointment.

[1] From Teman, a city of Edom.—Jer., chap. XLIX., v. 7, 20; Ezek., chap. XXV., v. 13; Amos, chap. I., v. 12.

[2] Gen., chap. XXII., v. 20, 21. [3] Gen., chap. X., v. 23.

[4] Bochart, Geo. Sacr., lib. II., cap. viii.

The time of Job's trial.

Now, since the establishment of Teman as head of a family would, in patriarchal times, probably take place when the man was about the age of fifty, it may be presumed that the visit of Eliphaz, and the trial of Job, took place nearly at the time of Jacob's departure for Egypt; and as Job had then ten sons and daughters, some settled in life, the patriarch himself could scarcely be less than about fifty years of age, which would carry his birth back to 1851 B.C., and the seventy-ninth year of Jacob.

Nature and climate of the country where Job resided.

With reference to the localities connected with this history, it is evident that Job lived in a manufacturing city,[1] situated in a productive country, having corn and wine and oil presses;[2] with silver, iron, and brass mines[3] in the neighbourhood. The tract in question, we are told, was wet with the showers of the mountains,[4] and it enjoyed the fertilizing effects of the small and great rain, having at other times its waters bound in thick clouds.[5] Proximity to high mountains would cause the preceding changes; and that the country was likewise exposed to an extreme climate, is manifest from repeated allusions to the severity of winter, viz., snow and treasures of hail;[6] cold from the north, snow on the earth,[7] and ice straitening the breadth of the waters;[8] and again, being hid as with a stone, and the face of the deep frozen.[9] In consequence of lying at the foot of Taurus, ancient Osroëne is subject to all the preceding changes; and it appears to correspond likewise with the other circumstances incidentally mentioned in the book of Job. Here, in North Lat. 37° 9′ 44″, the twilight[10] is lengthened, and the clusters or constellations designated the Pleïades, Orion, Mazzaroth, and Arcturus, would be constantly in view.[11] The idolaters of the day,[12] the Sabeans of Háran too, were at hand to fall upon the oxen ploughing,[13] nor were the Chasdim, whether

[1] Weaver's shuttle; Job, chap. VII., v. 6.
[2] Job, chap. VI., v. 11.
[3] Chap. XXVIII., v. 1–3.
[4] Chap. XXIV. v. 8.
[5] Chap. XXVI., v. 8.
[6] Chap. XXXVIII., v. 22.
[7] Chap. XXXVII., v. 6, 9.
[8] Ibid., v. 10.
[9] Chap. XXXVIII., v. 30.
[10] Chap. III., v. 9.
[11] Ibid., v. 31, 32.
[12] Chap. XXXI., v. 26, 27.
[13] Chap. I., v. 14, 15.

those of the Taurus, or, more probably, another branch of the same people from the adjoining plains of Dura, too distant to carry off the camels from the neighbouring desert.[1] The topaz of Asiatic Cush[2] would likewise come within Job's knowledge; moreover, he had extensive mines of native steel and iron near Mar'ash, on one side, and of copper, silver, and gold on the other, both at Kebbán Ma'den, and near Diyár Bekr.

Elihu's relatives, and prevailing customs.

The presence of Elihu seems to offer an additional reason in favour of this part of the country. He was, we are told, the son of Barachiel the Buzite, of the kindred of Ram or Aram; therefore, in all probability, he was part of the family of Buz, son of Nahor; in which case he belonged to the same tribe, and lived in the same neigbourhood as Job. He was evidently a bystander, and not being one of the visiters, he was, as youngest of the party, according to Arab usage, the last to speak; and, in fact, he only ventured to give an opinion when the subject of discussion was almost exhausted; nor is he again mentioned at the close of this interesting dialogue, as is the case with the other speakers.

The state of astronomical knowledge, as well as that of the arts in general which prevailed in Arabia at this time, as deduced from the discussions with Job, have already been noticed;[3] but one portion, namely, the monumental inscriptions, claims some further observation in connexion with the advanced state of civilization which appears to have prevailed in the districts about Yemen, as well as in those of Idumea and O'rfáh.

The Israelites then in Egypt.

At the period in question, the influence of the Israelites, as regards the people of Arabia, was almost in abeyance, owing to their settlement in Egypt, whilst that of the older Shemitic branch was quite in the ascendant. At the termination of Job's life, as here presumed about 1651 B.C., or in his 200th year, Yemen had already been for a lengthened period under the Tobbáï.[4] It

[1] Job, chap. I., v. 17. [2] Job, chap. XXVIII., v. 19.

[3] Vol. I., p. 666.

[4] From the Arabic Tabbáïah, which had a general signification, like that of Emperor, Khán, Pharaoh, Cæsar, &c.—Bibliothèque Orientale, D'Herbelot, article Tobbá.

has been seen that Ḥimyár, also called 'Arenjej,[1] or, according to another authority, El 'Arfej,[2] succeeded his father, Sabá; and with him commenced the Ḥimyaritic dynasty. He was the first who wore a diadem, and, being an enlightened prince, he consolidated the government which had originated with his ancestor Ya'rab.

Ḥimyár and his successors.

Ḥimyár was successively followed by Wáthel, Sessac, Yaafar, Deryeth, Nu'man, Asmah, and Shedád. The last is supposed to have commenced his reign about 1578 B.C. He was invariably called *Shedád-ben-'Ad*; who, according to Arab tradition, built some of the Pyramids as trophies of his extensive victories in Africa.[3] One great and distant expedition under the Ḥimyarite sovereign Hareth-al-Raïsh, had recently proceeded towards India; from whence much booty was brought.[4]

The latter penetrate into Nigritia.

But Abrahah, the son and successor of Hareth-al-Raïsh, turned his arms towards Africa, and having penetrated far into Nigritia, he obtained the surname of Dhulmenar, or the Man of the Spires or Pharos, in consequence of having built these towers, which were said to have been intended to guide his retreat; but it is more probable that they were stations and posts to protect his military operations and contain the necessary supplies.

Invasion of Abyssinia.

Dhulmenar was succeeded by Afrikus, who undertook a great expedition against the Berbers (south of Abyssinia). He built a town which was called after his own name, and he carried his arms to the most distant part of the habitable world, or, according to Ḥamadun, as far as Tangier.[5]

Afrikus was succeeded by his son, Alfeidar, or Dhalghanatir; meaning, in Ḥimyarí, the man of many fingers. Afterwards he turned his arms eastward, but died in 'Irák during his expedition. He was succeeded by Scharbabil, and the latter by El Hodad.

[1] Arabic MSS., No. 7353, in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D. [2] Ibid., 7357.

[3] Makrizi, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D., from MSS. in the British Museum.

[4] Schultens, according to Hamza, p. 23.

[5] Nowaïri, in Schultens' Hist. Joctaindarum, p. 25.

About this period a remarkable expedition appears to have proceeded under Abú Kurrub, the Ḥimyarite, who, after having invaded India and Bactria, founded an empire in the latter territory, the capital of which was Samarcand. This city was so called after one of the Arabian princes named Shamar; and, it is added, one inscription was placed over the gate of Merv, and another over the gate of China.[1] The kingdoms of Ghassan and Ḥírah were afterwards added to their preceding territories; so that, when at its height, the Ḥimyaritic power extended from Bactria and India to Abyssinia, and again from the extremity of Yemen to the shores of Syria; thus comprising almost the whole of the dominions, which were at one period subject to the Cushites.[2] By some, however, even the name of this widely-spread race has been considered apocryphal; but it should be recollected that the existence of the Tobbáï, in Arabia at least, does not depend entirely upon tradition; for there are proofs that a civilized people existed at a very remote period, bearing this appellation, and speaking a language exclusively their own—a dialect of which is still in use amongst the people of Mahrah.[3] It is no longer doubtful that they also had a peculiar written character of great antiquity called Suri or Syrian,[4] and many specimens have been found in different places, but more especially in Yemen. Niebuhr was aware of the existence of inscriptions in an unknown character, at Ṣan'á and other places; but, as his usually persevering researches were frustrated by illness, it remained for Seetzen, the celebrated discoverer of Djerash, to set this part of the question at rest, by finding them at Ḍhafár, one of the places which had been formerly enumerated;[5] and not far from the town of Jerím, Seetzen discovered

Extent of the Ḥimyaritic power.

Ḥimyarı inscriptions found in Yemen.

[1] P. 363 of El-Mas'údí's Historical Encyclopædia, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D. Allen and Co., Leadenhall Street, 1841.

[2] See above, p. 18.

[3] "Les Arabes de Mehret sont de race non mélangée. Le langage des habitans est tellement corrompu qu'on a de la peine à les comprendre, c'est l'ancien Himyarite."—Geog. D'Edrisi, ed. Jaubert, tome I., p. 150; Recueil de Voyage et Mémoires, &c., Paris, 1836.

[4] Dissertation on the Newly-discovered Babylonian Inscriptions, by Joseph Hager, D.D., p. 14.

[5] The Sheïkh described a particular stone, to Niebuhr, as having an inscription on it, which neither the Jews nor Múḥammedans could read.

Also at Mankaṭ and

three such inscriptions: one he purchased, and a second was copied; but the third was so deeply embedded in a wall, that he failed in the attempt to copy it. Again at Mankaṭ, one hour from Ḍhafár, this lamented traveller met with five other Himyarí inscriptions, on different stones, which were built into the wall of a mosque. Of these, only two were copied, the others being too high to admit of being deciphered. Four out of the five were on white marble, in relief; and it is remarkable that, in the case of the largest, which in point of art and execution equals any Greek inscription, the lines are attached to strokes, like the well-known and most ancient Dévanágarí Sanscrit character.[1]

on the southern coast of Arabia;

In 1834 and 1835, the officers of the Honourable Company's ship "Palinurus," under Captain S. B. Haines, of the Indian Navy, discovered, near the southern coast of Arabia, several Himyarí inscriptions, the situations of which are marked on the survey of the coast made by this officer,[2] namely, at Wádí Sheïkhávi, in 51 E.L., also near Rás Baghashú, in 50° 0′ 30″ E.L., and at Ḥiṣn Ghoráb, about seventy miles to the westward of Makallah; another, again, at some little distance in the interior near the ruins of Naḳb-el Ḥajar;[3] which are situated in Wádí Meïfah, some miles north of Jebel Ḥamarí. The third and fourth were separately copied by two of the officers, Lieutenants Wellsted[4] and Cruttenden,[5] and published by the former.

likewise Ṣan'á.

Subsequently Lieutenant Cruttenden had the good fortune to bring before the world two others, which were obtained at Ṣan'á, during his visit to that city in 1836. One of these was brought from a spot only a short distance from the house

"May it not be Himyaritic," adds the illustrious Dane, "since this was the site of Idaphar, which, according to ancient historians, was a royal residence of the Himyaritic kings?"—Niebuhr, vol. III., p. 83. Amsterdam, 1774.

[1] Seetzen's Letter to Von Hammer, Fundgruben des Orients, tome II., p. 275.

[2] See vol. IX., part i. of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

[3] 14° 4′ 30″ N. lat., and 47° 4′ 30″ E. long.—Ibid.

[4] See Lieut. J. R. Wellsted's Travels in 'Omán and Arabia, vol. II., pp. 421, 426.

[5] The copies made by Lieut. Cruttenden are deposited in the East India House.

that had been occupied by the famous Niebuhr himself. It is therefore very possible that other such inscriptions may still be found in that country, and it is even said that there were some amongst the ruins of the bund near Máreb. This celebrated structure was, we are informed, built of cut stone, secured by iron cramps, forming a prodigious mass of masonry, 300 cubits broad, and about two miles long, being the distance across the mountain valley, where, as is the case with similar works on the north-west side of India, particularly at Oedipore, an immense body of water was collected from the different Wádís. Whilst perfect, an ample supply of water was at command, not only for irrigation, but for ordinary purposes also; and upon the dyke itself there were, according to the Arabs, inscriptions in the Musnad character.[1] On some of the stones, which have been brought from that place in preference to preparing others at Ṣan'á, Ḥimyaritic characters have been found; with which may be coupled the interesting fact, that the locality in question is called Arḍ-es-Sabá,[2] which goes far to prove that this was the ancient Sabá.[3] Three of the inscriptions copied by Lieutenant Cruttenden, I.N., are in relief, and the fourth deeply cut into marble: the letters are about two inches and a half long, and are exactly in the same character as that which was used at Naḳb-el Ḥajar.

The bund near Máreb.

Máreb, the ancient Sabá.

Another was found near the Ḥimyaritic sea-port of 'Aden in 1842. It is on a circular slab of pure white marble, having a raised rim round it; and, being less carefully executed, it probably belongs to a later period than those already noticed.[4]

Monumental traces of the Ḥimyarites are not, however, by any means confined to their original seat in Western Arabia; they are also found in distant countries, both eastward and westward. Beyond the opposite shores of the Red Sea, for

Ḥimyarí inscriptions in Africa and Asia.

[1] Antiquities of Yemen, from an Arabic MS. in the British Museum, translated by Aloys Sprenger, M.D., No. 1496.

[2] The land of Sheba.—Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. VIII., p. 268.

[3] Máreb was the capital of the country of Sabá.—See Golius in Alphergan, p. 86.

[4] Captain Haines' Letter to J. P. Willoughby, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Antiquity of the

instance; in the latter direction, Jasasin 'Ibn Amrú, the Himyarite, conducted an expedition into Africa, as far as the valley of Sand, and even further, when the advanced body under his generals, perished. To commemorate this event, Jasasin ordered a metal statue to be placed on a stone, with an inscription in the Himyarí character.[1] The affinity of the Dévanágarí Sanscrit to the Himyarí, as well as the existence of an inscription at Samarcand, have been already noticed. The characters on the Bactrian coins, also appear to have a striking resemblance to those in question. And it is still more extraordinary that almost at the very antipodes of Samarcand, characters have been found, whose similarity bespeaks a common origin.[2] So far as success has attended the efforts of the learned in deciphering them, the Himyaritic inscriptions are of very remote antiquity, and possibly it may be found that the inscriptions in question, are more ancient than the Assyrian letters of Pliny;[3] consequently, that they were in use previously to the Cuneatic letters. In this case, the language connected with the former may have been the parent of many tongues belonging to the various races, which are, as it were, so many recognised branches spreading from the parent stem, and showing in almost every instance an affinity to the root itself.

Cuneatic and Himyarí characters.

The most numerous are the simple or monosyllabic branches, which prevail throughout the north-eastern parts of Asia and the greatest part of America and Africa.

The second are, for the most part, dissyllabic, combining at the same time some grammatical construction; and to these belong the Persian, the Grecian, the Latin, and the Teutonic tongues, &c.

Common origin of the Shemitic tongues.

The third, or trisyllabic roots, appertain to the race now more particularly under consideration, namely, the Shemitic family, to which belong the Sanscrit, Chaldee, Arabic, Syriac, Phœnician,[4] Canaanitish,[4] Pehlaví, the Ethiopic of Habashí, or

[1] Schultens, p. 25, according to Hamza.

[2] Mr. Waldeck's new work on Yacuta. [3] Lib. VII., pp. 236, 238.

[4] Both of these languages are derived from Babylonia.—Dissertation on the Newly-discovered Babylonian Inscription, by Joseph Hager, D.D., p. 14.

Abyssinia, with the Cufic; and especially the mixed language and square character of the children of Heber. The last appears to have been the result of an intercourse between the Shemites and Cushites of Syria and Palestine, after the arrival of Abraham.

Derivation of the Hebrew from Chaldee and Arabic.

This patriarch no doubt preserved his own language whilst he remained in Babylonia, as well as subsequently in Háran; but that a change took place after his departure from the latter city, is almost capable of demonstration. We find Laban, during the journey in pursuit of his relatives, used the pure Chaldee, "Jegar Sahadutha," for the heap of stones which had been raised; whilst Jacob calls it by the Hebrew word Galeed.[1] It may be inferred from the former circumstance, that the Chaldee was the language of Abraham up to the time of his departure, and that the change took place in Canaan. This, it is supposed, occurred in consequence of mixing Chaldee with the existing language of the country, and also with that of Hagar, who was a Cushite. In this way, therefore, the Chaldee Arabic dialect, together with its cognates, Syriac, Samaritan, Phœnician, Ethiopic, &c., is presumed to have been derived from the ancient Arabic of the Canaanites, &c., which was spoken by Abraham and his family with a Chaldean pronunciation: moreover, there is no doubt that the present Hebrew characters are of Chaldee origin.[2]

Epoch of the highest civilization in Arabia.

At the period more particularly alluded to, namely, between the departure of Jacob, or rather the trial of Job, 1801 B.C., and that of the supposed time of the death of the latter, between 1651 and 1640 B.C., the principal provinces of Arabia appear to have been in their most advanced state of civilization; this was probably derived from two races of people, namely, from the followers of Kahtán, who settled in Yemen, &c., and at a subsequent period from those of Abraham and Lot. The written character of each branch has been preserved; and that still in use, namely the Hebrew, seems to have been connected with the older and more remote or Himyaritic branch, which is now almost extinct.

[1] Or Galgnedh.—Gen., chap. XXXI., v. 47, 48; Jennings' Jewish Antiq., vol. II., p. 331.

[2] Explanation by Mr. Rassam.

The eastern and western dialects had one common origin.

Besides a sufficient affinity both in the roots and verbs of eastern and western languages to indicate that they had one common origin, it also appears, from the high authority of Sir William Jones, that the square Chaldaic letters in which most Hebrew books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, as the Indian and Arabian characters; and there can be little doubt that the Phœnician had a similar origin.[1]

Another well-known philologer, in his learned researches, speaking of one of the oldest tongues extant, observes, that the Sanscrit draws its origin, and that some steps of its progress may be traced, from a primitive language which was gradually refined in various climates, and became Sanscrit in India, Pehlaví in Persia, and Greek on the shores of the Mediterranean.[2]

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. I., p. 423.
[2] H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., vol. I., p. 201 of Asiatic Researches.

CHAPTER IV.

GLANCE AT THE PHŒNICIAN, EGYPTIAN, JEWISH, AND ARABIAN HISTORIES, FROM B.C. 1623 TO B.C. 1322.

Successive Colonies proceed from Arabia into Egypt.—Commerce of the Egyptians maintained principally by Land.—The Sepulchres furnish a Pictorial History of the Country.—Cotton, Linen, Porcelain, and other Manufactures.—Alphabetical Writing in use antecedently to the construction of the Pyramids.—Costumes of the various People.—Rich Hangings and Carpets manufactured.—Dyeing in use; also Metals, Chariots, and Household Utensils.—System of Cultivation pictorially represented.—Use of the Himyaritic character by the Arabs in the time of Joseph.—Agricultural Products, and Caravan Trade to distant Countries.—Products and Caravan Trade of the Phœnicians.—Position of their Territory.—Settlements of the Phœnicians previously to the coming of the Shepherds.—Commencement of Sea Navigation and rise of Tyre.—Colonies planted in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, &c.—Rapid rise of the Egyptians after the expulsion of the Shepherds.—The Egyptians become jealous of the Hebrews.—Forced Servitude of the latter.—Commencement of their flight from the Land of Goshen.—Pursued by Pharaoh.—Passage of the Red Sea, near Suëz.—Advanced state of the Edomites and Midianites.—Jethro visits Moses.—Arab Polity made the basis of Moses' Government.—Moses conducts the People to Mount Sinai.—Promulgation of the Moral Law.—Guided by Hobab, the Israelites advance to Kadesh-Barnea, and the southern borders of Canaan.—Retreat from thence after being defeated by the Amalekites.—Destruction of Korah and his Companions.—Journey to Ezion Geber and Mount Hor; and eventually to the foot of Mount Pisgah.—Limited extent of the country traversed during the Exodus.—Passage of the Jordan.—Some of the ancient Inhabitants are driven into Egypt, others settle in Armenia.—War between Armenia and Assyria.—Progress of the Egyptian Kingdom.—Sesostris and his Conquests.

A STATE of civilization approaching that mentioned in the preceding chapter as belonging to the Himyarites, had long prevailed in the neighbouring country of Egypt; to which kingdom the tide of emigration had been constantly flowing

Successive colonies from Arabia to Egypt.

from Arabia and Syria: and Egypt being a source of particular attraction to the people of the former country, it appears that, down to a comparatively late period, a succession of colonies were continually entering it by the Straits of Báb-el-Mandeb;—while the colonies, which quitted this country and Phœnicia during the period now to be noticed, were the means of spreading knowledge to countries more remote.

The settlement of the bulk of the fugitive shepherds amongst the Phœnicians naturally gave a fresh impulse to the commerce of the latter people, by the necessity of finding employment and additional outlets for the new comers; and at this time, circumstances were peculiarly favourable for emigration.

Land commerce pursued by the Egyptians in preference to that of the sea.

The deficiency of timber suitable for the construction of vessels, and the aversion of the Egyptians to undertake long voyages, greatly limited the navigation of that people; but so advantageous was the situation, and so vast the resources of the country, that it maintained commercial intercourse, chiefly by land, with nearly all the known parts of the world; for which its agricultural and other products furnished ample means.

The compartments of the Pyramids and Temples of Egypt exhibit, in colouring still vivid, the history and occupations of the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, with a fidelity which leaves little to desire regarding their architecture, sculpture, painting, and hieroglyphics, as well as their social state.

Agriculture, sculptures, painting, &c.

The fine linen, dyed cottons, and stuffs enveloping the mummies, together with the finished specimens of porcelain, the golden ornaments, and the rolls of papyri, which are occasionally found in the sarcophagi, establish the fact that the corresponding manufactures and arts, alphabetical writing included,[1] must have been in use amongst the inhabitants of this kingdom antecedently to the construction of the great Pyramids.

[1] Three different characters were used by the ancient Egyptians; viz., the hieroglyphic or monumental, the hieratic, and enchorial. The second, which was more particularly that of the priests, appears to have been taken from the hieroglyphic, and it dates from a very remote era; but the use of the enchorial, which is derived from the hieratic, does not appear to go further back than the accession of the Ptolemies.—Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. II., p. 13.

Dyes, costumes, carpets, &c., of the ancient Egyptians.

In some of the cemeteries, and with colours almost as fresh as when first applied, are shown the various costumes of the priests, husbandmen, artisans, and other classes of people. In others are depicted rich hangings and bright carpets, with coloured thread and golden wire interwoven,[1] such as may have served as models to the Israelites, when preparing the costly materials for the tabernacle.[2]

In addition to weaving and various other manufactures, the art of dyeing was far advanced, the materials for this purpose being, in all probability, brought from distant parts of the world; and, in the pictorial history of the country, one of the kings is represented attired in magnificent robes, offering gold and silver to the gods. These metals are said to have been drawn annually from the mines to the value of thirty-two millions;[3] and so abundant were they, that they were used by Osiris in the formation of implements of husbandry.[4]

Their warlike implements and household utensils.

Other metals, including iron,[5] were used for architecture and for warlike implements. The chariots, particularly from their light construction, seem to have been of brass.[6]

These, as well as the ordinary articles of household furniture, such as couches, vases, tripods, baskets, glass, and vessels of earthenware, all betoken a state of refinement in the arts which

[1] Goguet, Origin of Laws, &c., vol. II., p. 86. Carpets were in use in Egypt, and a small rug has been brought to England: it was found at Thebes, and is in the collection of Mr. Hay.—Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. II., p. 190, and vol. III., p. 141.

[2] Exodus, chap. V. Those who have not had an opportunity of examining the monuments of Egypt, will have the means of judging of these representations by inspecting the great work of Denon, or that of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, which is equally interesting and faithful.

[3] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. v. compared with Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, &c., vol. I., pp. 232, 233.

[4] Ibid., lib. I., cap. viii.

[5] Colonel Howard Vyse discovered a piece of iron in the midst of the masonry of the Great Pyramid, which he thinks could only have been placed there when that monument was erected.

[6] This metal was largely used by the Israelites in the construction of the altar of sacrifice, &c., and was probably brought from Egypt by them amongst the spoil. Exod., chap. XXV., v. 3, and chap. XXVII.

has scarcely been surpassed in modern times. Such articles are said to have been introduced by Menes.[1]

Agriculture and other occupations of the Egyptians.

Paintings in relief represent the busy occupations of lading and unlading the boats employed in the traffic along the Nile; they also show the nature of the products, as well as the various employments of the husbandmen, from simple irrigation to the completion of the process of cultivation, whether of cotton, flax, barley, rye, or wheat.[2] In the days of Joseph supplies of corn were drawn from Egypt to appease the famine which prevailed in Judea,[3] and about the same time, in the southern parts of Arabia; where, according to an inscription stated to have been found in Yemen, the agricultural products of Egypt were sought at any price.

Himyarí inscription discovered in Yemen.

During the viceroyalty of Abderahmen, who governed Yemen in the reign of Moawiyah, the first of the Ommiadan Caliphs, between the fortieth and fiftieth year of the Hijrah, a torrent laid bare a sepulchre, containing the body of a female, who had been interred with regal splendour. A seven-stringed necklace of the richest pearls adorned her bosom. Her arms and legs were ornamented with bracelets, armlets, and anklets, seven of each; on each finger was a ring, also set with a valuable gem. A casket filled with treasure was placed at her head, and also a tablet containing the following singular inscription:—

"In thy name, O God, the God of Himyar, I Tajah, daughter of Dhu Shefar, sent my purveyor to Egypt; but he delaying his return, I sent my handmaid with a bushel of silver to bring me back a bushel of flour. I next sent a measure of gold, and again a measure of pearls; but receiving nothing for support, I am shut up here. Let those who hear my story learn to commiserate my fate; and should any woman covet and use one of my ornaments, may she die the same death by which I have perished."

The preceding account claims a particular interest in consequence of the approximative date which has been ascertained from it. It is clear that the Himyarí character was in use

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. I., cap. iv.

[2] Exod., chap. IX., v. 31, 32; Plin., lib. XIX., cap. i.

[3] Gen., chap. XLI., v. 57; XLII., v. 1, 2, 5; and XLIV., v. 1.

among the Arabs, at least as far back as the time of Joseph;[1] also that a mercantile intercourse was maintained with Egypt at that period, probably through the port of Philoteras on the Red Sea, near Kosseir, as well as by land. The supposed exchange of a measure of silver, gold, or pearls, for a similar quantity of flour, expresses in powerful though figurative language the misery of Arabia during the famine of that period. Ancient famine in Arabia.

[1] The original Arabic of Ibn Hesham Firanzabidius, which was copied for the author by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, is here given from Albert Schultens' Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiæ, p. 67, and note. Leyden, in Batavorum apud Johannem Luzac. MDCCXL:—

غنينا رضانا في عراصة ذا القصر •
بعيش غير ضك ولا نزر ❊
يفيض علينا البحر بالمد زاخرا
فانهارنا مبزّعة ببحر ❊
خلال نخيل باسقات نواطرها
نفّق بالقسب المجزع والتمر ❊
ونصطاد صيد البر بالخيل والقنا
وطورا نصد الفون من لجج البحر ❊
ونرفل في الخز المرقم تاره
وفي القز احيانا وفي الجلل الخطر ❊
يلينا ملوك يبعدون عن الخنا
شديد علي اهل الخيانه والغدر ❊
يقيم لنا من دين هود شدايعًا
ونومن بالايآت والبعث والنشر ❊
اذا ماعدو احّل ارضنا يريدنا
برزنا جميعًا بالمشقفة السمر ❊
نحامي علي اولا دنا ونآينا
علي الشهب والكميق المعنيق والشقر ❊
نقلرح من يبقي علينا ويعتدي
باسيا فناحتي يولون الدبر ❊

غنينا بهذا القصر دهوا فلم يكن
لناهمة الا البلد ذو القرطف ❊
تروح علينا كل يوم هنيدة
من الابل يعشق في معاطنا الطرف ❊
واضعاف تلك الابل شاء كانها
من الحسن ارام والبقر القرطف ❊
فعشنا بهذا القصر سبعة احقب
باطيب عيش صدعن ذكره الوصف ❊
فجات سنون مجدبات تواحل
اذا مامضا عام اتي اخر يقفو ❊
فظلنا كان لم نعين في الخير لمحة
فماتوا ولم يبق خف ولا ظلف ❊
كذلك من لم يشكر الله لم يزل
معالمه من بعتد ساحه تعفو ❊

Abundance of corn had, in fact, made Egypt the principal granary of the adjacent kingdoms, and this branch of trade, as well as that arising from the manufactures of the country, was carried on by means of several great routes, which diverged from that kingdom to every part of the world then known; thus facilitating commercial intercourse among the remotest nations.

Caravan trade through Egypt.

The products brought by caravans from the western and southern parts of Africa, together with those conveyed along the Nile from the tracts about its sources, found a central point on the lower part of this river, from whence they were transported by other caravans into Arabia, Syria, and Phœnicia; thus embracing, particularly through the latter territory, a trade in gold, spices, and slaves with the eastern part of the old world.

It has been seen that the first Cushites had already spread from Asia Minor towards the Peloponnesus,[1] also to Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, and again eastward and northward from Mesopotamia. Colonies from the same race being thus spread over the greatest part of the world, naturally caused the intercourse which prevailed in the time of Job and the Himyarites,

The spread of the Cushites prepares

and prepared the way for the commerce carried on by the Canaanitish branch of this people

Phœnicia possessed manufactories of glass, golden ornaments, linen and woollen stuffs; but it was celebrated above all for its matchless dyes. These formed the basis of an enriching trade, which was carried by the enterprising people of that country into many regions; amongst which Egypt seems to have held the first place, since the Phœnicians had a commercial depôt in the capital itself—one entire quarter of Memphis, called the Camp, having been occupied by the Tyrians.[2]

the way for commerce.

Besides the traffic through Egypt to the interior of Africa, also to Yemen and Hadramaút, there were two principal lines which may have been almost coeval with the dispersion of

[1] See above, vol. I., p. 344; also Herod., lib. I., cap. xciv., and lib. VII., c. viii. xi.

[2] Herod., lib. II., cap. cxii.

Lt. Col. Alldersen.

Patent J.H. Le Keux.

TYRE — WEST VIEW.

mankind: one of these took a northern direction through Asia Minor towards the foot of the Caucasus, from whence it penetrated into Central Asia.[1] The second, which seems to have been the most ancient, sought the rich products of Babylonia and those of the shores of the Persian Gulf,[2] which doubtless included, in the latter case, other eastern countries also; since by this route the silks, spices, and other valuable merchandize of India, found their way to the shores of the Mediterranean, through the emporiums of Tadmor and Ba'albek, which afterwards sprang up to facilitate the transport of merchandize. The pre-eminence of Phœnicia in commerce and civilization was, however, as much owing to the enterprise of its people as to its geographical position; since the tract in question consists merely of a narrow strip of land, with the elevated range of Lebanon on one side and the Mediterranean Sea on the other,[3] without any particular advantages in respect of harbours.

Different caravan routes.

Situation of Phœnicia.

The island colony of Aradus was situated towards the northern extremity of Phœnicia, and to this succeeded, nearly at equal intervals in following the coast southward, Tripolis, Byblus, with the earlier capital Sidon, which was called after the first-born son of Canaan; finally, at the southern extremity, the daughter of Sidon, the celebrated city of Tyre. With the exception of some commercial connexion, these settlements were at first separate kingdoms or states; consisting, in each case, of a particular city with a certain tract of territory attached; but all, in the sequel, became in some measure dependent on Tyre, and were united in one common worship, that of the Tyrian Hercules. The latter city, Palœ-Tyrus, appears to have been built on the mainland,[4] but it is stated that a castle had been founded about 2740 B.C.[5]

Separate kingdoms and states of Phœnicia.

This structure, as well as the Temple of Hercules, was no doubt situated on the island to which in this, as in other

Castle of Tyre.

[1] Ezekiel, chap. XXVII.

[2] The Phœnicians were descended from the Erythreans. Dionysius, Perieg., V., 305.

[3] See above, vol. I., p. 539.

[4] Vol. I., p. 481.

[5] Herod., lib. II., cap. xliv.

Islands selected by the Phœnicians.

instances, the Phœnicians gave the preference, as being safer than the mainland.

The earliest settlements had, as a matter of course, been made by land, and chiefly in the direction of the Archipelago, in which the Sidonians had possessions previously to the Greeks. That attributed to Cadmus appears to belong to this period, but as more than one colony seems to have borne this name, it has been imagined that the word Cadmon (Oriental[1]) had a general application; not in allusion to an individual, but rather to a race, the Cadmonites or Hivites. Another Phœnician leader has however been more precisely designated, namely Moschus, who is called a Sidonian, and, according to Possidonius,[2] proceeded to Greece, where he gave instruction in philosophy, &c., before the time of the Trojan war. It is moreover stated, that several Phœnicians had migrated about that period into Asia Minor and Greece,[3] &c.

Moschus leads a Phœnician colony into Greece.

After the settlement of the shepherds in Phœnicia, about 1623 B.C., as already mentioned, a great change took place in the state of that country; for the caravan trade with the various eastern and southern countries being insufficient for the increasing population, new openings were anxiously sought for.

From the circumstance of vessels being represented on some of the ancient monuments of Persia,[4] Assyria,[5] and Egypt, and the certainty that floats of some kind must have been used in crossing to the latter country, it may be inferred, irrespective of what may have been personally known to Canaan regarding the antediluvian vessel, that his immediate followers were not altogether unprepared for the great enterprise of sea-navigation. The extensive forests of Lebanon afforded ample materials for this purpose; and the construction of vessels seems to have been speedily followed by maritime settlements, which were no less

Use of vessels, and

[1] The Greek Κάδμον answers exactly to the Phœnician, or Hebrew קדמוי Cadmoni, *i.e.* a Cadmonite, or one descending from the Cadmonites or Hivites. "Cadmus sailed from Phœnicia into Bœotia; and his name discovers his origin, for Cadmus in the Phœnician tongue signifies Oriental." Chronicon Carionis, a Melancthone et Peucero, lib. II., p. 61.

[2] Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 757.

[3] Justin, XIX. 2.

[4] In the bas-reliefs at Tak-i-Bostan.

[5] The sculptures recently found near Nineveh.

necessary to promote commerce by sea, than interior depôts had been to foster that which had previously existed by land.

first maritime settlements of the Phœnicians.

The rising kingdom of Tyre, at the southern extremity of Phœnicia, now assumed an important position, and being impelled by the double object of acquiring wealth abroad and preventing dissatisfaction at home, the difficulties of the sea were gradually overcome by its people; and one colony was planted after another in a westerly direction, not only along the shores of the Mediterranean, but also on those of the Atlantic Ocean; till at length Tyre became the queen of Phœnician cities, and the emporium of the ancient world.

Colonies in Cyprus,

Cyprus, owing to its proximity to the parent state, was doubtless colonized at a very early time: a revolt at Citium, or Cetium, a city founded by the Phœnicians, is mentioned by Josephus;[1] and the same people are known to have had colonies in the other cities of the island.[2]

the Archipelago,

To this succeeded some of the smaller islands of the Archipelago, extending northward as far as the Hellespont, where it is understood that the Phœnicians founded the cities of Pronectus and Bithynium:[3] the coasts of Sicily and Malta[4] were likewise occupied, in addition to those of Crete, at this early period.[5]

and Crete;

It will be remembered that the island of Crete is made the point of departure for the Tyrian Hercules, whose route from thence, in accomplishing the tenth labour, is minutely described in the fable.[6]

also in Spain.

Having traversed the deserts of Libya, built the city of Hecatompylos, and introduced civilization and the knowledge of agriculture as he passed along the coast of Africa, he reached the Straits of Cadiz, and erected, at the extremity of the two continents, the columns which bear his name.[7]

[1] Ant., lib. IX., cap. xiv.

[2] Strabo, lib. XVII., p. 1003, compared with Thucydides, VI. 2.

[3] Steph. de Urb., V., p. 2.

[4] Besides the vestiges of Phœnician remains which have been found in different parts of these islands, others have recently been discovered by Mr. William Winthrop, Consul for the United States, and Mr. Walter Lock, of the Royal Artillery, whilst excavating a temple at Citta Vecchia.

[5] Thucydides, VI., p. 2. [6] Diod. Sic., lib. IV., cap. v. [7] Ibid.

He continued his expedition by the invasion of Spain, and having overcome Chrysaor, the father of Geryon, he carried off as booty the oxen of the latter, which are made to represent the gold of the country, and then returned towards Phœnicia by way of Gaul,[1] Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

Hercules returns by land.

Notwithstanding the obscurity of Phœnician history, and the mystery in which that people enveloped their earliest enterprises, there is little doubt that the principal events have been preserved in the preceding mythological version.

The more distant enterprises were not undertaken till the dominion of the Phœnicians was firmly established over the eastern islands of the Mediterranean; yet from incidental circumstances it would appear that Cadiz in Spain, Utica, Leptis, and some other settlements in the northern shores of Africa, were founded about three centuries anterior to Carthage.[2]

It will elsewhere be seen that on account of the mines, Tartessus and the rest of the southern part of Iberia became one of the most important of the Phœnician settlements, and Cadiz became one of the ports from which distant voyages were undertaken. These, as regards the circumnavigation of Africa, and also the Ophirian voyages, were probably based upon the extensive caravan lines, by which sufficient geographical knowledge must have been obtained to prepare the way for the daring expeditions of the Phœnicians by sea.

Trade by land led to the sea voyages of the Phœnicians.

Although the advancement of the Egyptians must have been seriously retarded by the protracted contests, which terminated in the expulsion of the shepherds, it will be seen that, subsequently to this event, the progress of that people became very rapid.

B.C. 1672. About 137 years after the period when Joseph had been all-powerful in Egypt, the increasing numbers of the Hebrews

[1] From a recent translation made by Mons. S. Munk, of the Phœnician inscription at Marseilles, it appears that it contained various regulations, describing with much detail the manner of conducting the sacrifices in a temple of Ba'al, which a Phœnician or Carthaginian population at one time possessed in that city. Journal Asiatique, pour Novembre et Decembre, 1847, pp. 473-532.

[2] Compare Bochart, Geog. Sacra, V., p. 373, with Velleius Paterculus, I., p. 2, and Aristotle, de Mirabil., c. cxlvi.; also Diod. Sic., lib. V., cap. XV.

had awakened the jealousy and even the alarm of the people; or, as it is expressed, "there arose a king who knew not Joseph;"[1] and Amosis or Chebran, the reigning Pharaoh, as the surest means of guarding against danger, determined to reduce them to a state of servitude, instead of considering them, as heretofore, his guests. The descendants of Jacob now became the working population of the country: oppressive tasks were allotted to them, the fulfilment of which was rigorously exacted.

Jealousy of the Egyptians.

Tasks and bondage of the Israelites.

The people continued in this state about eighty-eight years, during which time of real bondage their patriarchal form of government does not appear to have been altered; the tasks, weighty enough doubtless, were distributed by their own officers;[2] and the superintendance was left to the Hebrew Shoterim, under the general direction of Egyptian overseers. That the daily provisions were ample, is sufficiently evident from the subsequent recollections of Egypt, and the reproach addressed by the people to their leader, that "they had eaten bread to the full" when in Egypt.[3]

Exacted under the superintendence of their own officers.

The mighty signs and wonders performed through the agency of Moses, in the region of Zoan[4] or Tanis, having at length convinced Pharaoh that the children of Israel were under the special protection of an omnipotent Power they were permitted to depart; therefore, taking their flocks and all that was theirs, they journeyed from Rameses to Succoth.[5]

B.C. 1584.

The traveller who is acquainted with these localities can scarcely feel any difficulty in identifying the tract lying along the eastern branch of the Nile with the land of Goshen, or Geshen, meaning the pasture country, which from the foray made by Zabad and others against the cattle of the men of Gath,[6] was evidently the nearest part of Egypt to Palestine, for it is clear that the foray took place before the Hebrews quitted the country, and whilst they still retained their pastoral character.

Position of the land of Goshen,

On account of its numerous branch canals, Esh Shurkéyeh, now Esh Shurkéyeh.

[1] Exod., chap. I., v. 8.
[2] Exod., chap. V., v. 14.
[3] Exod., chap. XVI., v. 3.
[4] Psalm LXXVIII., v. 12, 43.
[5] Exod., chap. XII., v. 37, 38.
[6] 1 Chron., chap. VII., v. 21.

the supposed representative of the pasture country, is one of the richest portions of the Delta: such also it must have been in former times, when watered by the Pelusiac branch of the Nile; and the position of this tract coincides much better with the circumstances attending the Exodus than any locality higher up the Nile.

Ancient Hieropolis, or Rameses, is nearly in the centre of the supposed pasture country, and, making a trifling circuit, it is about fifty miles from thence to the sea of Suëz. The first stage was Succoth, which, as the name seems to indicate, was most likely an encampment of booths; and the second was at Etham, on the borders of the wilderness, both places being apparently within the limits of Goshen; for it was only when the Israelites were about to pass the borders, that Pharaoh hastened after the fugitives, either from Zoan or Memphis, but probably from the former. The desert (called Shur),[1] which the Hebrews had now reached, evidently commenced on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suëz, whose waters probably extended farther at that time than at present, in the line now partly occupied by the bitter lakes. Etham may, therefore, have been at the extremity of the ancient inlet, perhaps only a few miles to the north-west of its present termination, near Suëz; so that, in following the direct line towards Palestine, the Hebrews, after touching the sea at the place in question, would have passed at once into the wilderness.

Flight of the Israelites,

Pharaoh having been apprized that the three days' journey was about to be exceeded, rapidly followed with his chariots, when the Hebrews turned, as commanded, and encamped before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Ba'al Zephon; a position so enclosed that it led Pharaoh to say, "they are entangled in the land."[2] In turning from the direct line, the fugitives would equally move along the western side of the inlet, whether in its present or its supposed state; and they must in one short march have had an almost inaccessible mountain on their right, the sea of Suëz on their left and in their front; whilst their pursuers occupied a position in their

and pursuit by Pharaoh,

B.C. 1584.

[1] Exod., chap. XV., v. 22; Numb., chap. XXXIII., v. 6, 7, 8.

[2] Exod., chap. XIV., v. 3.

rear, which effectually covered the whole space between the right side of the Red Sea and Jebel Adaggi, or the Mountain of Deliverance; thus, in fact, leaving them only the prospect of death or captivity. towards the Red Sea.

But the moment of their deliverance was at hand, and amidst murmurings and hopeless despair, a strong east wind became the immediate instrument of the Almighty.

The waters of the Red Sea form a shallow bay below Suëz, and a narrow inlet north-westward of the town, which, as before observed, once extended much farther. The peculiar position of this inlet, and the exceeding violence of the winds which occasionally prevail, in the upper part of the Red Sea especially, seem to bear out the explanation which has been frequently given respecting this providential interposition.[1] A violent wind coming from the east, or rather north-east, would, owing to the nature of these localities, have the effect of separating the waters at the spot where a small bend takes place, just above the town of Suëz; and by continuing to drive the lower portion of the waters outwards during the whole night, the Israelites would have the necessary time to effect their passage between the waters thus separated. Their escape being discovered at daylight, and a pursuit commenced, a sudden cessation of the wind, by allowing the separated waters to rush inwards and outwards at the same instant, would be sufficient to complete the miracle by overwhelming the host of the Egyptians. Position of the sea of Suëz. Escape of the Israelites, and destruction of the Egyptians.

Independently of the argument from the position of the inlet of Suëz, there is evidence that this was the route taken, from the names Jebel Adaggi and Wádí Faroun[2] being preserved on its western side, also those of 'Aïn Marah and 'Aïn Musá, with others, on the way from its eastern shore towards Mounts Horeb and Sinaï.

With regard to the passage of the Israelites, it is very remarkable that Diodorus relates a tradition, that on one occasion the sea suddenly retired, and after leaving its bed dry for a time, returned as suddenly.[3] Traditional account by Diod. Sic.

[1] Compare chap. VIII. of Supplement to Shaw's Travels with p. 245, vol. I., of Bruce's Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile. Dublin, 1791.

[2] Map of the Red Sea, by Captain R. Moresby, Indian Navy.

[3] Lib. III., cap. xx.

As the Hebrews had long lived under the Egyptians, they could scarcely have been inferior to them in their knowledge of the arts of life, when their 600,000 families[1] departed to assume an important position amongst the nations of the world; yet it appears that their civilization and wealth were less than those of some of the tribes existing at that time in Arabia.

State of the Edomites

At the commencement of the Exodus, the eighth king of Edom resided at the capital, Dínhaba; and under him were eleven dependent princes, who governed as many cities, as Bozrah, Avith, Masrekah, Rehoboth, Pau, &c.[2] That the surrounding country was well cultivated, is evident from the existence of wells, fields, and vineyards; and what is called a "king's highway" passed through the country.[3]

and Midianites at the time of the Exodus.

The allies of this people, whose territories were situated near the Elanitic gulf, were still more advanced, for the Midianites are said to have possessed many cities and goodly castles; and being at the same time manufacturers, they had a great store of articles made of goat's hair and wool.[4] Moreover, it appears that they had amassed chains, bracelets, ear-rings, and tablets to the value of 16,750 shekels of gold. Nor were their nomadic riches less considerable; since amongst the spoil afterwards taken by the Israelites, are enumerated[5] 675,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, and 61,000 asses. But from an incidental circumstance, it would appear that the Midianites were more distinguished for their civil polity than even for their wealth. When the Israelites reached their halting-place, near Rephidim, after the memorable destruction

Jethro visits Moses,

of the Amalekites,[6] Jethro the priest of Midian quitted his residence on the opposite shores of the Elanitic gulf, and came

[1] This number has been considered much too great for a period of 430 years, but as Abraham's servants, &c. consisted of 316 persons shortly after his arrival in Judea, the Israelites must necessarily have been a large body of people, at the time of their going down to Egypt; of which, the sons of Jacob may be considered so many Sheïkhs or Chiefs.

[2] Gen., chap. XXXVI., v. 33, &c.

[3] Numb., chap. XX., v. 17; Deut., chap. II., v. 27.

[4] Numb., chap. XXXI., v. 20.

[5] Ibid., v. 36.

[6] Exod., chap. XVII., v. 11, 12.

with his daughter Zipporah, and his two grandsons, Gershaïn and Eliezer, to congratulate Moses, and offer a sacrifice and burnt-offering for the great deliverance of his son-in-law and the Israelites from the thraldom of Pharaoh. This visit throws great light on the state of the Arabs at that period; for it was on the following day that Jethro instructed Moses in their principles of government, which would appear to have been the most perfect then known.

On perceiving that Moses was attempting to carry out a crude system, which could not be put in practice without wearing out the prince as well as the people, Jethro proceeded to make known to him a method which had borne the test of experience amongst the Midianites and other Arabs, and which was at once simple and efficient; it consisted in appointing men of truth, and hating covetousness, to be rulers over tens, and fifties, and hundreds, and thousands. These individuals were to share the burden with Moses, to whom only the difficult cases were to be referred, by judging the people at all seasons agreeably to established laws, no doubt similar to those already in use amongst the Midianites.

and instructs him in the details of Arab polity.

After delivering these instructions, Jethro returned to his own people; and we are expressly told that Moses "hearkened to his voice," and did all that he had said, "by choosing able men out of all Israel, whom he made heads over the people."

The jurisprudence thus borrowed from the Midianitish Arabs, was evidently based on the patriarchal authority, by which the head of a family regulates absolutely, the concerns of his children, his servants, and other inmates of his household; in the way still exemplified by the Anizéh, the Shamar, and the other great tribes of Arabia.

In the patriarchal system, a family represents the unit in the scale of government; and the union of two such families, under the older of the parents, gives the head of ten; the political union of ten such families, probably also connected by blood, and acknowledging as chief, or elder, one whose age and other qualities might command a preference, necessarily gives the chief or judge over fifty; whilst an alliance of about double the number would form a higher tribunal, that of one hundred,

Details of the government adopted by Moses.

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which corresponds to the tribe of an inferior Sheïkh of the present day. A larger body, such as might be composed of ten of the latter, or about 1000 males, was, among the Hebrews, a "House of Fathers."

In the case of the Arabs, the office of chief was at first derived from birth and age, but it afterwards became elective, through the heads of families. Such is the case in China, where the social links are carried from the peasant upwards to the sovereign patriarch.

The head of a house of fathers, like a Sheïkh of Arabia, was responsible to the great Sheïkh or Emír, and as a matter of course there must have been twelve such to represent the sons of Jacob; each having the assistance of a chief genealogist or scribe to aid in deciding the ordinary questions of internal government, the greatest and most momentous cases alone being reserved for the judgment of Moses.

This was similar to that of the Arabs of the present day.

In this respect, and indeed in many other particulars, the position of the Hebrew prince differed little from that of a great Emír of the present day. Thus Sheïkh I'sa of the Montefik sat dispensing justice from his diwán in his square mat enclosure at the town of Al Kút, when, as will be noticed in its proper place, he was to receive the commander and officers of the Euphrates Expedition.

On the departure of Jethro, who refused the tempting advantages offered by his son-in-law, Moses, agreeably to the command then given, "that the people should serve God on this mountain" (Sinaï), led his charge to the pasture-ground, where he formerly tended the flocks of his father-in-law.

From the summit of Sinaï was now promulgated, with circumstances of awful grandeur, a brief summary of moral and religious duties, which was afterwards engraven on tables of stone, as a perpetual memorial of the obligations of the Hebrews towards their invisible king. But in order that they might be neither forgotten nor misunderstood, an extensive code was added, containing numerous ordinances for their civil and religious government. These laws were made known in detail, from time to time, by the powerful voice of Aaron, from the top of Horeb; a spot which, owing to its moderate height and

Promulgation of the moral law,

B. C. 1583,

the facility of approaching it on all sides, was admirably suited for oral communication with an immense multitude.

The priesthood being sanctified and set apart, and the tabernacle, or moveable temple, being completed, the Israelites were told that they had dwelt long enough on the mount;[1] and the cloud being removed to signify that all was ready, the whole body proceeded towards the wilderness of Paran. As this occurred on the 20th day of the second month of the second year,[2] and as they had reached Mount Sinaï precisely at the completion of the third month after their departure from Egypt,[3] the time occupied in receiving these laws was eleven months and twenty days. and construction of the tabernacle.

Moses, however, instead of trusting to his own topographical knowledge in a case of such importance as that of the intended route, and above all of obtaining water for so vast a multitude, appealed to the Midianites; and after some difficulty, his relative Hobab, the son of Raguel or Jethro, no doubt by the desire of his father, consented to be their guide, or, as it is expressed, "to be instead of eyes."[4] In consequence of this arrangement, it fell to the lot of the Midianitish prince to decide on the places of encampment, as well as to be otherwise useful to the Israelites, particularly on commencing a nomadic life; which although before unknown to the Hebrews, was generally that of the Midianites and other tribes of Arabia. Journey of the Israelites, conducted by Hobab,

This circumstance therefore sufficiently explains why Hobab was offered a share in the expected benefits of the Israelites, provided he continued to guide them;[5] and being accustomed to lead his people and their flocks to the different wádís where pasture was abundant, he found little difficulty in performing his task.

In moving from the camp at Horeb, the standard of the children of Judah led the way; it was followed by those of Issachar, Zebulun, &c.,[6] all taking the direct route by slow marches towards Kadesh-Barnea, which is eleven days' journey by the way of Mount Seir,[7] no doubt moving by short stages and making short stages,

[1] Deut., chap. I., v. 6.
[2] Numb., chap. X., v. 11, 12.
[3] Exod., chap. XIX., v. 1.
[4] Numb., chap. X., v. 31.
[5] Ibid., v. 32.
[6] Ibid., v. 13, 14, 15, &c.
[7] Deut., chap. I., v. 2.

from spot to spot, like the great nomadic tribes of the present day;[1] and it may be observed that towards the latter part of the pilgrimage the grand Mekkah caravan passes over a considerable portion of the tracts trodden by the Israelites during the Exodus.

they reach the borders of Canaan.

From the wilderness of Sin, the Hebrews took a north-westerly direction to the southern borders of Canaan, where they remained forty days,[2] when the twelve spies returned with such alarming accounts of their enemies, that a panic ensued. The consequence was, that they not only abandoned the intended conquest, but a dangerous insurrection broke out against Moses and Aaron; and notwithstanding the advice given by Joshua and Caleb, who narrowly escaped being stoned to death for endeavouring to restore order, preparations were commenced for returning to Egypt under another captain.[3] A feeble attempt was made to push their way, but this failed; and, as a punishment for their want of confidence in the first instance, and presumption in the second, the Israelites of that generation were interdicted from entering the promised land.

Defeat and retreat along

A serious defeat by the Amalekites and Canaanites having followed near Hormah, and the purpose of entering Canaan being abandoned, the discouraged Israelites commenced a retrograde movement towards the wilderness of Sin; probably with the intention of returning to Egypt. It was during the early part of this retreat that the awful destruction of Korah and his companions occurred; and the authority of Moses and Aaron being supported by this interposition of Providence, the Hebrews submitted once more to their guidance, and were conducted through the tortuous wádís on the western side of

Wádí el 'Arabah to Ezion-geber.

Wádí el 'Arabah, till they crossed the latter at the head of the Elanitic gulf. Turning northwards at or near Ezion-geber, their wanderings continued along the eastern side of the valley in question, to Mount Hor, where Aaron died. A detour was now made round the country of the Edomites,[4] who had refused the use of the highway, and also that of the Moabites and Ammonites, who being thus taken in flank, no longer offered

[1] See above, vol. I., pp. 683, 684, 685, &c.
[2] Numb., chap. XIII., v. 25. [3] Ibid., chap. XIV., v. 4.
[4] Ibid., chap. XX., v. 17–21.

serious resistance. Heshbon, Bashan, &c., having successively fallen, the Israelites halted in the plains of Moab, at the foot of Pisgah, after spoiling the Midianites of their gold, silver, and flocks. Advance to the foot of Pisgah.

During the preceding period the Pentateuch must have been completed, probably from written as well as oral testimony; and here the great leader of the Hebrews terminated his earthly career, after allotting the several tracts destined for the twelve tribes; who passed the Jordan accordingly the same year, not long after the visit of Balaam from Mesopotamia, and his forced prophecy. Death of Moses, and passage of the Jordan.

Although the wanderings of the Hebrews had continued for forty years, the extent of the country traversed was very limited, being chiefly confined to the wádís lying westward and eastward of the range of Mount Seir, or rather of Wádí el 'Arabah. The country on each side of this depression is well known, particularly the beaten track of the annûal pilgrims to Mekkah. The pasture throughout this line is for the most part good; and the Israelites thus possessed this important advantage to an equal, if not to a greater, extent than the pastoral Arabs of the present day. They were, it is true, deprived of many of the comforts they had enjoyed in Egypt, as fish, cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, garlick, &c.;[1] but having ample flocks, they were, as a matter of course, provided with the ordinary means of subsistence which the nomadic life affords, independently of the miraculous supply of quails and manna. Even water was produced for them when their guides failed to find it at the different cisterns or secret wells which, from time immemorial, have existed in northern Arabia. State of the Israelites similar to that of the Arabs.

The erratic life of the wilderness, which the Arabs have continued in the manner already described,[2] with enviable contentment, almost from the time of the Dispersion, was intended as, and no doubt became, a serious punishment to the unmanageable followers of Moses, who had been hitherto only accustomed to a settled mode of life in Egypt.

But with the extinction of one generation their probation Occupation of Judea.

[1] Numb., chap. XI., v. 5.

[2] See above, vol. I., pp. 682, 683, &c.

terminated, and Joshua, having succeeded Moses, led the people across the Jordan. A portion of the inhabitants appear B.C. 1543. to have fled from Philistia to Africa, and they are said to have erected a monument commemorative of their flight from Joshua, son of Nun, the robber.[1] On the same occasion another section of the ancient inhabitants took a north-easterly direction, and proceeded into Armenia under a leader named Canaanidas, whose descendants, as well as those of his followers, were afterwards known by the name of Gunthanians.[2]

Flight of the Canaanites and Philistines.

The flight of a portion of the earliest inhabitants of Palestine, seems to have been facilitated by the intercourse which continued to exist between distant countries after the Dispersion. This intercourse is evident, in the case of the Canaanites and Philistines, from a passage in one of the prophets, by which we learn that the Palestines (Philistines), were brought out of Caphtor or Cappadocia (the western or third Armenia), and the Syrians from Kir,[3] which is also in Armenia.

The Israelites, however, had not been long on the western side of the Jordan, and were not as yet in full possession of the promised land; when shortly after the death of Joshua, about 1516 B.C., they submitted to the arms of Cushan-Rishathaim, whose appellation of wicked Cushite most likely owed its origin to his descent from Nimrúd, and to his being, at the same time, their determined enemy; and it appears that the Hebrews continued under his yoke, and in a state of servitude, for about eight years.[4] This prince ruled Mesopotamia, which was then a separate government from that of Assyria.

Dominion of Cushan-Rishathaim.

At the period in question, a protracted contest for the dominion appears to have been maintained with alternate success between this kingdom and that of Armenia. Heykab, shortly after the commencement of his reign over the latter kingdom, is said to have raised the national glory to a greater height than it had attained previously. He subdued Amindas,

[1] Procopius, de Vand., lib. II.

[2] Hist. of Armenia, by J. Avdall, Esq., vol. I., p. 27.

[3] Amos, chap. IX., v. 7.

[4] Jackson's Chronol. Antiq., vol. I., pp. 137, 138, compared with Judges, ch. III., v. 8.

king of Assyria, and compelled him to do homage; but Belochus or Belock, the successor of the latter, recovered the lost ground, having during a hotly-contested campaign defeated and killed Heykab. Wars between the Armenians and Assyrians.

Reverting to the western extremity of the Old World, it will be seen that Egypt, now a united kingdom under the eighteenth dynasty, or the Diospolitan kings, was rapidly advancing in power and in civilization. This was more particularly the case at the period of the Exodus, and even for some time previously. Amenophis, the ninth sovereign of the line in question, is supposed to have erected the celebrated Memnonia at Thebes, and the fourth in succession was Rameses the Second,[1] or the Great, who appears to have been the Sesostris of the Greeks, and probably the second monarch so called. Rameses II. or Sesostris, B.C. 1376 to B.C. 1328;

This sovereign has been known under so many different names, that considerable difficulty is felt in establishing his identity, and some have doubted his existence. Newton, and after him Marsham,[2] conceived that this individual represented the Sesac, or Shishak of the Hebrew scripture, whilst a contrary opinion is maintained by Hales, Russel, Gatterer, and others. "Such a controversy," observes the learned Jahn, "is not easily decided;"[3] but if the 247 years given by Manetho to the sovereigns between Tethmosis or Thummosis, who expelled the shepherds, and Rameses[4] or Sesostris, be deducted from the time of that expulsion in 1623 B.C., the commencement of the reign of the great Egyptian monarch would have taken place about 1376 B.C. and its termination in 1328 B.C.[5] Herodotus,[6] in a more general way than the Egyptian priests, says that there were 330 kings after Menes; eighteen being Ethiopians (apparently the shepherds), and that the rest were Egyptians; all being men, with the exception of one, a woman, Period of his reign,

[1] From Manetho, Anc. Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., pp. 117, 119.
[2] Chronol., XIV., p. 353. London, 1672.
[3] Jahn's Hebrew Commonwealth, vol. I., p. 133.
[4] Anc. Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., pp. 173, 174.
[5] Manetho states in his second book, that Sesostris reigned 48 years. Ibid. Cory, p. 110.
[6] Herod., lib. II., cap. xcix., c.

named Nitocris. Of these, nothing particular is recorded, with the exception of Mœris, who dug the lake that bears his name, and Sesostris. This last sovereign conducted a fleet from the Arabian Gulf, and, having conquered the nations bordering on the Erythrean Sea, he returned to Egypt; and proceeding again at the head of a mighty army, he traversed the continent of Asia, and subjugated every nation that opposed him.[1] His exploits, as well as those of Thummosis, are indicated on the walls of the ruined palace at Thebes which bears his name, and where he is represented as a great conqueror bringing home in triumph numerous captives taken from various nations. The invasions and conquests of this monarch are known traditionally in many countries, with this peculiarity, that the enterprises were not merely the hasty inroads of African hordes. The main body, acting on the direct line, was supported by two vast fleets: one of these appears to have sailed round Arabia, in order to support the right flank on the side of Asia, whilst the other moved from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, to support the operations in that quarter; and both of them carried the supplies which are indispensable to insure success in such gigantic operations. Two great fleets, proceeding from the opposite shores of Egypt, and thus provided, must have lessened the difficulties attending the movements of such a prodigious force, and also have afforded great advantages to Sesostris, compared with those possessed at a later period by Darius, Xerxes, and other eastern warriors, in their invasions. Manetho says that the conquest of Asia, and Europe as far as Thrace, occupied nine years, and that Sesostris everywhere erected monuments of his victories.[2] Diodorus Siculus, who goes more into detail, says that by the help of his fleet of 400 ships, Sesostris gained the islands of the Red Sea, and subdued the bordering nations as far as India. He himself marched forward with his land army, and conquered all Asia. He passed the Ganges, and traversed India to the shores of the main ocean, and laid the foundation of commercial relations

and conquests.

Army of Sesostris supported by two fleets.

It advances into Thrace.

[1] Herod., lib. II., cap. cii. Anc. Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., p. 154.

[2] Manetho, book II., compared with Anc. Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., p. 110.

with that part of the world. Having subdued the Scythians as far as the Tanaïs, which river divides Europe from Asia, he retraced his steps towards the banks of the Phasis, where some of his Egyptian followers remained, either to cultivate the country, or because they were weary of the expedition.[1]

Supposed conquests commemorated.

Previously to the determination to retreat, Sesostris had been in danger of losing his whole army, owing to the difficulties of the passes and want of provisions. His expedition having terminated, he erected pillars to commemorate his conquests, and then returned to Egypt.[2] In this invasion he led, according to the historian,[3] 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 armed chariots; and he had, as already mentioned, fleets in the Arabian and Mediterranean Seas. It is, however, evident that the vast force met some kind of check in Scythia, from whence Sesostris retired, either for this reason, or on account of the intelligence which is said to have reached him at this period, that his brother Armais had assumed the sovereignty of Egypt. He returned immediately, laden with the rich spoils of Asia, and bringing a multitude of captives; some harnessed to his car, others destined to be employed in the public works. These works, as the inscriptions upon them state, were raised without the labour of any of his native subjects.[4]

Vast army of Sesostris.

Captives and forced labour.

From the time that Sesostris left some of his followers on the shores of the Black Sea, may be dated that intercommunication between Egypt and Colchis, which induced Ammianus Marcellinus to say that the Colchians were an ancient colony of Egyptians.[5] This is likewise the statement of Herodotus,[6] who observes, that the knowledge possessed by the Colchians was derived from Egypt; and Sesostris appears to have established some of his followers also in the valleys of the Caucasus. Armenia itself, as we learn,[7] was, at least for a

Armenia a dependency of Egypt.

[1] Herodotus, lib. II., cap. ciii. "But, be this as it may," adds the historian, "it appears that the Colchians are of Egyptian origin."—Ibid., cap. civ.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. I., sec. II., cap. iv.

[3] Ibid., cap. iv.

[4] Ibid., cap. iv.

[5] Amm., XXII., cap. viii.

[6] Lib. II., cap. civ.

[7] Hist. of Armen., by J. Avdall, Esq., vol. I., p. 260.

short time, a nominal dependency of Egypt. But, as soon as the conqueror quitted the country, Pharaoh, who had been left in charge, constructed strongholds, as a protection against future incursions.[1]

Sesostris' government of Egypt.

The glory of Sesostris was not confined to his conquests, for he appears to have been almost equally celebrated for his good government, and his management of the resources of the country: the subdivision of Egypt into thirty inferior kingdoms, or nomes, is said to have been his arrangement. The discovery of the canicular period of 1460 years, in which the festivals of the sacred year (containing 365 days without a fraction) would return to the same seasons as at the commencement, is no doubt due to the ancient Egyptians; and, according to Strabo,[2] Plato, who resided during several years in Egypt, learned from the priests of that country what portion of a day was to be added to 365 days in order to make up a complete tropical year, or the period in which the sun, setting out from the first point of Aries, returns to the same point.

B.C. 1327.

[1] Hist. of Armen., by J. Avdall, Esq., vol. I., p. 260.

[2] Lib. XVII., p. 806.

CHAPTER V.

OUTLINE OF EGYPTIAN AND JEWISH HISTORY, FROM THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN PHŒNICIA AND PALESTINE, IN 1584 B.C., TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ASSYRIANS UNDER SENNACHERIB, ABOUT 709 B.C.

Egyptian Religion and Philosophy carried into Greece.—The Shepherds settle in Phœnicia, and the Hebrews in Palestine?—Colonies proceed from Phœnicia and Egypt to Greece.—Origin of the Argonautic Voyage.—The Fleet returns from Colchis to Byzantium, plunders Troy, and proceeds to Spain.—Some of the Argonauts return to Greece by sea, others by land, with the booty acquired.—Lydia and Assyria.—Ninus succeeds to the Throne of the latter Kingdom.—He conquers Bactria, and marries Semiramis.—This Queen becomes a great conqueror, and founds the City of Shemiramgerd.—Inscriptions regarding Semiramis found near Lake Ván.—Ninus succeeds and organizes the Kingdom.—Period of the Trojan War.—Memnon serves at the siege with an Armenian contingent.—Establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom.—David succeeds Saul, and is acknowledged by the Twelve Tribes.—He makes Jerusalem the capital, and establishes his dominion over Judea, Syria, and a part of Mesopotamia.—Accession of Solomon.—The Court and Regal Establishments of this Monarch.—Cost of the great Temple at Jerusalem.—Solomon erects another Temple for his Egyptian Queen, and constructs Tadmor and the other Store Cities.—Inquiry concerning the position of Ophir.—Visit of the Queen of the South, or Abyssinia.—Her Posterity by Solomon reign.—Sabá and Sheba synonymous.—The Himyarites and Sabæans of Africa the same people.—Early Land Trade, and difficulties attending Ship Caravans or Mercantile Fleets.—Products of the Countries on the Mozambique.—Distance, and Time required for a Voyage to this Coast.—The other, or Eastern Voyage, was probably founded on a previous Caravan Trade to India.—Sanscrit Names of the Merchandize.—Aurea Chersonesus supposed to be Ophir.—Distance, and Time required for a Coasting Voyage to the Straits of Malacca.—Trade by Barter.—The Tyrians employed by Solomon.—The Tyrian Hercules, and early Colonies of Tyre.—Establishment of Carthage, and various Settlements made by this commercial kingdom in Spain and elsewhere.—Accession of Rehoboam, and separation of the Ten Tribes.—Shishak invades Judea.—Consolidation of the Armenian Kingdom.—Invasion of Zerah the Ethiopian.—The Kings of Assyria, according to Ctesias.—Invasion of Judea by

Pul.—Tiglath Pileser carries the Jews captive into Assyria.—Nabonassar, and Works of Semiramis at Babylon.—Second Captivity of the Jews, by Shalmaneser, and interchange of the Ten Tribes with the Assyrians.—Sennacherib succeeds Shalmaneser; subjects the Babylonians, and invades Judea.—Siege of Jerusalem and destruction of the Assyrians.—Sennacherib flies to Nineveh; is assassinated by Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons.—Profane Accounts of the Discomfiture of the Invaders.

Egyptian religion and philosophy carried into Greece.

It appears, from various sources, that many of the religious rites of the Egyptians had been carried into Greece, together with such knowledge of astronomy, geometry, and philosophy, as had been derived by that people from Chaldea; and it is also known that many of the chiefs who were expelled from, or who quitted Egypt about the time of the departure of the Shepherds, formed settlements in different parts of Greece.

Thus Inachus founded a kingdom at Argos;[1] Cecrops, of Sais, another in Attica;[2] and Lelex a third, on the river Eurotas, afterwards called Sparta.[3] In addition to these colonists, two races of men proceeded, as has been lately mentioned, from the banks of the Nile into Phœnicia and Palestine, and thus commenced the two kingdoms which became afterwards so remarkable in the history of the world.

One was that of the Hebrew people, who were conducted by Joshua into Palestine about 1584 B.C.; and the other that of the Shepherds, who, about thirty-nine years previously, were led by Arcles, or Certus, their last sovereign, into Phœnicia, where, having become a maritime instead of a pastoral people, they assisted in founding the city and kingdom of Tyre; in which, even as early as the coming of the former people, they appear to have laid the foundation of navigation and commerce.

Colonies from Phœnicia to Greece, &c.

The settlement of the Cadmonites in Bœotia, which took place, according to the fable, on their failing to find Europa,[4] and probably a little more than a century after the emigration of the Shepherds, may therefore be considered as an Egyptian

[1] Pausanias, Greece, vol. I., p. 117.
[2] Ibid., p. 7, and vol. II., p. 254; and Diod. Sic., lib. I., sec. I., cap. 16.
[3] Pausanius, vol. I., p. 116.
[4] Herod., lib. IV., cap. cxlvii.

rather than as a Phœnician colony; by which, the knowledge of letters and rudiments of commerce were drawn indirectly from Egypt. It will be remembered, that, in addition to the preceding, a direct intercourse took place at a later period, by the arrival of Danaus in Greece from Egypt,[1] apparently about 1230 B.C.[2] These establishments were followed by others in widely-distant countries; and though the expeditions which led to them were merely commercial or piratical, they proved of great importance, by diffusing civilization and a knowledge of useful arts.

Danaus proceeds to Greece.

Phryxus and Helle, having fled from the threatened wrath of Ino, proceeded from Argos in a galley, either called the Ram, or possibly bearing a ram's head,[3] to seek an asylum at the court of their relative Æetes, king of Colchis. After the accidental death of Helle in the straits leading towards the Black Sea, which event gave rise to the name of Hellespont, ever since borne by those straits, Phryxus continued his voyage to Colchis, where he was afterwards murdered,[4] for the sake of the treasures belonging to his father, which he had brought from Thebes. The desire of revenging this atrocity caused the memorable enterprise of the Argonauts, which has generally been considered allegorical, or rather mythological. But although blended with fiction, and partly lost in the romance of poetical description, the voyage comes to us so well supported, that there is every reason to believe the foundation, at least, to have been correct. The early connexion of Colchis with Egypt, the concurring testimony of the Greek historians, together with the names, parentage, city, and nation of each individual engaged in the expedition,[5] seem to leave little doubt regarding the authenticity of an undertaking which had, as is well known, many important consequences.

First voyage to Colchis,

and death of Phryxus.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. V., cap. xxxvi.

[2] Jos., Cont. Apion, lib. II., s. 2, says that there intervened a period of 393 years between the departure of the Shepherds and the flight of Danaus, which being deducted from 1623 (see above, p. 75) leaves 1230. The departure of Danaus from Egypt has however been placed two centuries earlier. See note on p. 58, vol. I., Wilkinson's Anc. Egyptians.

[3] Diod. Sic., lib. IV., cap. xii. [4] Ibid.

[5] Apollonius Rhodius and Apollodorus Atheniensis.

Vessels of the Argonauts.

The expedition appears, from the best authority, to have been of some extent, for it consisted of six ships, manned by Grecian princes and their followers.[1] The principal vessel, (the galley of Jason, the admiral,) the celebrated Argo, was, according to some, so called from Argos, the builder; but the name was more probably derived from Argha, signifying, in the Egyptian language, a sacred vessel, she having been taken to the temple of Delphos, and there consecrated.[2]

Voyage to the Black Sea.

The flotilla reached the coast of Colchis safely, where every success attended the land operations under the Theban Hercules;[3] and some enterprises of minor importance appear to have been undertaken in the countries lying northward of the Euxine, particularly towards the Ister, the Tanaïs, and the Don, which have given rise to some geographical difficulties, in consequence of the poetical effusions of the narrators. The Argonauts are described as shaping their course down the middle of the Pontic Sea, where they escaped with difficulty from a violent tempest, and finally reached the straits, which they entered in safety, with all the treasures they had acquired during their forays.[4] In passing, they visited the country of Byzas, afterwards the seat of Byzantium, and, having erected altars and offered sacrifices, they proceeded through the Propontis and Hellespont to Troy.

Return from Colchis to Troy.

After plundering the city, Hercules bestowed Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon, upon his friend Telamon, who carried her to Greece. The Argonauts now continued their enterprise, by proceeding through the Mediterranean to Spain, in which part of the world colonies were already established, both from Egypt and Phœnicia. They then returned to Greece with great spoils, part of them by sea, sweeping the Mediterranean, and the remainder by land; and these brought with them immense herds of cattle.

The fleet proceeds to Spain, &c.

Rise of Lydia.

Lydia had already become an important kingdom, Alcæus, the son of Omphale, the twelfth sovereign from Menes, or

[1] Iliad, V., 641, and Diod. Sic., lib. IV., cap. xi.
[2] Herod., lib. IV., cap. clxxix.
[3] Apollodorus Atheniensis, de Hercule, p. 45.
[4] Diod. Sic., lib. IV., cap. xiii.

Manes, (possibly Noah,) being on the throne. Belus, his successor, is said to have subdued Assyria, and having expelled the Egyptian colony left by Sesostris on the northern frontier of Colchis, he became possessed of the whole empire, instead of being monarch of Lydia only. This sovereign was succeeded by Ninus, who was probably born about the time his father took the capital of Assyria, which from henceforth bore his name, in accordance with the custom of that period, of attaching to places the names of distinguished individuals; and during his campaigns in Asia he obtained the name of Picus.[1] We are elsewhere told that Ninus arose from the south,[2] and came to the Black Sea, and the extreme north, destroying everything.[3] Diodorus Siculus[4] also gives nearly the same account, adding, that Ninus had conquered Bactria before Semiramis reigned alone, and perhaps whilst she was still the wife of Menon. The latter, who was one of the principal officers attached to the army, is supposed to have put himself to death through jealousy, and this event opened the way for the union of Semiramis with Ninus. Semiramis thus obtained scope for the exercise of her great talents, which were afterwards employed most effectively in consolidating her second husband's conquests in Bactria.[5] Here Ninus died, and Semiramis became, in consequence, mistress of the greater part of the world, one of her capitals being Babylon.[6] Remarkable specimens of the arts belonging to this period were not, however, confined to Babylonia; they have also been discovered near Malatíyah,[7] and in many other places throughout her dominions. These remains are particularly noticed by Diodorus,[8] especially the magnificent road constructed at great expense by the Assyrian queen across the

Ninus succeeds his father Belus,

and marries Semiramis.

Road excavated by Semiramis.

[1] From Scaliger: Ancient Fragments by I. P. Cory, Esq., p. 76.

[2] The Red, or the Erythrean Sea.

[3] Orosius' Hist., lib. I., cap. iv.

[4] Lib. II., cap. vi. [5] Ibid., cap. vii.

[6] Strabo., lib. XVI., p. 737. Compared with Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. viii.

[7] On a tablet between Malatíyah and Kharpút. Vol. X., p. 25, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[8] Lib. II., cap. xii.

Elwand range of mountains, including the ancient Orontes, where distinct traces of it were observed by Major Rawlinson; who states[1] that throughout its whole extent, from the Gung Nameh, the western base of the mountain, it still presents the most unequivocal marks of having been artificially and most laboriously constructed. On the summit of the mountain the pavement is still in tolerable preservation. Having successfully terminated the war in Armenia, and being pleased with the salubrity of the air, as well as the fertility of that picturesque country, Semiramis built a magnificent city on the shores of the sea Akhthamar (Lake Ván). On this city no less than 12,000 workmen, under 600 overseers or architects, were employed;[2] and, according to Armenian history, it became henceforth the summer residence of its foundress.[3] Several ancient inscriptions have been lately discovered on the shores of Lake Ván, near the ruins of Shemiramgerd; and the lamented Professor Schultz, who copied forty-two of these inscriptions, deciphered the word "Shemiram" in several of them, particularly in one which is written in the arrow-headed characters. The dominion of the Assyrian queen, therefore, over Armenia no longer rests wholly upon tradition; and, thanks to the pains-taking Schultz,[4] and the subsequent labours of Major Rawlinson, as well as those of another remarkable traveller, there are still clearer traces of events connected with this as well as the later and still more interesting Achæmenian period; which have been recorded in almost imperishable materials at Bísutún.[5]

Summer residence of Semiramis.

Cuneiform inscription near Ván.

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. X., part iii., p. 320.

[2] Michael Chamish, History of Armenia, translated by J. Avdall, Esq., vol. I. pp. 23, 24. This city has lately been visited by James Brant, Esq., Her Brit. Majesty's Consul at Erz-Rum: its site had been satisfactorily determined during the previous journey of the late Professor Schultz.

[3] Michael Chamish, History of Armenia, translated by J. Avdall, Esq., vol. I., p. 24.

[4] Mémoire sur le Lac de Ván et ses environs, par Monsieur Fr. W. Schultz. Journal Asiatique, vol. IX., 1840, p. 257–322.

[5] The Persian cuneiform inscriptions of Bísutún, deciphered and translated by Major H. C. Rawlinson, C.B. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. X., parts i., ii., and iii.

The sculptures and Syriac inscriptions so particularly mentioned by Diodorus[1] as having been executed by order of Semiramis at this place, which is now identified with the Mount Baghistane of that author, are supposed by Major Rawlinson[2] to have been totally effaced by Khusraú Parvíz, when he was preparing to form the long surface, scarped by the Assyrian queen, into the back wall of his palace. According to another traveller, however, Mr. Masson, certain remains of these sculptures still exist; three female heads, and some traces of Syriac characters, having been discovered by him on his visit to Bísutún in 1830.[3]

Bísutún the ancient Bághistan.

[1] Lib. II., cap. xii.

[2] Journal of the Geog. Society, vol. IX., p. 114.

[3] From a manuscript paper in possession of the London Asiatic Society, and some other observations by Charles Masson, Esq.:—

"The scarped mountain at Bísutún, I considered to have been once covered with the bas-reliefs or sculptures noticed particularly by Diodorus Siculus, as well as intimated by Isidorus. I had not, and have not any doubt upon the matter, because there are still three female faces of very singular beauty, which have been spared by a very lucky chance, when either wantonly (if the act of Múḥammedans) or designedly (if the act of others) the chisel was employed to obliterate all traces of these sculptures. Above the faces are also the remains of an inscription, but not in cuneiform characters: the forms to me, looking from the plain below, were circular and square, such as certain of the Greek letters might be, or square Samaritan, or even Indo-Sali. These faces, as well as characters, I believe have been unnoticed by modern travellers; still they certainly exist, and once seen, no one could again look upon the scarped mountain without having them in full view. The prominent feature of Cambadena is Baptana, where, according to Isidorus, 'there is a statue and pillar of Semiramis.' The location of Baptana, at Bísutún, having been admitted, it is natural to inquire if we have at that spot any traces of the remarkable sculptures described by Diodorus, and it is gratifying to be able to assert that we have. Diodorus says, lib. II., cap. xii., 'Semiramis having completed all these works, marched with a great army against the Medes, and having reached the foot of a mountain called Baghistane, she there formed her camp, and traced out in the plain a garden, &c. Mount Baghistane, which is consecrated to Jupiter, had one of its sides, a precipitous rock 17 stadii in height, and full of inequalities, turned towards the garden. Semiramis caused it to be smoothed at the bottom, and had her head, accompanied by a hundred of her guards, sculptured on it. She added to this an inscription in Syriac characters,' &c.

Female figures and inscriptions at Bísutún,

"At

Semiramis conquers Bactria, and

Referring to the successes of Semiramis, it may readily be imagined that an ambitious woman, possessing despotic power and ample means, would be ready, not only to follow out her husband's plans in the neighbouring country of Bactria, but even to push them further eastward, as stated by Diodorus Siculus, who makes her forces in this campaign amount to the prodigious number of 3,000,000 of foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men mounted on camels, besides several hundreds of stuffed elephants, to impose upon the Indians.[1] Her career, however, terminated with this expedition, for having met with a repulse on the frontiers of India, and her life having been soon afterwards attempted by an assassin, at the instigation of her own son, she resigned the throne in disgust.

s succeeded by Ninyas.

Ninyas being thus placed in possession of a powerful and extensive empire, his first care was its consolidation by the appointment of provincial governors in whom he could confide, and under whom were judges, generals, and all other officers requisite for its well-being.[2] The satraps, or deputies, were instructed to raise a certain description of force, which, after

"At Bísutún is a high mountain, the lower parts of which have been smoothed or scarped, exactly as the historian describes his Mount Baghistane to have been. On this smoothed front are still to be recognized the faces of three colossal figures; and what is much to the point, they are obviously female faces. Diodorus does not mention in the above extract that the guards delineated on the rock were females; but if my memory deceive me not, we have evidence in some author that the Assyrian Queen was attended by guards of her own sex. Above the three faces are the vestiges of symbols or characters, possibly the faint remnants of the historian's Syriac inscription.

as described by Diod. Sic.

The faces are carved in bas-relief, and of exquisite workmanship, attesting the perfection of the arts, of sculpture at least, at so early a period. But the circumstance of these colossal figures being carved in bas-relief, unfortunately rendered their obliteration comparatively easy to be effected, and the whole front of the rock exhibits the marks of the chisel employed in the work of destruction. These faces might escape the observation of a casual or inattentive observer, but they are readily as well as more favourably seen by looking upwards upon the rock in an oblique direction, and from the north, as in that case their profiles are turned towards the observer."

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xvi., xvii. [2] Ibid., cap. xvi.

performing military service for one whole year, should be discharged, and replaced by another levy. This is the first militia upon record in history.

Cause of the Trojan war.

The intercourse existing between Greece and the shores of the Black Sea, previously to the voyage of the Argonauts, became more constant after this event, and so continued up to the siege of Troy. This celebrated war appears to have had a more remote cause than the abduction of Helen, being supposed to date from the journey of Antenor to demand his sister Hesione from Telamon: and its connexion with the Argonauts is the more probable from the circumstance that the sons of some of the heroes engaged in the Argonautic expedition were employed on this occasion. Hence the commencement of the siege may be fixed at about forty-five or fifty-five years later than the voyage alluded to, and probably about the same time after the departure of Danaus from Egypt for Argos. This would place the landing of the Greeks in Asia between 1185 and 1175 B.C., or nearly the time hitherto assigned to that remarkable event, which has, in a great measure, served to fix so many dates belonging to the heroic age.[1] Armenia appears to have shared in this war; Teutamos, the sovereign of that country, having sent Memnon thither, at the head of a contingent of 10,000 Ethiopians (of Asia), and as many Susians, with the addition of 200 chariots.[2]

B.C. 1185.

An Armenian contingent employed at the siege.

At this period, Lydia also held an important place in the history of the world, having become a maritime power; and thus, by intercourse with the isles of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor became one of the links by which knowledge spread westward from the cradle of the human race.

In a neighbouring territory, the theocracy of the Hebrews had lately terminated with the death of the prophet Samuel, and the regular Jewish monarchy succeeded. Saul, the first king, had carried on successful wars against his powerful neighbours the Philistines,[3] the Ammonites,[4] and the Amale-

Saul's accession and death.

[1] A later time, namely, 900 B.C., has been given. See pp. 31, 32, 40, 54 of the Tables of Synchronology, &c. by the Rev. Charles Crossthwaite. Parker, West Strand.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xvii.

[3] 1 Samuel, chap. XIV., v. 31.

[4] Ibid. v. 47.

The Hagarites, Itureans, &c.

kites,[1] as well as into the more distant territories of the Hagarites, the Itureans, the Nephisbites, &c., lying towards the banks of the Euphrates. He took from these wealthy nomads 100,000 men, 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep, and 2,000 asses,[2] notwithstanding the support they received from the king of Zobah.[3] These nations had not been able to regain the authority formerly possessed by Cushanrishathaim, by whom the nomadic tribes west of the Euphrates, as well as the Hebrews themselves, had been subjected; and they were overcome by the prudence and valour of Saul; but this monarch, having experienced a signal defeat from the Philistines in the plains of Esdraëlon, fell by his own hand in the year 1056 B.C. The Philistines followed up their victory by taking many cities, and spreading themselves over the country.[4]

David is chosen, and

Things were in this discouraging state when the rulers of the tribe awarded the sceptre of Judah to David, in Hebron; the other eleven tribes recognizing Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, as their king. A civil war was the consequence of this opposition, but it was terminated, at the end of seven years and six months,

reigns over the twelve tribes.

by the murder of Ishbosheth. David's authority being then acknowledged by all the tribes, he besieged and took Jebus from the Jebusites, which became from thenceforth his capital.

Being now sole monarch, and free from all internal enemies, the new sovereign gradually extended his dominions over Cœlo-Syria, Damascus, Palmyrene, and Iturea; he also subdued the Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and other sections of the ancient inhabitants who had previously occupied the whole range of country from Thapsacus to the borders of Egypt; thus realizing the covenant which was to give to Abraham and his posterity the territory from the river of Egypt to the great river.[5]

The limits of his kingdom extended beyond the Euphrates.

After subjugating the Edomites, Moabites, &c., David added still more to his territory, having, towards the close of his reign, extended the borders even beyond the Euphrates. Here

[1] 1 Samuel, chap. XIV., v. 48. [2] 1 Chron., chap. V., v. 19, 20, 21.
[3] 1 Samuel, chap. XIV., v. 47.
[4] Ibid., chap. XXXI., v. 1, 2, and following verses.
[5] Gen., chap. XV., v. 18.

he encountered Hadarezer, son of Rehob, king of Zobah (probably Nisibis), the ally of the king of Syria; and having defeated him, he brought "very much brass" from Tibhath and Chun, two of his cities.[1] This commodity was, no doubt, the produce of the mines near Diyár Bekr, where it may have been found in the same abundance as in the present day, for we read that in the time of Solomon there was a sufficient quantity of it left "to make the brazen sea, the pillars, and the vessels of brass," for the service of the Temple.[2]

Brass brought from Mesopotamia.

A few months before his death, David resigned to Solomon, one of his youngest sons, the government of his kingdom, which was then the principal monarchy in western Asia. It extended, as we have seen, from the Mediterranean Sea and the country of the Phœnicians to the Euphrates; and, again, from the river of Egypt and the Elanitic gulf, till it included Berytus, Hamath, and even Thapsacus.[3] The Canaanites, who seem to have been obedient and peaceful subjects, were tributary to David, as were also the Moabites, Ammonites, the nomad Arabs, and the Syrians of Damascus.

Death of David, and accession of Solomon.

Finding peace on all sides, Solomon's attention was speedily given to the cultivation of the arts and the promotion of commerce, all of which found an active protector in a monarch who was distinguished for his learning, as well as for his architectural taste. The latter was displayed in his design for the celebrated Temple; and for the execution of this splendid work there were introduced into the country many foreigners, from whom the Hebrews acquired instruction in different branches of the mechanical arts.[4] Besides artizans, many distinguished individuals, and even sovereign princes, were attracted to Jerusalem, in order to see and converse with the royal sage, and have, at the same time, an opportunity of examining in detail the institutions of the State.[5] These comprehended the administration of the laws, and the regu-

Tyrian artizans employed on the Temple.

[1] 1 Chron., chap. XVIII., v. 8, the Betah and Berothai of 2 Samuel, chap. VIII. v. 8.

[2] 1 Chron., chap. XVIII., v. 8. [3] See above, vol. I., p. 539, 540.

[4] 2 Chron., chap. II., v. 13, 14, &c. "I have sent thee a cunning man," &c. "Skilful to work in gold and in silver," &c.

[5] Ibid., chap. IX., v. 1 and following verses.

lations relating to the discipline of an army, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and chariots, for the security of the kingdom from foreign as well as domestic enemies. The court contained within it all the establishments becoming the state of a great monarch; and the inferior details of domestic labours were performed by servants or slaves, who were designated hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Materials, &c., collected for this structure.

The greater part of Solomon's subjects were employed, either in preparing the materials or in the building of the temple, for a period of thirty-nine years, having, besides, the effective assistance of Hiram. It appears that 80,000 men were occupied in the mountains preparing stone; others, numbering 30,000, were engaged in hewing wood, and there were 70,000 bearers of burdens, making in all 180,000 constantly employed, under 3,600 overseers.[1] The gold, silver, and other costly materials left by David expressly for the erection of this superb building, with the additions made by Solomon, and the free labour bestowed upon the work, have been estimated at a sum exceeding the national debt of Great Britain; but even at the moderate computation of Josephus, the 10,000 talents of gold and 100,000 talents of silver, at the lowest value, namely the Syrian talent, would be 17,718,750*l.*[2]

Cost of the Temple.

Shortly after the completion of this edifice, Solomon erected what was no doubt an idolatrous temple, for the use of his Cushite wife, the daughter of Miphra Muthosis, with whom he had received as a dower the city of Gaza, which the king of Egypt had recently captured.[3]

Store cities built by Solomon.

Solomon also built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities in Hamath; likewise Beth-horon the upper and Beth-horon the nether, and Ba'alath;[4] but the greatest undertaking of all, was the establishment of regular commercial intercourse by sea, with that part of the eastern world known under the name of Ophir.

[1] 1 Kings, chap. V., v. 15, 16; 2 Chron., chap. II., v. 18; Jos., lib. VIII. cap. ii. s. 9.

[2] Jos., chap. XIII., description of the Temple.

[3] 1 Kings, chap. III., v. 1.

[4] 2 Chron., chap. VIII., v. 4, 5, 6, compared with Jos., lib. VIII. cap. vi.

The coasts of Arabia and eastern Africa, with those on both sides of the peninsula of India, have each in turn been considered the place bearing that name; but as the first does not correspond, either as to distance or products, with the indications afforded in the Scriptures, the question lies between the second and third regions.

Ophir sought in Africa as well as Asia.

Each of these possesses the chief requisites for the return cargoes, but the greatest number of authors are in favour of the coast of India, which has all the different products, possibly including the doubtful almug, or algum.[1] Although so much has been written on the subject, a few remarks on the time and means by which the united fleets may have overcome the dangers of Tharshish, or the open sea, in search of wealth, may not be out of place. In connexion with the time mentioned, a difficulty has arisen regarding the country of the Queen of the South, which is imagined by some to have been on the eastern, whilst it has been placed by others on the western side of the Red Sea. The first rests in a great measure on Arab history and tradition; and whilst the Sabá of Yemen, by its southern position, agrees with the supposed seat of the Queen's government, the ancient Sabá, afterwards Meroë,[2] not only agrees as well, but it may with greater propriety be styled, "the uttermost parts of the earth."[3] It has already been seen that the Himyarites of Arabia and the Sabæans of Africa were one and the same people,[4] and that the name of Sheba or Sabá, equally of Arabic derivation, is found in both countries. But a writer, whose veracity is now better understood than formerly, mentions the interesting fact, which has been repeated by most subsequent travellers, that the Abyssinians claim the celebrated princess who visited Solomon as one of their sovereigns; adding, that her posterity reigned over their country for a long time. Moreover, the Abyssinian annals describe the journey of the learned Queen of Sheba, Sabá, or Asabá (meaning south), to visit Solomon, and add that she had a son by this

Sabá of Yemen and Meroë.

The Queen of Sheba visits Solomon.

[1] Possibly the odoriferous thyon of Pliny, in lib. XIII., cap xvi.

[2] Jos. Ant., lib. II., cap. x. s. 2. [3] Matthew, chap. XII., v. 42.

[4] Ludolphus, Hist. Æthiop. I., and Comment. ad suam Hist. Æthiop., lib. XVI., p. 60.

monarch, to whom, after a reign of forty years, she left the kingdom.[1]

This occurred about 986 B.C., and it has been remarked that the existing usages, and even the religion of the Abyssinians, show traces of an early intercourse with the Hebrews.

The voyage under consideration was not, however, necessarily directed to the country of the Queen of the South. It will be recollected that the gold of Ophir was known in the time of Job,[2] as well as in that of David, having been brought to Judea chiefly, or perhaps entirely, by land; and, whatever be the place from whence that metal was obtained, the localities of other portions of the merchandize must be sought for beyond the limits of Arabia. It has been seen that this country is at present traversed by several caravan routes;[3] and, in ancient times, those of the Sabæans towards the western side of the peninsula converged on Petra and Egypt; the Sabean city of Máreb being the grand mercantile depôt, while those towards the eastern side tended to Tadmor, which was another great emporium, from whence there were branches to Jerusalem, Tyre, Ba'alat (Ba'albek), and the other store cities. Since the camel finds sustenance even in the most desert tracts, almost any distance may be accomplished by caravans composed of these animals; the allotment of a sufficient number, to transport from place to place the supplies of provisions and water, in addition to the merchandize, being all that is required: the formation of ship caravans, however, must have been very different, owing to the extreme difficulty of their organization. The compass was unknown, as well as the monsoons; and even if there had been sufficient knowledge of the winds and of the geography of the countries, to enable the navigators to shape a direct course, the sort of ship then in use must necessarily have confined them to a coasting voyage, which, in fact, was all that the Phœnicians attempted at a later period with superior vessels. Supposing the barks depicted in the grottos of Eleutherium and other places in Egypt, as well

Earliest trade to Ophir.

Caravan routes through Arabia.

Difficulties attending trade by sea.

[1] Bruce's Travels, &c., vol. II., p. 109-113.

[2] Chap. XXII., v. 24.

[3] See above, vol. I. pp. 618, 629, 630, 637, 685.

as in the temples of India, to give some idea of those in use on the Red Sea in the time of Solomon, and taking the size of the men and other objects as a guide in forming a judgment, the vessels must have been mere flat boats, of between three and five tons burthen; sometimes with a square sail to assist, but depending chiefly on rowers. For this reason, they had a much greater proportion of men than sailing vessels require; and supplies of water would have been requisite almost every day, and of provisions very frequently. Under such circumstances, the flotilla was not likely to accomplish more than the vessels of Nearchus did; the daily progress during the cool season in day-time, and at night during the summer, may therefore be estimated at twenty-five miles at most.

Size of ancient vessels.

The eastern coast of Africa, about the Mozambique channel, would afford gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks or parrots; and the distance, following the coast, including that of the Red Sea, is about 4405 miles. This, at 25 miles per day, would require 170 days, or, with the sabbaths and halts, 218. This, with 90 for the monsoon, and 120 for the delay in collecting the merchandize, would give 428 days in all; which, adding 308 for the return voyage, would be two years and six days; and this, according to Hebrew computation, would be called three years.

Products of the eastern coast of Africa.

But as the gold of Ophir,[1] and at least some of the other objects of merchandize were prepared during the reign of David,[2] it follows that the countries from whence they were brought must also have been known before communications were opened by vessels, and the destination of the latter must therefore be sought somewhere in the prolongation of the existing caravan lines.

The most important of these was that adopted by Solomon, which passed through Tadmor towards the Persian Gulf. This line appears to have been in use since the Phœnicians removed

Trade between India and the Persian Gulf.

[1] Three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir, and 7000 talents of refined silver; also wood, onyx stones, and all manner of precious stones. 1 Chron., chap. XXIX., v. 2-5.

[2] For preparation of the materials, see 1 Chron., chap. XXII., XXVIII., XXIX.

from the shores of the latter to the coasts of the Mediterranean; Arados and Tylos being afterwards depôts for imports from more distant countries. No doubt the merchandize sought was brought there in the first instance by land, but probably afterwards by water also; and circumstances, otherwise trifling, go far to show that a remote tract of the east was the seat of this trade. The Singalese kakyn nama, or sweet-wood, cinnamon,[1] together with other Indian articles, such as pepper, fine linen, or muslin and cotton, have each a Greek name, which corresponds with the original Sanscrit.[2]

Moreover, it is expressly stated by Josephus, that, in order to fetch gold, the shipping of Hiram and Solomon proceeded to a land, which of old was called Ophir, but is now the Aurea Chersonesus, and belongs to India.[3] As the ancient Egyptian name of the latter country was Sophir,[4] which is nearly that used in the Septuagint, it is not improbable that the peninsula of Malacca and the adjoining tracts may represent the Ophir of Job, David, and Solomon. The name itself is still preserved, being given to Gounang-passaman, one of the culminating points of the great chain in the island of Sumatra, a lofty mountain rising to the height of 13,842 feet.

The Aurea Chersonesus considered as Ophir.

The country lying between this island and Cape Comorin produces sandal-wood (which probably represents the algum), as well as the other objects of the voyage. These were, in all probability, obtained by barter only, at the expense of much time in going from place to place; and the delay which occurred on this account must have been increased by the necessity of waiting for a change of monsoon to return. As the nature of the flotilla put a direct voyage out of the question, that to Ophir could have been accomplished only by coasting along the shores of Arabia, afterwards (supposing Ophir were

Products obtained there by means of barter.

[1] This name was imported with the commodity. Herod., lib. III. cap. iii.

[2] Heeren's Asiatic Researches, vol. II. p. 421 et seq., Bohn, 1846, compared with Quatremère, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tome XV. pt. ii. p. 349–402.

[3] Ant., lib. VIII. cap. 6, s. 4.

[4] Michaelis, Spicilegium Geog. Heb., II. 184.

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STRAIGHTS of BABELMANDEB.

in India), keeping along that of Mekrán, and finally following both sides of the peninsula of Hindústán :—

From Ezion-geber, or Dhahab,[1] pursuing the windings of the coast, the western side of Arabia gives a distance of	1206	miles.
The southern side of the peninsula to the coast of Persia, at the Straits of Ormuz.	1660	,,
From the Straits of Ormuz to the River Indus . .	732	,,
From the latter to Cape Comorin	1390	,,
From Cape Comorin to the River Ganges . . .	1350	,,
From the River Ganges to the Straits of Malacca. .	1500	,,
Total . .	7838	,,

Distances and time required for the voyage.

At the rate of about 25 miles in 24 hours, this would occupy 313 days, which, with the addition of the sabbaths, 44 days, and other halts, as rests, at intervals of about 10 days, say 31, would make the outward voyage to the coast of Sumatra quite 388 days; and this is exclusive of detention from bad weather, which must have occurred frequently, especially during the monsoons; for assuredly such frail barks could not venture to proceed, excepting at the commencement, or towards the termination of these periodical winds. This applies more particularly to the Red Sea; for outside of the straits of Báb-el-Mandeb, and, again, along the coasts of Mekrán and the western side of India, the only resource would be to haul up the flotilla until the strength of the gale were passed. It is difficult to estimate the time lost in consequence of these delays, outward and homeward; but as a monsoon would be encountered during each voyage, about three months may be allowed, making 90 days each way; and as from 90 to 120 days would probably be occupied on the coasts of Ophir and Parvaim[2] in bartering for the desired articles, and in refitting the ships, this number of days, with 478 for the return voyage, will give 1076 days, or nearly three years in all, for the time consumed in an enterprise which forms one of the glories of Solomon's reign.

Delay and difficulties caused by the monsoons.

As it was chiefly owing to the skill and intrepidity of the ship-men of Hiram that the trade with Ophir was opened by

The early trade of the Phœnicians

[1] This place is represented, Plate 45.

[2] 2 Chron., chap. III. v. 6.

sea, it will not be out of place to revert to the progress previously made by these mariners.

By the extension of the earliest navigation, Tzur, or Tyre, had assumed a high place as the emporium of trade with various kingdoms,[1] having gotten gold and silver into her treasures, by great wisdom and traffic.[2]

extended by the Tyrians

It has already been seen that their leader was Arcles, who, as the Tyrian Hercules,[3] was the first navigator in the Mediterranean, and the founder of several colonies; he was deified by the Tyrians, and even by the Egyptians, by whom he had been expelled.

The settlement in Spain, which Arcles had intrusted to his son Hispal, speedily became the most valuable of these infant colonies.

into Africa and Europe.

From Cadiz, the principal port of the southern part of the Peninsula, voyages were undertaken to the western coast of Africa, where the colonies appear to have been so numerous that, at a later period, we are told the Getuli destroyed about 300 settlements belonging to the Phœnicians.[4] Other voyages, again, were directed northward, and appear to have been extended to the British islands, and the estuary of the Rhine, if not also to the Baltic Sea.

The mines found in the southern parts of the peninsula of Iberia, about Tartessus, Carteia, &c., seem to have contributed still more to the extension of the trade of Phœnicia. Gold and silver, which were at this period so abundant as to be used

[1] Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was woven in thy sail, blue and purple from the Isles of Elisha (Hellas). They of Persia, of Lud, and of Phut were in thine army. Tarshish was thy merchant; Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants: they traded in men and vessels of brass. Togormah traded in thy fairs with horses and mules. The men of Dedan brought thee horns of ivory and ebony. Syria was thy merchant: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral and agate. Háran, and Canneh (Calneh), and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.—Ezekiel, chap. XXVII., v. 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23.

[2] Ibid., chap. XXVIII., v. 4, 5.

[3] Cic., de Nat. Divin., lib. III., compared with Josephus, Ant., lib. VIII. cap. v.

[4] Strabo, lib. XVII., p. 825.

for anchors, and even farming implements, were sent into the latter country to be exchanged, together with glass, purple, fine linen, and trinkets, for the commodities of eastern countries.

Early commerce by the Red Sea.

There is little doubt that the Tyrians had availed themselves of the waters of the Red Sea for commercial purposes previously to the voyages undertaken by Solomon, although no distinct proofs of the fact have been handed down in connexion with their history. Gold of Ophir, coral, pearls, and the topaz, were known in the time of Job;[1] and when Joseph was sold, we hear of a mixed caravan of Ishmaelites and Midianites, merchantmen engaged in trade.[2] During the Exodus, gold, silver, brass, iron, tin, and lead, were found in Idumea;[3] and it will be remembered that David's preparations for the Temple, included gold of Ophir, silver, brass, iron, the onyx, and other precious stones.[4]

It appears that during the reign of the latter monarch, the idolatrous title of Abú Ba'al (Abibalus), which had been given to the first sovereign of Tyre, was renewed, and bestowed on the father of Hiram.

The temples at Tyre were dedicated to Hercules and Astarte.

The reign of this prince was particularly connected with the religion of the country, for, according to Menander of Ephesus, he pulled down the existing temples, and constructed others, which he consecrated to Hercules and Astarte.[5]

The historian of the Jews continues the line from this sovereign to Pygmalion, in the seventh year of whose reign, and 143 years after the building of the temple, Dido fled into Africa.[6]

Departure of a colony from Tyre.

Whether in consequence of growing dissensions or want of space, a portion of the Tyrian people proceeded to the coast of Africa, where a suitable site was obtained for a city; and as the best means of maintaining a position situated at the extremity of a continent inhabited by a warlike people, they consented to pay a ground-rent or tribute.[7] Carthage occupied a

[1] Chap. XXVIII., v. 15–20. [2] Gen., chap. XXXVII., v. 28, 36.
[3] Numb., chap. XXXI., v. 22, 50. [4] 1 Chron., chap. XXIX., v. 2, 4.
[5] Josephus, Cont. Apion, lib. I., s. 18. [6] Ibid.
[7] Justin, XIX., 2.

peninsula between Tunis and Leptis, which, by projecting into the gulf of the former, gave rise to two bays, both of which were tolerably well sheltered by the projection of Cape Bon. The city was defended on the land side by the citadel of Byrsa, and triple walls, ninety feet high by thirty feet broad, the rest of its circumference being protected by a single line.[1]

Establishment of Carthage and

The system which had raised the parent city to a hitherto unexampled state of prosperity was pursued at Carthage, with the advantage of occupying the centre, instead of, as at Tyre, the extremity of the commercial outlets, which the Mediterranean Sea commanded, into Europe and Africa. The former continent especially, on account of the rich mines of Andalusia, required intervening stations, such as the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, Sicily, &c., in addition to a chain of settlements along the African shores, from the pillars of Hercules to the seat of government. Besides the preceding colonies, some of which were merely renewed, having been first instituted by the Phœnicians, others were placed in different parts of Mauritania, Numidia, Cyrenaica, and Marmarica.[2]

various colonies elsewhere.

The latter stations fulfilled the double object of promoting agricultural industry and encouraging the trade of the mother-country, by serving as depôts of merchandize at suitable distances, for the use of the caravans trading to the interior; and as the safety of these isolated positions required the good-will of the inhabitants, who were, generally speaking, warlike, their sanction was secured by territorial acknowledgments and other considerations.[3]

The colonies in the interior contributed largely, partly in the shape of tribute, but chiefly in agricultural produce, towards the expenses of Carthage, whose resources were also augmented by supplies from her numerous colonies elsewhere. These were partly received as taxes, and partly as donations to the

Colonial resources of Carthage.

[1] Appian, I., 435, &c., compared with Campomanes, Antiquidad Maritima de la Republica Carthago.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. I., compared with Heeren's Hist. Researches, Africa, vol. I., p. 7, and pp. 39, 40.

[3] Polybius, I., 177, compared with Heeren's Hist. Researches, Africa, vol. I., p. 30.

chief city of a kind of federation, which was established for the object of mutual benefit, rather than with the view of exercising an acknowledged dominion.

Phœnician navigation the foundation of that of Carthage.

Having in the very outset the advantage of the experience which the parent city had derived from several centuries of traffic by land as well as by sea, the African colony of Carthage, instead of seeking new paths, such as those pursued by its predecessors, had only to follow their steps, taking advantage of a more extensive field. For, besides additional maritime colonies, Carthage possessed the resources derived from the continent of Africa, through the agricultural establishments which had been formed in the interior, in connexion with the capital.

Commercial products of Africa.

Africa, including Egypt, produced corn, fruits, wax, honey, skins of wild beasts, ivory, gold, silver, flax, linen, &c., in great abundance. Frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones, together with the purple, trinkets, and rich stuffs, &c., of Tyre, were received from the Red Sea and Arabia, as well as the countries lying eastward of the latter; and from the western and northern countries they imported iron, tin, copper, lead, amber, gold, and silver.

Nature of the government, and

Having thus the greatest part of the resources of the world at command, with the advantages of a government which, being partly aristocratic and partly democratic, was considered the most perfect hitherto known,[1] it is not surprising that the Carthaginians should have gradually raised their city to a pitch of greatness, exceeding that of Tyre at her most splendid period.

cause of the Carthaginian wars.

But, on the other hand, extensive colonization necessarily produced many jealousies, while ambition excited by prosperity, speedily led to foreign wars; and with mercenary troops, which could be raised to almost any extent in Africa and Spain, Carthage subsequently engaged in a protracted and, as it proved, fatal contest with the future mistress of the world.

But before becoming involved in a struggle for existence, maritime enterprises, similar to those made to Ophir in the time of Solomon, were occasionally undertaken by this people; which, as coming within the limits of this work, will be noticed in their proper places.

[1] Aristotle, de Rep., lib. IV.

The infant kingdom of Israel acquired much strength towards the close of David's career, and it continued to progress during that of his successor, when its power was increased and consolidated, by means of extensive commercial and political relations with other countries.

Dissatisfaction of the Hebrew people.

But a change took place about the end of Solomon's till then prosperous reign: the introduction of idolatry,[1] and the heavy taxes exacted for the support of his luxurious capital and effeminate court, having sown the seeds of defection previously to this monarch's decease. The bulk of the Israelites were consequently ready to revert to a state of discord; and the enterprising Jeroboam was the most formidable of the three principal leaders, whose attempts to gain power distracted the commencement of the succeeding reign.

The imprudent conduct of Rehoboam speedily caused a separation of the Hebrew kingdom, and Jeroboam having returned in haste from Egypt, was placed at the head of ten tribes and of the tributary nations. The seat of his government, now called the kingdom of Israel, was at Shechem. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, forming the kingdom of Judah, only remained to Rehoboam, whose capital was Jerusalem. The idolatry of Egypt had been adopted, in a great measure, by the bulk of the Hebrew people, and Jeroboam easily induced the Egyptians, his allies, to punish and humble the king of Judah, who having permitted idolatry in his own dominions, had drawn upon himself this chastisement, the coming of which was made known to him by the prophet Shemaiah.[2]

Shishak invades Judea.

Amenophis, who, according to Manetho, was the son of Tethmosis and grandson of Myspharmuthosis, or Misphragmuthosis, the father-in-law of Solomon, was on the throne at this time.[3] He was the Bala of the Arabians, and appears to have been deified under the title of Ba'al, or Belus:[4] he is supposed also to have been the famous Shishak, or Schesonk. At the

[1] 1 Kings, chap. XI., v. 7, 8.
[2] 2 Chron., chap. XI., v. 2, 3, 4.
[3] Ancient Fragments by I. P. Cory, Esq., p. 118.
[4] Crossthwaite's Synchronology, p. 245.

head of 1200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen, and a people without number, including the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and Ethiopians, he took the fenced cities of Judah; Jerusalem itself surrendered to his arms, when he carried off the treasures of the Temple and those of the palace,[1] leaving Rehoboam weaker, and consequently less able than before, to contend with the increasing power of Jeroboam and the Israelites. B.C. 971.

Turning towards western Asia at this period, it will be seen that the extension of the Haiganians, or Armenians, as a people, had hitherto been chiefly towards the east; they followed, in the first instance, one of the vales of Eden, now a fertile valley of the Araxes, as far as the shores of the Caspian Sea, and from thence they spread into the gorges of the Caucasus, under the name of Haïkanians. Spread of the Armenians.

They are the Gargareis of Strabo, who places them north of Albania, close to the Amazons, and says that they came with the latter from Themiscyra, on the Black Sea.[2] In all probability they are one of the many colonies that came into Armenia after the first great emigration from Shinar.

The Armenian kingdom appears to have been consolidated at this particular period under Pharnak, who made the country independent, and succeeded in so maintaining it, although exposed to the invasion of two powerful enemies, the Assyrians and Babylonians, who menaced him in turn during the remainder of the fifty-three years of his reign.

The Assyrian or Cushite dominion was very extensive about this time, for it not only included Arabia and I'rán, which was now the seat of government, but also the dependencies of the latter in central Asia, and even in India.[3] At this remote period, the latter region was composed of three immense provinces: that of the Ganges, that of the Indus, and peninsular India, all of which paid tribute to I'rán, having been previously subjected by Ferídún or Arbaces.[3] India composed of three provinces.

Subsequently, however, Tartary appears to have gained a temporary ascendancy, I'rán having been occupied for twelve years by Afrisiab, king of Túráń. This prince was in turn

[1] 2 Chron., chap. XII., v. 3, 9.
[2] Strabo, XI., p. 504.
[3] Sir William Jones, vol. I., p. 49.

expelled by Zal, father of Rustám, hereditary prince of Seïstán; and the last was succeeded by Loo, or Loah.

Zerah, the Ethiopian, invades Judea.

This sovereign, and the period of his reign, appear to synchronise with Zerah, the Ethiopian, and his invasion of Judea "with a vast army and 300 chariots."[1] Dr. Wells remarks that the original word Cush could not have meant the portion of Africa so called, which lay at too great a distance from Judea to permit such an invasion: moreover, if it had taken place from that part of the world, the intervening country of Egypt must have been passed through, and subdued by such a powerful host.[2]

But the geographical difficulty will cease if we bear in mind, that the word Cush was applied to the Arabian as well as to the African territory; and probably it formed at this moment a part of that extensive empire which stretched continuously from the shores of the Red Sea to the territories of I'rán,[3] from whence Judea had already been frequently invaded.

The Assyrians were powerful in the time of Abraham;

About this period Assyria resumed her place in the history of the world, after having been for a lengthened period almost a complete blank, and scarcely noticed in profane history. It is, however, clear that the dominion founded by Nimrúd continued intact up to the time of Abraham, when the subsidiary kings of Elam, Shinar, and Ellasar, are mentioned as following Tidal, the Assyrian king of kings, or of nations, to the borders of Palestine;[4] and it seems to have been unimpaired at the time of Balaam's prophecy regarding Ashur,[5] as well as when Cushan-rishathaim, the dependent sovereign of Mesopotamia, occupied Judea.[6]

and also at a later period.

The defensive preparations of the Hyksos, as mentioned by profane writers,[7] also show that at this period the Assyrian power extended almost to the borders of Egypt; and it is likewise evident that it was in full force more than a thousand years after its formation, when Teutamos, the twentieth sove-

[1] 2 Chron., chap. XIV., v. 7.

[2] Wells' Geog. of the Bible, vol. I., p. 192.

[3] Kusdi Kabgok.

[4] See page 65 of present volume, and Gen., chap. XIV., v. 1.

[5] Numbers, chap. XXIV., v. 22. [6] Judges, chap. III., v. 8, 10.

[7] See above, p. 73.

reign from Ninyas, led a contingent to the siege of Troy.[1] Other incidental circumstances are mentioned by Eusebius, Syncellus, and Diodorus Siculus, in addition to the more detailed history of the kingdom given by Ctesias from the Persian archives. The latter, who had the advantage of collecting his materials during a residence of seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commences with Nimrúd or Ashur, and gives in succession Ninus, Semiramis, Ninyas, Arius, Azalius, Xerxes or Baleus I., Armamithres, Belochus I., Baleus II., Sethos (called Attados), Mamythus, Ascaleus, Ascarius or Maschaleus, Spherus, Mamylus, Spartheus, Ascatides, Amyntes, Belochus II., Baletores or Beletaras, Lamprides, Sosares, Lamparus, Panyas, Sosarmes, Mithreus, Teutamus or Tautanus, Teuteus, Thineus, Dercylas, Empacmes or Eupales, Saosthenes, Pertiades or Perithiades, Ophrateus, Ephecheres, Acraganes, and Thonos Concolerus or Sardanapalus. The Assyrian kings and

The reign of this monarch, who appears to represent the earlier Sardanapalus of the Greeks, was terminated by a revolution, in which he was overthrown by Arbaces, who, assisted by the Babylonian forces under Belesis, succeeded to the throne. The dynasty of the former, namely, Mandauces, Sosarmus, Artychas, Arbianes, Artæus, Artynas, Astybaras, Aspadas or Astyages, and Cyrus, ten, including Arbaces, is called Median by Ctesias, owing to the founder being considered one of this people, though in reality an Assyrian. This, and a similar circumstance at a later period, regarding Deioces, have caused some historical difficulties, which may, however, be in a great measure removed by distinguishing the Median dynasty of Ctesias, which commenced with Arbaces, from the later line, beginning, according to Herodotus, with Dejoces:[2] Media being in each case a satrapy of the empire, and not a separate nation.[2] Median dynasty, according to Ctesias. Historical difficulties caused by the Median branch.

But even if no such explanation were offered respecting the

[1] Diod Sic., lib. II., cap. xvii.

[2] This distinction is the result of the talented researches of the late T. M. Dickinson, Esq., Secretary of the Bombay branch.—See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. IV., p. 217, &c. London, 1837.

relative condition of Media, it could scarcely be supposed that the once-powerful kingdom of Assyria should have ceased to exist from the reign of Ninyas to that of Sardanapalus.

The Assyrian empire, and

Indeed, it is shown by undoubted authority, that at the time of the commencement of the Median revolt under Deioces, or Kaikobad, the Assyrians had already been masters of upper Asia for a period of 520 years.[1] And the probability that in his last work on Assyria, the historian may have distinguished between the great empire over central Asia, and the previous state of the Assyrian monarchy, is strengthened by the account of Trogus Pompeius in Justin, who says[2] that the Assyrians ruled in Asia for the term of 1300 years.

its line of monarchs probably uninterrupted.

There must, doubtless, have been a line of sovereigns during the period mentioned by Herodotus, if not the whole of the interval in question; and possibly such as that supposed to have been taken from the Persian archives. And as several circumstances mentioned in connexion with the later, as well as the earlier sovereigns, are substantiated from other sources, may not greater weight be claimed for the historian of Cnidus, than that which has usually been given to his enumeration of the earlier kings? It is just possible that the monumental history and inscriptions now being rescued from the ruins left by time on the banks of the Tigris, may, when deciphered, not only prove that the archives in question existed, but also in some degree restore the important link wanting in the early history of Assyria.[3]

Remains near Nineveh may enlighten the Assyrian history.

[1] Herod., lib. I., cap. xcv.

[2] Lib. I., cap. ii., compared with Agathias Scholasticus, lib. II., p. 63.

[3] Considering the vast importance of these discoveries in connexion with the earliest postdiluvian history, it cannot be uninteresting to give the extract of a letter addressed by Mr. Hector, an officer of the Euphrates Expedition, to Thomas Stirling, Esq., of Sheffield, dated June, 1845, respecting his visit to Khorsabád, &c.:—"Khorsabád is eighteen to twenty miles N.N.E. of Mósul. I examined the excavations over and over again, and the more I looked at the remaining sculptures, the more was I struck with astonishment as I thought of the ages and ages that have passed by since they were executed and buried. There are, I think, fifteen immense chambers or streets cleared out, all connected with each other at right angles, and all covered with sculptures and inscriptions of various sizes and sorts, representing processions of men in state, the same of horses, richly caparisoned, apparently

Whatever doubts may have been justly entertained regarding the preceding sovereigns do not apply to the so-called Median dynasty of Ctesias, since it is found that Arbaces, as well as

led as an offering to the king; scenes of battles, and fighting of all descriptions, with bows and arrows, spears, daggers, and shields, &c. &c.; armies marching with horses and chariots, besieging towns, &c.; drinking parties, with tables and chairs and wine-cups, with servants pouring out the wine; garden scenes; hunting parties, shooting birds and hares in forests, with bows and arrows; men impaled before besieged towns; dead men falling off ramparts in fighting; prisoners in chains; sea scenes, with fish swimming about. There is one scene which would exactly correspond to the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezekiel, ch. xxix., v. 18), where the prophet says, 'every man's head was bald, and every shoulder was peeled.' There were a great many large-winged bulls, with men's heads, about twenty to thirty tons each, and generally of beautiful execution. They were placed at the end and corners of the different passages or chambers, and generally in pairs; these the people seem to have worshipped, and placed there as protecting deities. The remaining sculptures looked very well and perfect while standing in their places, but fell to pieces immediately on attempting to disturb them. It is evident that the place was destroyed by fire, from the quantity of charcoal found in excavating; and in some spots, where the fire had been strong, the marble sculptures were burnt to lime to a considerable depth on the face that had been exposed. . . . . I left Mósul on the 2nd June, travelling by night, on account of the heat, and took the road along the east or left bank of the Tigris, on purpose to see Tell Nimrúd.

"June 3.—Arrived at Nimrúd. The place, as to shape, has somewhat the appearance of Khorsabád, but is three or four times as large. The artificial mound, which I suppose to have been the palace, is of an oblong form, about two miles in circumference, and from 50 to 60 feet high, perhaps more, with a high conical pyramid raised at the north corner of the mound, about 120 feet high, which must have been a watch-tower, or something of that kind. The apparent wall of the city is from six to eight miles in extent, forming a kind of square, corresponding to the four cardinal points. The mound is placed at the S.W. corner of the enclosure, where the Tigris had at one time washed its two sides. At present, the Tigris has receded some four miles, and left a large plain between the mound and the present bed of the river. On the top of the mound I saw the upper end of some marble slabs above the ground, closely joined together, forming a chamber or cistern, 22 feet by 12; it was nearly filled with earth. I was informed its depth was from 8 to 10 feet. No appearance of writing was to be seen; but had it not been so dreadfully hot, I would have dug it out. There are quantities of broken bricks, with cuneiform characters upon them, scattered over the mound; they appeared to be inscribed all over, and the characters are much larger, and seem to have been cut, not stamped, in the centre, like those generally brought from Babylon, and those which I saw at

Assyrian history connected with that of Judea.

several of his successors, not only figured in Persian history, but were likewise connected with the kingdoms of Israel and Judah; more particularly Sosarmus, the thirty-ninth of the general list of Ctesias and the third of his Median dynasty, who is represented by Pul.

Menahem, the murderer of the regicide Shallum, appears to have brought on his country the vengeance of the Assyrians, by the temporary conquest of Tipshah or Thapsacus; and having on his return succeeded to the crown of Israel, he purchased, on the appearance of the Assyrians, an ignominious peace, by paying 1000 talents, and Pul, or Sosarmus,[1] returned to his own dominions.

Pul overcomes Menahem.

Alexander Polyhistor, in noticing the circumstance, says there was a king of the Chaldeans whose name was Phulus, of whom also the historical writings of the Hebrews make mention under the name of Pul, who they say invaded the country of the Jews.[2]

But a small kingdom, sufficiently wealthy to raise at a short notice about 375,000*l.*[3] as a peace-offering to the Assyrians, was not likely to enjoy for any lengthened time the deliverance thus purchased by Menahem, who, though he had the command of 60,000 soldiers, paid this contribution in preference to defending his country. After this humiliating treaty was made, the intestine wars, which continued with alternate success between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, in which that of Syria occasionally took a part, afforded the Assyrians a pretext for interference.

Tiglath-Pileser invades Judea and

Tiglath-Pileser, or Artychas, had succeeded his father Sosarmus, or Pul, on the throne of Assyria; Nabonassar,

Khorsabád. On the south side of the mound there is a piece of a kind of rough sandstone, with cuneiform writing upon it, very roughly executed. In the edge of the mound, where the rains have formed guts 10 or 12 feet below the surface, pavements of bricks of bitumen are to be seen. I had nothing with me that would dig out one of these bricks, to see if they contained inscriptions."

[1] Royal Asiatic Journal, vol. IV., p. 231.

[2] Euseb., Ar. Chron., 39.

[3] One thousand talents of silver.—Jos., lib. IX., cap. xi., compared with 2 Kings, chap. XV., v. 20.

probably another son of the latter, being viceroy at Babylon, which in consequence became for a time a separate government. The former monarch, on some pretence, now fell upon the kingdom of Israel, and took Ijon, Abel-beth-Ma'achah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried the inhabitants captive to Assyria.[1]

carries the inhabitants as captives into Assyria.

Afterwards, Ahaz, the king of Judah, being besieged in Jerusalem by the united forces of Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria (who at this juncture recovered Elath), made an urgent appeal to the king of Assyria, sending as a propitiation the treasures of the Temple and palace, &c. Moved by these presents, and by the submission of the king of Judah, Artychas marched to his assistance, and having taken Damascus, he slew Rezin, and carried the people captive[2] to Kir.[3]

On learning the death of Rezin, and the advance of the Assyrians into the dominions of Israel, Ahaz proceeded to Damascus, taking with him all the gold and silver from the royal treasury, as well as from the Temple of God, together with its precious gifts; and having carried the whole to Tiglath-Pileser, at Damascus, agreeably to his engagement, he returned to Jerusalem.[4]

These events took place towards the end of the reign of Artychas, or Tiglath-Pileser; whilst Babylon continued under his brother Nabonassar. This is the sovereign who has obtained such unenviable notoriety by his vanity in destroying the records of his country, in order that a fresh era might be supposed to commence with his reign.

Babylon under Nabonassar.

The city of Babylon, which had of late declined, in consequence of Nineveh being the seat of the supreme government, was now destined to recover its former splendour under the second Semiramis. This queen is by some supposed to have been the mother, and by others the wife, of Nabonassar, and she has been greatly celebrated by Herodotus for the works

Semiramis the second.

[1] 2 Kings, chap. XV., v. 29.

[2] Ibid., chap. XVI., v. 8, 9.

[3] So called by the Persians. This is the Kur or Cyrus, a tributary of the river Araxes; the Kur of the Russians.—See above, vol. I., pp. 10, 12.

[4] Josephus, lib. IX., cap. 12.

Restoration of Babylon.

with which the capital was adorned during her time. These consisted in spacious quays, magnificent palaces, and other noble edifices. One of the royal palaces was erected on the eastern, the other on the western bank of the Euphrates, and they were connected by a bridge, as well as by a tunnel under the river. Descriptions of the famous temple of Belus, of the stupendous walls encircling the town, and of the lake to drain it, are familiar to all from the descriptions of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient historians. Strabo also enumerates, in a general way, the magnificent works executed by this queen, as the walled cities, aqueducts, ditches, roads, &c.[1]

Nadius, who usurped the government of Nabonassar, probably after the death of Semiramis, was succeeded, two years later, by Chinzius and Porus, whose joint reign lasted five years. Judaeus, the next monarch, was followed by Merodach Baladan, and during the reign of the latter the neighbouring territories became the theatre of some important events.

Hoshea having failed in furnishing the usual tribute to Assyria, the kingdom of Israel was in consequence invaded by Shalmaneser, and compelled to submit to that powerful monarch, the Arbianes of Ctesias. But the Assyrians had scarcely recrossed the Euphrates when Hoshea attempted to shake off the yoke; and having for this purpose formed an alliance with So, or Sabacus, king of Egypt, he began by imprisoning the Assyrian officer who was stationed in his capital to receive the tribute.

Shalmaneser invades the kingdom of Israel.

Resolved to punish effectually the indignity thus offered to the representative of the supreme monarch, Shalmaneser again invaded Syria: he immediately laid siege to Samaria, and as Sabacus made no effort whatever to give the promised aid to his ally, that city fell, after having been beleaguered for three years, when Enemessar, as he is now called,[2] carried away the seven tribes from the western side of the Jordan into Assyria, as his father, Artychas, had previously done the others, from the eastern side of the same river. The captivity of the ten

His return, and captivity of seven tribes.

[1] Lib. XVI., p. 737.

[2] Tobit, chap. I., v. 2.

tribes was thus completed.[1] On the present occasion, Arbianes carried the principal inhabitants to Halah, and to the Khábúr, the river of Gozan,[2] and to the cities of the Medes. Babylon, the capital, is commonly spoken of as being the abode of the captives, but many of them were taken to the country lying about the Khábúr, and even to the Assyrian capital, Nineveh, in which Tobit's kindred were placed.[3] This person there became the purveyor of Enemessar, the father of Sennacherib,[4] and through the kindness of the king he was permitted occasionally to visit the other captives in Media.[5] From the latter circumstance it would appear that the country of the Medes was again subject to Assyria at this period.

Tobit is carried to Nineveh.

Not content with the removal of the prisoners to the mountains of Media, Arbianes, or Shalmaneser, by way of securing effectually his dominion over Syria, sent colonists thither from some of the most populous cities in his empire, as from Babylon, Cutha, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim (Sippara), and located them in Samaria, where the idolatrous practices of the Assyrians soon became firmly established.[6]

Assyrian colony sent into Syria.

Elibus, having slain Merodach-Baladán, and usurped the throne of Babylon, with the intention of becoming independent, Sennacherib, who had recently succeeded his father Shalmaneser, proceeded with an army against the Babylonians, and, after routing them, he commanded that Elibus and his adherents should be carried into the land of the Assyrians. In consequence of this success, Sennacherib took upon himself the government[7] of the Babylonians, appointing his son Asadanius, or Esar-Haddon, to be king, and then retired into Assyria. Having heard a report that the Greeks had made a hostile descent upon Cilicia, he put himself immediately at the head of his army, and overthrew them in a pitched battle.[8]

Sennacherib succeeds, and overthrows the Greeks.

[1] 2 Kings, chap. XVIII., 9 and following verses; and 1 Chron., chap. V., v. 26.

[2] On the eastern side of the Tigris.

[3] Tobit, chap. I., v. 10. [4] Ibid., v. 15.

[5] Ibid., v. 14.

[6] 2 Kings, chap. XVII., v. 24.

[7] Ancient Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., p. 61

[8] Ibid., from Euseb., Ar. Chron., p. 62. He afterwards built the city of Tarsus, after the likeness of Babylon, and called it Tharsis.

The first invasion of Judea by Sennacherib (the Sargon of Isaiah),[1] took place in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, when, all the fenced cities being taken by the Assyrians, the king of Judah, in the hope of arresting their progress, resorted to the desperate expedient of stopping all the fountains, as well as the overflow of the brooks running through the land.[2] He was compelled, however, to submit to the powerful conqueror; and the latter having, as the price of peace, received the sum of thirty talents of gold and three hundred of silver, sent his army towards Egypt, under the command of Tartan, who took Ashdod,[3] one of the frontier towns.

He invades Judea and

Notwithstanding this success, Sennacherib appears to have considered it dangerous to continue the invasion of Egypt, whilst the kingdom of Judea remained unsubdued in his rear, particularly at the moment when a vast force was on the march in that direction, under Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia.[4]

He therefore abandoned hostilities against Egypt, in order to hasten the conquest of Judea; when, having overcome and subdued the whole country and its cities, with the exception of Libnah and Lachish, he renewed the siege of those places, and also commenced in form that of the capital itself. But whilst the majority of his forces were employed in pushing the siege of Jerusalem, in the hope of anticipating the intended assistance of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, Tirhakah was marching his army through the Desert, in order to fall directly on their rear. At this juncture the operations of the Assyrian monarch were completely paralyzed by the sudden loss of nearly his whole army. God, says Berossus, had sent a pestilential distemper among them, and on the very first night of the siege 185,000 men, with their captains and generals, were destroyed.[5] Sennacherib, in consequence of this disaster, fled with all speed to Nineveh, where he was assassinated in the temple of the idol Nisroch, by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer;[6] or by one of them only, according to Eusebius.

besieges Jerusalem.

Destruction of his army before Jerusalem.

[1] Chap. XX., v. 1.

[2] 2 Chron., chap. XXXII., v. 4; the outlet of Cedron towards the besiegers.

[3] Isaiah, chap. XX., v. 1.

[4] 2 Kings, chap. XIX., v. 9.

[5] Berossus, quoted by Joseph., lib. X., cap. i.

[6] 2 Kings, chap. XIX., v. 37.

The latter author, after enumerating the various exploits of this monarch, whom he calls Sennacherim, adds, that he reigned eighteen years, and was cut off by a conspiracy which had been formed against his life by his son, Ardumusanus.[1] Death of Sennacherib.

The overthrow of Sennacherib in this expedition, which was destined against Egypt, is described by Herodotus,[2] who gives such a version of the affair as might be expected from the vanity of the Egyptian priests, from whom he received the account, and who would naturally ascribe the deliverance to their own gods. The relation given by Herodotus is as follows: —"After this, Sethos ascended the throne of Egypt, and treated his soldiers with great severity; he took from them the lands which had been granted by former kings, and the consequence was that they refused him any aid against Sennacherib. This caused great perplexity to Sethos, who went into the temple, and complained with tears to his idol of the peril he was in. In the midst of his distress he was overtaken by sleep; and in his vision he was told to be of good courage, for no misfortune should befall him. Confiding in this dream, he took such of the merchants, artificers, and populace as were willing to follow him, and marched to Pelusium, where the Assyrian army was encamped. When arrived at this place, field-mice in great numbers spread themselves about among the invaders, and gnawed in pieces the quivers, bows, and thongs of the shields; so that on the following morning, being destitute of arms, they were obliged to fly, and, being closely pursued, many of them fell." "Even to this day," adds Herodotus, "there stands in the temple of Vulcan a statue in stone of this king, having a mouse in his hand, and saying, as expressed by the inscription, 'Let him who looks on me reverence the Gods.'"[3] Account of this catastrophe by Herodotus. B.C. 710 or 706.

[1] Euseb., Ar. Chron., 42. [2] Lib. II., cap. 141.
[3] Herod., lib. II., cap. 141.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF SENNACHERIB, ABOUT 709 B.C., TO THE FALL OF BABYLON, 538 OR 536 B.C.

Hezekiah's Treasures.—Babylon and Nineveh united.—Ecbatana taken.—March to Cilicia.—Chinilidanus and the Scythian Invasion.—Cyaxares.—Nabopolasar and Nineveh.—Saracus destroys himself.—Nabopolasar governs Nineveh.—Pharaoh Necho's Fleets and invasion of Babylonia, Carchemish, &c.—Nebuchadnezzar as the General of his father invades Palestine and Egypt.—Daniel carried captive.—The Army returns by two routes to Babylonia.—Nebuchadnezzar mediates between the Lydians and Medes.—March to Jerusalem.—Plunder of the Temple.—Nebuchadnezzar adorns Babylon.—Rebellion of Zedekiah.—Jeremiah's prophecy.—Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem, and carries Captives to Babylon.—Judea laid waste.—Tyre besieged and taken.—Nebuchadnezzar attacks Egypt and carries Spoils to the Temple of Belus.—Commerce, Canals, and Works of Nebuchadnezzar.—Nebuchadnezzar's Prophecy.—He loses his reason.—He resumes the throne.—His Death and Character.—Evil-Merodach succeeds, and is Assassinated.—Neriglessor succeeds.—His War with Cyrus.—An embassy comes from India to Babylon.—Depravity of the Babylonians.—Belshazzar ascends the throne of Babylon.—His mother, Nitocris, prepares for a Siege.—Advance of Cyrus.—The river Gyndes drained by means of numerous Channels.—Babylon beleagured.—The stratagem of diverting the River.—Assault of Babylon.—Babylonia added to Assyria.

Division of the empire on the death of Sennacherib.

FROM several circumstances mentioned in Scripture, it is evident that the preceding short and disastrous reign had brought the affairs of Assyria into a very troubled and confused state. The death of Sennacherib was followed by a temporary division of his empire; in consequence of the efforts made by the rulers of some of the satrapies to establish their independence. One of the number, Merodach Baladan, the Mardoch Empadus of Ptolemy,[1] and son of Nabonasar or

[1] Jahn's Hebrew Commonwealth, vol. I., p. 149.

Baladan, who, as his deputy, had hitherto governed Babylon, now sent an embassy to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery from sickness, as well as on his miraculous delivery from the invasion of Sennacherib; and it was on this occasion that, in the pride of his heart, Hezekiah showed the treasures of his house, as well as those of the Temple.[1] He received, as the punishment of his vanity, prophetic intelligence of the coming captivity, at the moment when Babylon had just revolted from Assyria, and become a separate kingdom.[2]

Hezekiah's vanity.

After a reign of twelve years, Merodach Baladan was succeeded by Arkianus, who reigned only five years; and this period was followed by an interregnum of two years, on the termination of which Belus mounted the throne; but the rule of that sovereign did not exceed three years. Apronadius succeeded, and at the expiration of six years the sceptre passed to Rigebelus. After the short space of one year the crown devolved upon Messomordacus, who reigned only four years: after which another interregnum occurred at Babylon.

Esarhaddon, the third son, succeeded his father (Sennacherib) in the government of Assyria after a short interval; he appears to be represented by Artacus, the sixth of the Median dynasty of Ctesias.

Esarhaddon ascends the throne of Assyria.

This monarch found the kingdom in a very distracted state, owing to the revolt of one portion of his people, probably the Persians, called Cadusians,[3] who maintained a bloody contest with the Medians; but having at length restored peace by gradually extending his dominion over both kingdoms, he was prepared, now that his power was consolidated, to take advantage of the favourable opportunity offered by the interregnum at Babylon, to add that kingdom to his other possessions. Being thus placed at the head of a powerful army by the temporary re-union of Babylonia and Assyria, Esarhaddon determined to pursue his father's project of extending his dominions, and he proceeded to the invasion of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, leav-

Revolt of the Persians.

Esarhaddon invades Syria and Egypt.

[1] Dean Prideaux's Connexion, vol. I., p. 19, (ed. 1831); Jos., Ant., lib. X., c. 2.

[2] 2 Kings, chap. XX., v. 12, 13, 17, 18.

[3] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxii.

Dejoces raised to the throne of Media.

ing Dejoces, who ruled at Ecbatana, to govern the kingdom, to which the latter had been called by the unanimous voice of the Medes.[1]

It was during these wars in the western countries that Sardochœus or Saosduchinus, son and general of Esarhaddon, having defeated Manasseh, king of Judah, and overtaken him in his flight, carried him to Babylon in chains.[2] Some commentators, and amongst them Dr. Hales, are of opinion that Esarhaddon was the great Sardanapalus;[3] but the capture of Nineveh does not appear to synchronise with the reign in question.

Captivity of Manasseh.

Saosduchinus[4] succeeded his father Esarhaddon, after having been his deputy over Nineveh and Babylon; and Phraortes, about the same time, succeeded Dejoces on the throne of Media. Being of an ambitious and warlike disposition, Phraortes invaded his neighbours in I'rán with such success, that he was enabled to conquer the whole of that part of Asia. In the belief that the same success would attend him in a still greater undertaking, he subsequently turned his arms southward, and commenced that rebellion against his sovereign, which, in the end, proved fatal to himself.

Accession and rebellion of Phraortes.

Saosduchinus or Nabuchodonosor.

We can scarcely feel a doubt that the monarch here alluded to is the same who is so particularly mentioned as Nabuchodonosor in the apocryphal book of Judith, for the dates, as well as the whole of the circumstances, perfectly correspond. There we find that, in the twelfth year of Nabuchodonosor's[5] reign at Nineveh, Arphaxad, or Phraortes, who reigned over the Medes, rebelled, and fortified the palace and treasury, built by his father Dejoces[6] in Ecbatana,[7] with walls of hewn stone, having towers and gates seventy cubits high by forty cubits broad, for the going forth of his mighty men.[8]

[1] Herod., lib. I., cap. 97, 98. [2] 2 Chron., chap. XXXIII., v. 11.
[3] Crossthwaite's Synchronology, p. 260.
[4] Ancient Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq., pp. 80, 83.
[5] The Nabuchodonosorus of Chaldean history.
[6] Herod., lib. I., c. 98, 99.
[7] Now Takhti-Soleïmán; also Shíz or Gaza, vol. X., pp. 157, 158, of Royal Geographical Journal.
[8] Judith, chap. I., v. 1–4.

Description of the Median Ecbatana.

The city and fortress of Ecbatana are particularly described by Herodotus. The palace and treasury occupied the centre of an enclosure, consisting of seven concentric circles, each being constructed in such a manner that its battlements overtopped the neighbouring wall. The battlements of the first circle were white, those of the second black, the third scarlet, the fourth blue, the fifth orange, and all were thus distinguished by different colours, except the sixth, which was plated with silver, and the seventh with gold.[1] The conical hill and position of the ruins of Takhti Solëimán appear to coincide with the descriptions of Herodotus, the seven colours being derived from a fable of Sabean origin, the walls here representing the seven heavenly spheres, and the seven climates through which they revolve.[2]

Nabuchodonosor assembles the forces of his empire.

In order to overcome this rebellious attempt, Nabuchodonosor assembled all that dwelt by the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Hydaspes[3] (Hedypnus), in the plain of Arioch,[4] with the king of the Elymæans, also very many nations of the sons of Chilod or Gelod,[5] and marched the whole to the field of battle.

In addition to the troops thus assembled, the king of the Assyrians sent to all that dwelt in Persia, and westward in Cilicia, Damascus, Libanus, and Anti-Libanus, as well as on the sea-coast; also in Carmel, Galaad (Gilead), Esdraëlon, Samaria, Jerusalem, Betane, Chellus, Kades, Taphnes, Ramesse, and all the land of Gezen (Gosen), together with Tanis, and

[1] Herod., lib. I., cap. xcviii., xcix.

[2] Royal Geographical Journal, vol. X., pp. 126, 127.

[3] The Hydaspes is evidently a mistake, probably in transcribing the Hedypnus. The latter is supposed (see above, vol. I., p. 205) to be represented by the eastern arm of the river Kárún; and as it flows along the northern border of Elymais, the next province mentioned in Judith, its geographical position coincides.

[4] Judith, chap. I., v. 6, and Tobit, chap. I., v. 14. Now the district of Máh-Sabadán, described under the name of Massabatice by Strabo, pp. 524, 725, as intervening between Susiana and the districts around Mount Zagros; also as the Sambatæ of Ptolemy, lib. VI., cap. i. See vol. IX., p. 47, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[5] Supposed to be part of the Arabs, probably of the Palmyrene district, and others bordering upon Syria.

Memphis, and the inhabitants of Egypt, as far as the borders of Ethiopia. But as many of these nations were very remote, they made light of his commands, and sent his ambassadors away in disgrace;[1] from which it may be inferred that his power to command them was merely nominal.

Ecbatana captured, and

This took place in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the preparations of Nabuchodonosor had occupied more than four[2] years previously to taking the field. Being victorious in his enterprise over the horsemen, chariots, and cities, he took the towers of Ecbatana; and Arphaxad being slain with darts in the mountains of Ragau (the Rhages of Alexander),[3] the conqueror returned to Nineveh, where he took his ease, banqueting with all his army for the space of 120 days, as Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes Longimanus) did at a later period.[4]

rejoicings at Nineveh.

The preceding account perfectly agrees with that given by Herodotus of Phraortes, the son of Dejoces, who was doubtless the same monarch, and who, not being content with Media, proceeded from conquest to conquest, till he undertook an expedition against the Assyrians of Nineveh, in which he perished with the greatest part of his army.[5] It is, besides, a remarkable corroboration that the defection of the allies of the Assyrians is also stated by Herodotus, who adds, as Judith does, that they were still powerful.[6]

The defection of the western states led to the invasion of Judea by the Assyrians: of this there is not any account, excepting that which is given in the book of Judith; this book, therefore, supplies some important links in profane as well as in sacred history.

Projected invasion of Judea.

During this time of continued festivity, and in remembrance of his oath to be avenged upon the people of the provinces westward of Assyria, also with the purpose of bringing, as he said, the whole world under his dominion, Holofernes, the

[1] Judith, chap. I., v. 7—12. [2] Judith, chap. I., v. 14.

[3] Represented by the remarkable ruins of Kal'eh Erig near Verámín, eastward of those of Rei, and also of the city of Teherán. Vol. X., p. 135 of Royal Geographical Journal.

[4] Esther, chap. I. [5] Lib. I., cap. cii.

[6] Herod., ibid.

general of his armies,[1] was called into his presence; when the great king, or, as he is also called, the "lord of all the earth,"[2] proceeded to give him detailed instructions to move with 120,000 men and 12,000 horsemen, or mounted Median archers, against the disobedient people in the western country, at the same time commanding this people to send him earth and water, such having been at all times the tokens of submission in the east. Army of Holofernes.

The account of the succeeding operations, as given in the book of Judith, has a great interest for the military historian, since it shows that the Assyrian forces were regularly divided into horse and foot, with a proportion of officers, the whole systematically organized according to their several grades, from the general-in-chief to the followers of the camp. This organization not only secured the due performance of all the executive duties and details, but was also the means of overcoming the greatest of all difficulties experienced by large armies, that of providing the supplies. By an efficient commissariat, provisions of all kinds were prepared and transported for the consumption of this vast force throughout its lengthened march. Organization of the Assyrian forces.

The details in the book of Judith are so precise, that they may be considered as constituting an answer to the objections which have been made to the marches of the eastern armies in ancient times, on account of the supposed difficulty of providing the necessary supplies. This difficulty has been thought insurmountable, though the campaigns of Darius, Xerxes, and others seem to establish the fact that it was overcome.

We are told that Holofernes went from the presence of his lord, and called together the governors, captains, and officers of the army of Assur; when, having arranged them, as a great army is ordered for war,[3] he took camels and asses for their carriages, a very great number, also sheep, oxen, and goats, Supplies for the campaigns.

[1] Supposed to be derived from the Persian "Aula Pharneese," as explained by Col. D'Arcy, R.A., and we find the name of Artaphernes amongst the generals of Darius.

[2] The sovereign of Persia still receives the title of Sháh-in-Sháh of I'rán.—Correspondence relating to Afghánistán: Parliamentary Papers, pp. 78, 134, 135.

[3] Judith, chap. II., v. 14, 16.

The means of transport.

without number, for their provision, and plenty of victuals for every man in the army. He then prepared depôts to receive the corn, to be collected out of all Syria, for his passage; also gold and silver he took out of the king's house in great abundance. Then went forth he, and all the army, with the chariots and horsemen and archers, who covered the face of the earth like locusts.[1]

The march from Nineveh is particularly detailed, and the geography of the successive countries so faithfully followed, that even if the book itself be apocryphal, it must have been from the pen of some individual, who was well acquainted with the whole of the countries lying between the Tigris and the river of Egypt; the details are thus given:[2] "And there joined unto him [Holofernes] all that dwelled upon the mountains, and those that dwelled by the Euphrates, Tigris, Hydaspes (Hedypnus), and the field of Arioch, that was the king of the Elimees [Ελυμαίων]; and many people of the nation of Gelod joined their armies with him,"[3] even as far as Jerusalem and Bethaven, and Chellus and Gades and the flood of Egypt. So when they were past Nineveh three days' journey, they came unto the plain of Bectoleth,[4] at the mountain Arge or Argæus (Arjísh Ṭágh), which standeth on the left hand of the Upper Cilicia. And it may here be mentioned that as the mountain in question lies to the north or left hand, and not far from the borders of Upper Cilicia, the most convenient route thither from Nineveh would be along the valley of the Tigris, and onward along the plain of Malaṭíyah to the Halys at the A'yánlik of Hájí Bektásh.[5] Holofernes subsequently moved his tents from Bectoleth, and led his army, as well horsemen as footmen, with their chariots, into the mountains; and invading their castles and winning their holds, he broke into the famous

Subsidiary forces are added.

Route by Mount Argæus.

through Asia Minor,

[1] Judith, chap. II., v. 20.

[2] In Day's black-letter Apocrypha, published in 1549.

[3] Judith, chap. I., v. 6, 7.

[4] Or opposite to the plain of Bectoleth, according to the Greek Apocrypha. Antwerp, 1566.

[5] As this place is but a little way from the mountain in question, and not distant from the ancient Mazaca, it is therefore probable that this city may represent Molopus, and that the plain near Bektásh is that of Bectoleth.

city Molopus. He destroyed Phud and Lud, and spoiled all the people of Rasses and Ismaël, who dwelt toward the desert at the south side of Challeorus.[1] And then passing over Euphrates, he went by Mesopotamia and all the noble cities that stood by the river Arbonai,[2] and he destroyed them even to the sea-side, and subdued the coasts of Cilicia, and slew all that withstood him. And he came unto the borders of Japheth, that lie against Aluster and Arabia, and he went through all the country of the Medians,[3] and set their tents on fire, and burned their houses; and then came he down into the fields of Damascus, in harvest, and set on fire all their lands, vines, and trees, and burnt their flocks and cattle, and spoiled their cities and fields, and killed all their youth with the edge of the sword. Cilicia and Damascus,

Nabuchodonosor, [4] passing through Syria, Sobal, and Alapamea, Mesopotamia and Idumea, came in sight of Asdrelon,[5] nigh unto Dorats,[6] which is against the strait passage of Jewry; and pitching his tents between Gaba[7] and Scython-Polim,[8] he tarried there that month, whilst he gathered together all the vessels that belonged to his army. to the coast of Syria.

The death of Holofernes during the siege of Bethuliah,[9] terminated this remarkable campaign, as is supposed about 656 B.C. Eight years later, 648 B.C., Chinilidanus, or Chuniladanus,[10] also called Saracus,[11] succeeded to the dominion over the vast possessions of Nabuchodonosor; and he had the seat of his government in Nineveh. Being of an effeminate disposition, the power entrusted to him was not long recognised, especially by the Babylonians and Medes; the latter revolted about 663 B.C., and Cyaxares, properly Kei Axares, who succeeded his father Death of Holofernes. Revolt of the Medes.

[1] Perhaps Chalcis, in the desert of Aleppo.
[2] No doubt the Mesopotamian Khábúr.
[3] Probably so called as being the recent conquests of Dejoces and Phraortes.
[4] Supplementary passage in black-letter Apocrypha.
[5] Εσδραηλων—Esdraëlon.
[6] Δοταιας, the land of dates or gifts. Antwerp Apocrypha.
[7] Γαβα—Gaba.
[8] The city of the Scythians.
[9] Jotapata or Safet. See Vol. I., p. 479.
[10] Cory's Ancient Fragments, pp. 80, 83.
[11] Prideaux's Connexion, vol. I., p. 40.

Phraortes, not only recovered what had been lost by the defeat of his father, but drove the Assyrians within the walls of Nineveh.

Inroads and Conquests of the Scythians.

About the twelfth year of his reign a formidable inroad into Assyria took place, led by Madyas.[1] A swarm of Scythians from Central Asia passed the Caucasus in search of a richer country with a milder climate, and having penetrated, probably by the route of Derbend, into Media, they defeated Cyaxares in a bloody contest, overran that kingdom, and established themselves in the regions of Colchis. Having no other enemy to contend with, the Scythians extended their conquests to Syria, and even to the borders of Egypt; from whence, owing to the judicious entreaties and presents made to them, they returned through the land of the Philistines. Wars, however, appear to have been carried on with various degrees of success during a period of twenty-eight years[2] against both the Medes and the Assyrians: within that time, such a division of interests was created as led to the downfal of the Assyrian empire; and the two collateral empires of the Medes and Persians rose upon its ruins.

Cyaxares recovers his dominions and forms an alliance with the Lydians.

The importance of Media among the ancient nations had increased very much at this period; for, Cyaxares having delivered his country from the Scythians, by murdering the greatest part of them at a general feast which was given in every family, the Medes regained their freedom, and with it their ancient boundary, the Halys.[3] A war succeeded with the Lydians on account of the protection given by the latter to some fugitive Scythians; and after a battle, made remarkable by a total eclipse which terminated the engagement, peace was subsequently restored by the intervention of Labynetus, the king of Babylon, and Syennesis, king of Cilicia; which was cemented by the marriage of Astyages, son of Cyaxares, to the daughter of Alyattes, king of Lydia.[4]

At this period Babylonia was a separate government under Nabopolasar, who, having been sent thither as commander of the army of Saracus, took this opportunity of revolting, and

[1] Herod., lib. I., cap. ciii.
[2] Ibid., cap. cv.
[3] Ibid., cap. cvi.
[4] Ibid., cap. lxxiii., lxxiv.

turning his arms against his sovereign.[1] This individual, also called Busalossorus,[2] having obtained Amuhean, the daughter of Astyages, satrap of Media, to be affianced to his son, Nabopalasarus, who is called by Eusebius Nabuchodorosorus,[3] and being assisted by the Medes, under Cyaxares, marched to surprise the city of Ninus or Nineveh. Saracus, the king, being apprised of these proceedings, sent his three sons and two daughters, with a great treasure, to Paphlagonia, and being reduced to extremities by the joint attacks of his traitorous enemies, which continued upwards of two years, he burnt himself with his concubines, in the royal palace.[4] Nabopolasar succeeded to the dominion of the empire in consequence of this event, and Nineveh having been almost entirely destroyed during the late siege, he determined to establish the seat of government at Babylon: this city, which was soon afterwards surrounded by a strong wall,[5] thus became the capital of the Assyrian empire.

Siege of Nineveh.

Babylon becomes the capital.

Reverting to another kingdom, it appears that about this period the attractions of commerce had broken down the barrier which had hitherto excluded foreign vessels from the ports of Egypt. For Psammeticus, the reigning prince, having applied himself to the advancement of trade, did not hesitate to bring about this great change by admitting foreign vessels in future, and receiving with hospitality the strangers who accompanied them.

Psammeticus promotes the commerce of Egypt.

The gifted Nechus or Pharaoh Necho, his successor, directed the energies of his enlarged mind to carrying out on a grand scale the mercantile projects of his father. He endeavoured, as it were, to cause the isthmus itself to disappear, by opening a communication between his fleets in the Mediterranean sea, and those in the Arabian Gulf, by means of a canal. This was sufficiently broad for two triremes to sail abreast in passing between the Red Sea at Suëz, and the river Nile at the town of Bubastis.[6] Being warned by an oracle to leave its comple-

Pharaoh Necho begins a canal at Suëz,

[1] Euseb., Chron., p. 46.
[2] Euseb., Ar. Chron., p. 53.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Jackson, Anc. Chron., vol. I., p. 342.
[5] Euseb., Chron., 49.
[6] Herod., lib. II., cap. clviii., clix.

tion to a foreigner,[1] he relinquished the excavations for a still more remarkable undertaking.

and sends a Phœnician fleet

Nechus being determined to solve the geographical problem of the peninsular form of Africa, employed certain Phœnicians for this purpose, despatching them with instructions to circumnavigate this continent, and return to Egypt through the Pillars of Hercules. In accordance with these commands, the fleet prepared for this purpose sailed down the Arabian Gulf, and entering the Indian Ocean, continued to coast southward till the autumn, when the crews landed and sowed some grain; and having awaited the harvest, they continued the voyage, again putting ashore to sow and reap as they advanced. After the lapse of two years they reached the Pillars of Hercules, and during the third year they returned to Egypt, and stated, adds Herodotus, "what is not credible to me though it may be so to others," that in their circumnavigation of Libya they had the sun on their right hand, that is on the north.[2]

to circumnavigate Africa.

The alleged difficulty of giving credence to the fact thus stated, is precisely that which in modern times best confirms its truth, resting as it does upon a change of position during the latter part of the voyage, which the mariners could not by any possibility have imagined. But independently of the confirmation thus given, the circumnavigation of Africa at the time in question was not so much a fresh voyage of discovery, as the extension of others which had been already carried along the coasts of this continent for the extension of commerce. The western coast was already known, whilst the previous and more difficult enterprise to Ophir must, in connexion with the land-trade, have given some knowledge of the eastern coast; so that only the southern coasts of Africa, on each side of the continent, were in reality unknown at the time Nechus despatched his fleet.

Previous knowledge of the coasts of Africa.

Pharaoh Necho

Not satisfied with the well-merited distinction which he had acquired in consequence of the benefits conferred upon mankind, more particularly by the circumnavigation of Africa,

[1] Seventy years later it was resumed by Darius Hystaspes, and ultimately completed by Ptolemy the Second. Strabo, lib. XVII., p. 1157.

[2] Herod., lib. IV., cap. xlii.; and Rennel, p. 672, ed. 1800.

Pharaoh Necho determined to take advantage of the unsettled state of the countries beyond the Euphrates, and marched, at the head of a large army, to Akko (now Ptolemais), in order to proceed through Palestine and Gilead to the dominions of Nabopolasar. Being refused a passage, however, by king Josiah, a battle took place at Megiddo,[1] in which the king of Judah was killed; when a contribution of one hundred talents of silver and one of gold was levied upon Jerusalem, and carried into Egypt.[2] Having now secured the intended line of march, and made all the necessary preparations, he proceeded towards Assyria. This was in the third year after the battle of Megiddo, and after crossing the Upper Euphrates he attacked the celebrated city of Carchemish. During this operation an extensive revolt having taken place in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, two provinces which had been conquered by Nabopolasar, that king determined to punish the delinquents in these provinces, but being himself too far advanced in life to undertake such a campaign, he sent his son, who is best known as Nebuchadnezzar, then the partner of his throne, with a powerful army against the Egyptians and revolted Syrians. A complete victory over the former, at Carchemish, was the consequence; and the young prince, pursuing his success, subdued the whole country to the river Nile, with the exception of Judea, which was then under Jehoiakim. Against this province, however, he speedily turned his arms; and Jerusalem being surrounded, Jehoiakim saved his capital by promising tribute for the next three years. As security for this payment a number of the principal inhabitants, amongst whom was the prophet Ezekiel, were delivered up, together with a portion of the treasures of the temple, and carried as hostages to Babylon.[3]

invades Judea, and

advances into Assyria.

Nebuchadnezzar defeats the Egyptians,

invades Judea,

On the death of his father, Nebuchadnezzar returned to the capital; and to this event we owe the knowledge that two different lines of march were in use at the period in question

and returns to Babylon by

[1] Magdolus; Herod., lib. II., cap. clix. Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 157.

[2] 2 Kings, chap. XXIII., v. 29–33; 2 Chron., chap. XXXVI., v. 3–4; compared with Herod., lib. II., cap. clix.

[3] Jos., lib. X., cap. vi.; 2 Kings, chap. XXIV., v. 1; 2 Chron., chap. XXXVI., v. 6.

the route of the desert.

between Babylon and Jerusalem. The king, as we are told by Berossus, gave orders that the part of the forces which wore heavy armour, together with the captives and the baggage, should proceed leisurely to Babylonia, no doubt through the populous countries in the line of Syria; whilst he, with a few of his attendants, returned home by crossing the desert direct to Babylon. When he arrived there he found that his affairs had been faithfully conducted by the Chaldeans, the principal person among them having preserved the kingdom for him; and he accordingly obtained possession of all his father's dominions without opposition.[1]

Nebuchadnezzar ascends the throne.

The tranquillity of Jerusalem, which had thus been purchased at the expense of its treasure, continued undisturbed during the three first years of the captivity. Nebuchadnezzar had at this time become a mediator between the Medes and the Lydians; and having united with the sovereign of the former people he proceeded to besiege Nineveh,[2] which was then occupied by the Lydians.

Jehoiakim seized this opportunity to rid himself of the tribute imposed upon him, by rebelling, probably trusting to assistance from Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar however, continued his operations against Nineveh till he had depopulated the city and laid it in ruins; thus accomplishing all that the prophets had predicted concerning it.[3] After this,[4] having also in the mean time established his authority over the dominions of Nabopolasar, he marched westward to punish his rebellious satraps in that direction. In this expedition, he took the whole line of country from the river Euphrates with all that appertained to

Siege and destruction of Nineveh.

Nebuchadnezzar invades Judea, and

[1] Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 329; from Syncel. Chron., 220; Euseb. Præp. Evan., lib. IX.

[2] Nahum, chap. II.

[3] Ibid., also chap. III.

[4] There is a difference of three years at this period among the commentators; which may be accounted for by the circumstance that Nebuchadnezzar, who was engaged with more weighty matters, had left the subjugation of Palestine to the neighbouring tribes, the Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, 2 Kings, chap. XXIV., v. 2. These ravaged the country from 602 to 599 B.C., and shut up Jehoiakim in the city, probably till near the time of Nebuchadnezzar's return to the western provinces.

the king of Egypt, including Jerusalem itself,[1] which was in alliance with the latter kingdom at that time.[2] Jehoiakim having been killed and thrown before the walls,[3] the money of the royal treasury, with the golden and other vessels of the temple of Solomon, were taken away and placed in the temple of Babylon;[4] 3023 Jews were at the same time conveyed as captives to that city. carries spoil and captives to Babylon.

Jehoiachin, also called Jechoniah, and in contempt Coniah, succeeded his father at eighteen years of age. The peace of the city was not, however, of long continuance, for after the short interval of three months, Nebuchadnezzar returned to besiege it, and took Jehoiachin, with his mother and his whole court, and all the treasure of the house of the Lord and the king's house, and carried away all the princes, the mighty men of valour, even 8,000 captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths, together with the mighty of the land, to Babylon.[5] A portion of these was planted on the river Chebar, and amongst them was Ezekiel, whom we find prophecying in the land of the Chaldeans, on the banks of that stream.[6] Farther in the interior were Mordecai and others; for, as Berossus expresses it, "he distributed the captives in colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia."[7] Second siege of Jerusalem, and further captivity of the Jews.

On his return from this campaign, Nebuchadnezzar devoted his attention for some years to the embellishment and enlargement of Babylon; but in this occupation he was interrupted by a hostile confederacy of the kings of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Tyre, and Sidon. Into this conspiracy, notwithstanding the warnings of Jeremiah[8] and Ezekiel,[9] Zedekiah, once Mattaniah, then king Embellishment of Babylon.

[1] 2 Kings, chap. XXIV., v. 7.

[2] Ibid., chap. XXIII., v. 33, 34.

[3] Jos., lib. X., cap. vi.

[4] 2 Chron., chap. 36, v. 6, 7, and Jer., chap. LII., 18th, and following verses.

[5] 2 Kings, chap. XXIV., v. 15, 16.

[6] Ezekiel, chap. I., v. 3.

[7] Cory's Ancient Fragments from Berossus, p. 39, and Syncel. Chron., p. 220.

[8] Where are now your prophets who prophesied unto you, saying the king of Babylon shall not come against you, nor against this land? Chap. XXXVII., v. 19.

[9] Ezekiel gave a very remarkable but enigmatical warning of the fate of Zedekiah, by predicting that he should be carried to Babylon, and yet that he should not see it, though he should die there. Chap. XII., v. 13.

Rebellion of Zedekiah.

of Judah, had entered, hoping that with the powerful assistance of his ally, Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt,[1] he might be able to throw off the Chaldean yoke, and release the Jewish captives, who were then looking for a speedy return from Assyria as well as Babylonia, to their native land.

On the news of Zedekiah's rebellion, the Babylonian monarch anticipated the promised succour of the Egyptians, by making a hasty march and surrounding Jerusalem.[2] Having thus interposed his forces between those of Zedekiah and the Egyptians, he marched to meet the latter during their advance. On this movement[3] being made, the Egyptians hastily retreated into their own country, without even hazarding a battle in support of their allies; and Nebuchadnezzar being thus at liberty, began the siege of the city in form, that is, by building forts round about it.[4] After a siege of eighteen months[5] a famine prevailed, and all the men of war fled by night, by the way of the gate, between the two walls. The Chaldeans pursued the king, and having overtaken him in the plains of Jericho they carried him to Riblah,[6] where his sons were put to death in his presence by order of Nebuchadnezzar. After this, Zedekiah's own eyes having been put out, he was led in fetters of brass to Babylon,[7] where he died, without, as had been predicted, having seen the splendour of the city, now adorned with Jewish spoils, including the magnificent vessels of Solomon's temple,[8] which are supposed to have furnished the materials for the golden colossus on the plain of Dura.

Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem,

and adorns his capital with its spoils.

These had been carried thither by Nebuzar-adan, the commander of the Royal Babylonian Life Guards, who not only set fire to the temple as well as to the palaces, but destroyed all the defences of the city,[9] leaving merely some of the poorest

[1] Jerem., chap. 37., v. 2–7; and chap. XVII., v. 3.
[2] Joseph., lib. X., cap. viii.
[3] Jerem., chap. XXXVII., v. 7.
[4] 2 Kings, chap. XXV., v. 1.
[5] *i. e.* from the 10th month of 590 B.C. to the 4th month 9th day of 588; Jerem., chap. XXXIX., v. 1, 2.
[6] A province of Hamath. [7] 2 Kings, chap. XXV., v. 7.
[8] Ibid., v. 13–17; 2 Chron., chap. XXXVI., v. 18.
[9] 2 Kings, chap. XXV., v. 8, 9, 10.

of the inhabitants as vine-dressers and husbandmen[1] in Judea, under the government of Gedaliah, a Hebrew, the son of Ahikam.[2]

Destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem.

The rebellion of Ismael, and the murder of Gedaliah, caused the return of Nebuzar-adan, who entirely deprived Judea of its remaining inhabitants; and as these were not immediately replaced by others, the country continued for a time uninhabited, wasted, and desolate.[3] Such was the melancholy termination of the Israelitish monarchy, after it had stood about 468 years from the commencement of David's reign.

Tyre besieged and taken by Nebuchadnezzar.

The second year after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar once more crossed the Euphrates, to make war on the western nations, and laid siege to Tyre: this siege or rather blockade continued for a period of thirteen years, when the city surrendered, but not until it had been deserted by its inhabitants.[4]

During this protracted siege, detached parties were sent by Nebuchadnezzar in different directions to reduce the Sidonians, the Moabites, and the Ammonites; and to revenge the death of Gedaliah. Nebuzar-adan, at this time, carried 745 captives from Judea, which completed the desolation of the land.[5]

Nebuchadnezzar carries the spoils of Egypt into Assyria.

Shortly after Tyre had fallen, Nebuchadnezzar took advantage of the intestine disturbances caused by the rival claims of Apius and Amasis, to invade Egypt, and having mastered the whole country, and slain great numbers of the natives, he enriched himself and his army with the spoils of that kingdom: on this occasion he transferred numbers of Egyptians, as he had before done Jews, Phœnicians, and Syrians, to his territory beyond the Euphrates.[6]

The spoils obtained in these expeditions were employed by

[1] 2 Kings, chap. XXV., ver. 12; also Jerem., chap. XXXIX., v. 10.

[2] 2 Kings, chap. XXV., ver. 22.

[3] Deut., chap. XXVIII., v. 21; Jerem., chap. XLIV., v. 2.

[4] Ezek., chap. XXVI., v. 2, 7. This city was now taken for the first time, after a glorious resistance, against one of the greatest warriors of ancient times.

[5] Jerem., chap. LII., v. 30.

[6] Josephus, Cont. Apion, lib. I., cap. 19; Syncel. Chron., 220; Euseb. Præp. Evan., l. 9, s. 41.

He adorns Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar in augmenting the splendour of his capital, and in adorning its temples, particularly that of Belus, in a sumptuous manner.[1] The same king also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, surrounding each of them with three walls, as defences against any subsequent attempt to besiege Babylon, and effect an entrance into it by diverting the river. Some of these walls were built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. When the king had thus fortified the city, and had magnificently adorned the gates, he added another palace to those in which his forefathers had dwelt: this structure adjoined the others, but exceeded them in height and splendour, and round it he formed what has been called a pensile paradise, or hanging garden. This, which was composed of high terraces, and supported on stone pillars, was made to resemble a mountainous tract of country, and was so arranged in order to gratify his queen, who had been brought up in Media, and was fond of such scenery.[2]

Erects a palace,

and forms hanging gardens.

The Nahr-Malká canal.

The improvements of the capital were not, however, the only undertakings of Nebuchadnezzar; the great work of the Nahr-Malká canal, and one portion of the extensive Nahrawán, eastward of the Tigris,[3] are attributed to this monarch.

The object of the former was to open a communication for vessels between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. It is also believed that the Pallacopas was cut by him, to carry the inundation of the former river into a lake, 1200 stadia, or about 120 miles in circumference, from which were to be sent out numerous small channels, for the purpose of irrigating and fertilizing this part of Babylonia.

Tradition concerning Nebuchadnezzar.

Eusebius relates, from a Chaldean tradition, that after the completion of all his works, Nebuchadnezzar prophesied, from the roof of his palace, the conquest of the city by the Medes and Persians, and then expired.[4] This tradition is probably a variation of the account given in the Scriptures[5] of the temporary

[1] Jos., Cont. Apion, lib. I., cap. xix.

[2] Ibid., and Syncel. Chron., 221; and Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. IX., s. 41, from Abydenus.

[3] See vol. I., pp. 28, 30.

[4] Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. IX., s. 41.

[5] Daniel, chap. IV., v. 33.

insanity with which this great monarch, when at the summit of prosperity, was afflicted: the circumstances there mentioned, may indicate either that the king, under the influence of his malady, imagined himself to be transformed into an ox, and wandered about the country, or simply that he withdrew from his palace and dwelt in retirement, confining himself to a vegetable diet till his reason returned. The former opinion is not improbable, since a person labouring under any kind of mental aberration is honoured in the East, and is allowed to follow uninterruptedly the tendency of his own will.

Temporary insanity of the king.

On the recovery of his reason he resumed his throne, but it is not known how long afterwards he occupied it. Unfortunately we have only a mere outline of the reign of this monarch, who, from the importance of his military expeditions, his encouragement of commerce, and the splendour with which he adorned his capital, was evidently one of the greatest princes of antiquity. Vestiges of his canals remain, and his trade to China is known historically; but as yet no work has reached us detailing the links which connected the interior and exterior commerce of this great empire.[1]

Commerce with China in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

El Voradam, the Evil-Merodach of Megasthenes, Evil-maradach of Berossus, and the Iloarudun of Ptolemy, who had assumed the government during the insanity of his father,[2] succeeded to the throne on his death; but having proved himself both unworthy and tyrannical, he was assassinated in the following year, after exhibiting one, and perhaps only one, trait of generosity, in releasing the unfortunate Jehoiachin, king of Judah, after a captivity of thirty-seven years.

Evil-Merodach's accession, and death by assassination.

During his short reign Evil-Merodach laid the foundation of that animosity between the Medes and Persians which afterwards occasioned the destruction of the Babylonian empire. It appears that during a hunting expedition, that prince, at the

[1] In ancient times there was a trade with China from the ports of Sur and Kilhat in the Persian Gulf; an island half way, called Kolah (possibly Ceylon), being at one period the entrepôt for that trade: Arabic MS. 7503, in the British Museum, compared with Masúdi's Historical Encyclopædia, p. 328, translated by Aloys Spernger, M.D.

[2] Jerome, Comment. on Jerem., chap. LII., v. 31, and Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible—Evil-Merodach.

Rise of hostilities between the Medes and Babylonians.

head of some Babylonians, ranged through a part of the adjoining kingdom of Media, when Astyages, the king of that country, accompanied by his son-in-law Cyrus, hastily assembled some troops, and having put the followers of Evil-Merodach to the rout, he pursued them to their own border with considerable slaughter.

Neriglissar murders and succeeds Evil-Merodach at Babylon, and

Neriglissar or Neglisarus,[1] the Neriglissoorus of Josephus,[2] son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, took this opportunity of murdering his brother-in-law Evil-Merodach, and succeeded him as king of Babylon.

In order to secure the throne thus usurped, and restrain the growing power of the Medes and Persians, at a period when the energies of the youthful Cyrus were beginning to display themselves, Neriglissar proceeded to collect the forces of the several satrapies of Lydia, Phrygia, Caria, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, &c.: he even sent envoys to the kings of India,[3] in order to obtain assistance from them. Cyaxares, with the assistance of Cyrus, had succeeded his father Astyages on the throne of Media, and with the view of counteracting the warlike preparations of the king of Babylonia, he called his nephew out of Persia with a body of 30,000 men, appointing him commander-in-chief of all his forces. After three years employed in extensive preparations, Neriglissar the Babylonian, assisted by a body of Arabians, together with the other forces, including the Lydians, under the command of the well-known Crœsus, advanced to encounter the Medes and Persians under Cyrus. The latter, on his side, was assisted by a body of Armenians, who had already subdued that portion of the kingdom of Babylon which was next to their country. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, it is said that an embassy arrived from India to inquire into the grounds and causes of the war, offering mediation if it might be accepted, and threatening at the same time to join that party which appeared to have justice on its side:[4] this was probably a consequence of the mission just mentioned as having been sent to India by Neriglissar.

Cyaxares succeeds Astyages in Media.

Cyrus takes the field against Neriglissar.

The Indians offer mediation.

In the contest which followed, Cyrus gained a complete

[1] Euseb., Chron. Arm., pp. 41, 42.

[2] Contr. Ap., lib. I., cap. xx.; Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. IX.

[3] Cyropædia, lib. I. [4] Ibid., p. 36.

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RUINS OF BABYLON.

victory over Neriglissar, who was slain;[1] and the Babylonian camp, together with all the baggage, and many captives, were taken next day, after much slaughter. Defeat of the Babylonians and Lydians, &c.

Neriglissar was succeeded by his son Laborosoarchodus, whose cruelty and oppression caused the revolt of two of his provinces, and an invasion of Babylonia by Cyrus; the latter, however, returned into Media, being unable to induce his enemies to quit the impregnable walls of the city.

The Babylonian monarch being thus freed from immediate danger, gave the rein to all his vicious propensities, and that to such an extent, that his irritated subjects conspired, and put him to death by torture.[2] After his decease, the conspirators assembled, and by common consent placed the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus,[3] one of the leaders of the insurrection.[4] This was the Belshazzar of Scripture, being the son of Evil-Merodach, by Nitocris, a very politic, active, and resolute woman, who in reality governed the empire. Whilst the dissipated and thoughtless grandson of the warlike Nebuchadnezzar rioted in intemperance, and indulged his grossest appetites, his mother had completed the great works commenced by that conqueror, and perfected the defences of the capital, more especially the walls which defended the banks of the river, and which were curiously built with burnt bricks and bitumen.[5] The tunnel also is supposed to have been her work; and as a farther means of preserving the capital of an empire, then tottering to its very foundation, Nitocris laid in a sufficient store of provision to supply the inhabitants for many years.[6] But the period was now fast approaching when the prophecies against this rich, voluptuous, and idolatrous city,[7] were about to be accomplished; and the instrument chosen to "subdue nations and loose the

Cyrus returns from Babylon

Accession of Nabonnedus or Belshazzar.

Works of Nitocris.

Supplies collected at Babylon.

[1] Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. X.

[2] Joseph., Contr. Apion, lib. I., cap. xx.; Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. IX.

[3] Nabonnidich of Ptolemy; the Labynetus of Herodotus, lib. I., cap. clxxxviii.

[4] Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 41.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Herod., lib. I., cap.

[7] The glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, Isaiah, chap. XIII., v. 19.

loins of kings"[1] was already advancing against it from Sardis, accompanied by the Armenian king, Tigranes, with his forces.

The river Gyndes drained by Cyrus.

It was during this march that the wild feat was performed of punishing the river Gyndes for disrespect to the Persian prince. In consequence of one of the sacred white horses having been drowned in attempting to swim across this stream, Cyrus declared that he would make it fordable, without wetting the knees of those who were passing. Accordingly, his whole army having halted, and his operations against Babylon having been suspended for this purpose, he dug 360 channels, and diverted the body of the river into them. This was, however, an operation of no very great difficulty, in such a country as that through which the Diyálah passes in the latter part of its course, especially as a whole army of men, accustomed to the management of water, was employed upon it for the remainder of the season. It

Former course of the Diyálah.

appears, that at one time the Diyálah did not disembogue itself into the Tigris, but its waters were carried, chiefly in one channel, in a south-easterly direction, into the Kerkhah, and the change may possibly be the consequence of the canals dug by Cyrus on this occasion.

Belshazzar is defeated, and takes refuge within the walls of Babylon.

Whilst the invaders were delayed by this useless operation, Nitocris was occupied in collecting a large army to oppose them, and the enervated monarch, Belshazzar, drew out these forces, hoping to cover and save the capital; but he experienced a signal defeat, and was driven within the walls of Babylon by the victorious Persians.

Blockade of Babylon.

Cyrus, having thus become master of the surrounding country, immediately commenced what was rather a close blockade than the regular siege of the city, which previously to that time had been deemed impregnable, owing to the extent and peculiar strength of its works; on which, in fact, all the skill of their architects, and much of the wealth of successive sovereigns of that great empire, had been expended.

In addition to the inner fortifications of the citadel, or palace, with its gates of brass, there was a triple line of exterior defences, flanked by lofty towers, which encircled a vast city, amply furnished with troops. It had, moreover, an enormous

[1] Isaiah, chap. XLV., v. 1.

population, which was abundantly supplied for a long time to come, owing to the foresight of Nitocris. Within the walls, as is customary with Eastern cities, it had the advantage of gardens and tracts of cultivated ground,[1] and a wide space between the houses and the walls.[2] Such a city might fairly be considered to be perfectly secure against any kind of open attack; therefore, it was with a firm reliance upon its extraordinary strength, that the defenders of Babylon treated the hardy warriors of Cyrus with the utmost scorn. It is said that they derided the efforts of the besiegers from the summits of their towers and walls.[3]

Strength of its defences.

The siege continued for more than two years, without the slightest impression having been made on the place, notwithstanding all the perseverance and valour of the besiegers. At that time battering-rams, catapultæ, and mines, appear to have been unknown to Cyrus; and the works which he executed for the purpose of reducing the city consisted merely of an extensive circumvallation, provided with towers constructed of date-trees, and sufficiently elevated to command the walls.[4] The forces of Cyrus were, moreover, inferior to those of the Babylonians, while the high walls and towers, with the strong lines of defence, appeared to render the city impregnable. In these circumstances Cyrus, either of himself, or in consequence of a hint from one of his generals,[5] determined to adopt one of those daring projects, by which great commanders are distinguished from ordinary captains.

Duration of the siege, and mode of attack.

Having learnt, it is supposed from Gobryas and Gadates, two Babylonian nobles, who, having been ill-treated by their king, had deserted to the Persian camp, that a great annual festival would be held at a particular time within the walls, Cyrus determined to take advantage of the circumstance by storming the city, at the very instant when he might expect to find the whole of its defenders lost in revelry. In order effectually to accomplish this project, he gradually and silently prepared the means of suddenly diverting the waters of the

Project of Cyrus to reduce the city.

Cyrus prepares to divert the waters of the Euphrates.

[1] Quin. Cur., lib. V., cap. i. [2] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. viii.
[3] Cyropædia, lib. VII.; Quin. Cur., lib. V., cap. i.
[4] Cyropædia, lib. VII. [5] Herod., lib. I., cap. cxci.

Euphrates from their ordinary channel; thus opening a passage for his troops, along the bed of the river, into the very heart of the city.

This gigantic operation was more practicable for the Persians than it would have been for a nation less accustomed to the management of water, more particularly as they had just practised nearly a similar operation, by draining the river Diyálah. More-

Enlarges the canal cut by Semiramis,

over, they had the great advantage of finding the work facilitated by the existence of a canal cut by Semiramis, and since enlarged by Nitocris, for the purpose of conveying the overflowings of the great river into the Chaldean lake. Cyrus had, therefore, only to enlarge this canal sufficiently to receive the whole, instead of a portion of the waters of the Euphrates, which would at once flow into the new channel, without the necessity of constructing a bund or dyke for this purpose.

and pushes the siege.

The plan being matured, Cyrus continued to push the siege with increased vigour; and in order to occupy the enemy's attention more effectually on the side of the city, he employed his best troops in that quarter, whilst the inferior soldiers, together with the numerous hordes always following in the train of an Asiatic army, were employed in working out the bed of the canal, which was opened at some distance to the north-west of the city.

Facility of diverting the river Euphrates.

Herodotus does not tell us whether or not a bund was constructed as an additional means of diverting the course of the river; but this could scarcely have been necessary, for the stream in that part of Babylonia is so dull, that a new bed with a deeper channel in the proposed direction, and at the most, a partial bund projecting at a suitable angle from the lower side of the canal, would have answered the purpose.

The operation was accomplished after nightfall on the evening of the festival, supposed to be that of Sacea, which, according to Berossus, took place in the eleventh month, called Loos; when, during a period of five days, it was the custom that the masters should obey their domestics, one of whom was led round the house, clothed in a royal garment, and him they call Zoganes.[1]

[1] Ancient Fragments, p. 43, by I. P. Cory, Esq.

Cyrus posted one-half of his army where the Euphrates enters the city, and the other half at its outlet, the columns being generally guided by the two Babylonian nobles just mentioned; and the troops having orders to enter the channel from above and below at the same time. At the appointed hour, the revelry being at its height, the columns advanced along the bed of the river, in which the water had been suddenly diminished so as to be quite fordable: and as the gates leading from the quays to the river had been left heedlessly open,[1] they entered the streets, imitating the shouts of the revellers, and were thus enabled, unnoticed, to unite at the royal palace itself. The king, supposing the noise of the assailants to be only the clamour of a drunken mob, ordered his guards to open the gates and ascertain its cause; on which, his foes rushed onwards with resistless force, and having killed the guards, forced their way to the palace. Belshazzar, with his sword drawn, defended his life for some time, but was at length slain, and his attendants shared the same fate. This took place in the month of November, in the year 536 B. C., perhaps within one hour after the mysterious characters written by a supernatural hand on the wall had been interpreted by Daniel.[2]

Plan of the attack, and its success during the revelry. Death of Belshazzar.

The main object of the assault having been accomplished, by the taking of the royal palace and the death of the king, Cyrus, in conformity with that humanity which prevailed with him, even during the feverish moment of an assault, immediately issued a proclamation, promising life and safety to all who might come to him and deliver up their arms, at the same time threatening death to those who refused to accept his proffered clemency. This had the desired effect, for the inhabitants soon submitted to the conqueror. Cyrus in consequence became master of this mighty capital without further bloodshed. So quietly, indeed, was this accomplished, that those who occupied the citadel, probably the Mujellibeh, learnt only at day-break that the city belonged to Darius the Mede, or rather to Cyaxares, who was both uncle and father-in-law to Cyrus; or, to

Humanity of Cyrus during the assault, and

[1] Isaiah, chap. XLV., v. 1.

[2] In that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain; and Darius, the Median, took the kingdom. Daniel, chap. V., v. 30, 31.

use the expression of Xenophon, "When that part of the city which borders on the river was already in possession of the enemy, those who dwelt nearer the centre knew nothing of it."[1]

his fidelity to Cyaxares.

It was in behalf of Cyaxares that Cyrus had undertaken this great expedition, and though he had added Babylonia to his conquests over Asia, Syria, and Arabia, he still regarded his uncle as the head of the empire, being during the remainder of his life content to govern as deputy or viceroy at Babylon, as he had till then governed the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Askenaz.[2]

[1] Cyropædia, lib. VII.

[2] Jerem., chap. LI., v. 27.

CHAPTER VII.

GLANCE AT THE HISTORY OF THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE UNDER DARIUS THE MEDE, CYRUS, CAMBYSES, DARIUS HYSTASPES, XERXES, ARTAXERXES, AND DARIUS NOTHUS, FROM 536 B.C. TO 404 B.C.

Cyrus the Great visits Persia.—His Accession and Forces.—Daniel's authority.—Preparations for Building the Temple at Jerusalem.—Cyrus' Decree.—The Medes and Persians become one Nation.—Cambyses succeeds.—Invasion of Egypt and Ethiopia.—His Death.—Smerdis usurps the Throne.—His Death.—Stratagem and Accession of Darius Hystaspes.—Rebellion in Susiana and Babylonia.—Darius marches to quell the latter.—Revolt and Capture of Babylon, according to Herodotus.—A Revolt in the Upper Provinces recalls Darius.—His authority is established.—Organization of the Empire.—Posts established.—Use of Firmáns.—The Temple at Jerusalem Rebuilt.—Voyage of Scylax.—Invasions of Scythia and Greece.—Zerd-husht, or Zoroaster, and the Religion of the Magi.—Invasion of Greece.—Battle of Marathon.—Fresh Armaments of Darius.—His Death.—Character.—Xerxes' Succession.—Invasion of Greece.—Contingents.—March.—Bridge over the Hellespont.—Thrace.—Thermopylæ.—Salamis.—Retreat into Asia.—Battles of Platæa and Mycale.—Death of Xerxes.—His Character.—Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ahasuerus, succeeds.—Esther.—The Jews.—Reception of Themistocles at the Court of Assyria.—Double Victory of the Greeks on the Coast of Pamphylia.—Peace between the Greeks and the Assyrians.—Xerxes Murdered.—Sogdianus and Darius Nothus.

Cyrus accompanied by Cyaxares visits Babylon.

AFTER the fall of Babylon, about 536 B.C., Cyrus visited his father and mother in Persia, and from thence he returned through Media, bringing with him as his wife the daughter of Cyaxares, with whom as a dowry, he had been promised the kingdom of Media in reversion, after the death of her father. Cyaxares himself accompanied the bridal party to Babylon, where he died, after having, in council with his son-in-law, divided the empire into 120 provinces, which were to be governed by those who had distinguished themselves during the

The empire comprises 120 provinces under

three presidents.

war, the whole being under the general superintendence of three presidents, of whom Daniel was the first:[1] a preference, to which the prophet was well entitled, not only in consequence of great wisdom, but also his long experience; having spent about sixty years as prime minister at Babylon.

On mustering his forces, Cyrus found that his army, distributed over the empire, consisted of 600,000 foot, 120,000 horse, and 2,000 chariots armed with scythes.

The rebuilding of the Temple is

Daniel did not fail to take advantage of the favourable moment, offered by his high position and influence in the empire at the time of Cyrus' accession, to press the object most at his heart; using for this purpose the powerful argument, that 120 years previous to his birth, Cyrus was predestined to release the Israelites from their captivity.[2] Accordingly the prophecy, specially naming Cyrus as the shepherd who was to perform the pleasure of God, by saying to Jerusalem thou shalt be built, and to the Temple thy foundation shall be laid,[3] being shown to that prince, Daniel's wishes were granted; and about November of the same year, being also the seventieth of the captivity, the decree was issued, giving permission to all the Jews who were so disposed to return to Judea; and, to those who preferred to remain, perfect liberty to contribute as they pleased, gold, silver, and precious stuffs, to assist in building and adorning the Temple.[4]

decreed by Cyrus.

The sacred fire of the Temple compared

In this memorable firmán, Cyrus asserts, "that the God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, and charged him to build a house at Jerusalem which is in Judah,"[5] where (it is added) "they do sacrifice with continual fire."[6]

with that of the Magi.

The last part of the sentence seems to allude to "the lamp to burn always in the temple,"[7] which no doubt Cyrus considered the same as the fire of the Magians. The doctrines of the latter, as restored by Zoroaster, constituted nearly a pure

[1] Dan., chap. VI., v. 3.
[2] Isa., chap. XLIV., v. 28, and chap. XLV., v. 1.
[3] Ibid., chap XLIV., v. 28.
[4] Ezra, chap. I., v. 3, 4, and VI., v. 3, 4.
[5] Ibid., and chap. I., v, 1, 2.
[6] 1st Esdr., v. 6, 24; and Brisson, de Regn. Pers., 351, 356.
[7] Exod., chap. XXVII., v. 20.

theism;[1] which being apparently the religion of Cyrus, that monarch caused the idols of Babylonia to be replaced by the fire; and that the latter was maintained as a symbol of the Deity and not as an object of worship, is manifest from a remarkable sentence, which was applied to Cyrus and his paternal grandfather. "Think not," said Zoroaster, "that they were adorers of fire; for that element was only an exalted object, on the lustre of which they fixed their eyes; they humbled themselves a whole week before God; and if thy understanding be ever so little exerted, thou must acknowledge thy dependence on the Being supremely pure."[2]

Fire was a symbol, and not an object of worship.

In accordance with the command he had issued, Cyrus not only restored the 5,400 sacred vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem, but also prescribed the size of the building intended to receive them; and even directed that the expense of its erection should be defrayed from the royal treasury."[3]

Cyrus restores the vessels of the Temple.

Shesh-bazzar, the Zerubbabel or Zorobabel of Scripture, a descendant of David, and the grandson of Jeconiah, having been nominated governor of Jerusalem by Cyrus, he prepared to lead his countrymen homeward; and after a delay of some months in assembling the bulk of Judah and Benjamin, in addition to some from the other ten tribes, and also in making the necessary preparations for a journey of about 720 miles, 42,360 Jews, with 7,337 servants,[4] accompanied him across the Desert, and reached their native land. This was seventy years from the commencement of the captivity.[5]

Zerubbabel proceeds to Jerusalem, accompanied by 42,360 Jews, from

The limited number thus collected by the first edict, denominated by the Hebrew writers, the bran or dregs of the people,[6] were chiefly from Babylonia and the adjoining region of Susiana, in which however, others still remained, while the bulk of the ten tribes resided in Assyria, Media, and other parts of the east. Zeal for the Temple having been the grand motive of the journey, the restoration of the altar for burnt-

Babylonia and Susiana, leaving the ten tribes in Assyria and Media.

[1] See above, vol. I., p. 85. [2] Sir Wm. Jones' Works, vol. I., p. 89.
[3] Ezra, chap. I., v. 11, and VI., v. 3, 4, 5: 2 Chron., chap. XXXVI., v. 23.
[4] Ezra, chap. II., v. 64, 65.
[5] Jer., chap. XXV., v. 11, and chap. XXIX., v. 10.
[6] Talmud, Bab. in Kiddushim.

offerings, was the first object[1] of those who returned, and the contracts for the reconstruction of the building, as well as the preparation of materials having been completed, the foundation of the Temple was laid with great solemnity, soon after the commencement of the second year.[2]

Foundation laid of the second Temple.

The size, and even the plan itself, were the same as those of the former structure, but the means at command were greatly inferior, and this disadvantage was increased by an unexpected circumstance, which interrupted the progress of the work. The mixed people of Samaria, who were Cutheans intermixed with a remnant of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, and claiming descent from the two last, proposed to assist in the great national work; but from a jealous and exclusive spirit, the new comers indignantly rejected the proposal. The ancient feud between the rival people was thus revived, and assumed a character of fierce and implacable hatred, from which the Jews immediately suffered. Samaritan influence and intrigue were successfully exerted at the court of Persia to stop the work. The Jews, however, hoping for a change, continued to collect and prepare materials during the remaining five years of Cyrus' life, as well as the life of his successor.

The Samaritans interrupt the work, and influence the court of Persia.

With Cyrus, the sovereignty had passed from the Medes to the Persians, and the two became henceforth one people in dress, manners, and religion; the customs of the latter nation, being naturally adopted by the sovereign, in compliment to the place of his birth; and as a matter of course they were also introduced amongst the Babylonians. Cyrus likewise first established the custom of removing the court from Babylon at the expiration of the winter months; two months, in the spring, were spent at Shushan, and the warmest season, at Ecbatana.[3]

The Medes and Persians become one people under Cyrus.

According to Xenophon,[4] the subsequent years of Cyrus' reign were spent in peaceable pursuits. But Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, give a very different account of the manner in which the days of this conqueror terminated; and though the tomb of this monarch, on the plains of Murgh'-áb, N.N.E. of Persepolis, seems to favour the statement of Xenophon,

Doubts regarding the manner of Cyrus' death.

[1] Ezra, chap. III., v. 3.
[2] Ibid., v. 8, 10.
[3] Cyropædia, lib. VIII., p. 233.
[4] Ibid., cap. vii., p. 551.

it is unlikely that the circumstances related by the historians concerning his expedition to a distant country, and the manner of his death, should be altogether fabulous. They expressly state that Cyrus, having invaded the country eastward of the Caspian Sea,[1] perished in a great and bloody battle against Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ,[2] after constructing a city to which he gave the name of Cyropolis.[3]

Cambyses, his second son, who had been appointed his successor, ascended the throne about 529 B.C., and manifested all his father's love for war, but without a shadow of prudence. This prince, one of those who bore the scriptural title of Ahasuerus, having taken some offence against Egypt, made extensive preparations by sea and land throughout his vast empire, in the very commencement of his reign, for the conquest of that country. More than three years were employed in engaging the Cypriots and Phœnicians to assist him with their fleets, and in collecting the Greek auxiliaries.

Cambyses ascends the throne,

prepares to invades Egypt, and

The subjugation of the growing colony of Carthage had been contemplated also, but in consequence of the Phœnicians having refused to assist against those with whom they were connected, (the Carthaginians being originally from Tyre), this part of the project was abandoned: the intended operations were therefore to be confined to Egypt, and the upper portion of the Nile. Accordingly, leaving Patizithes, a chief of the Magians, as his deputy at Susa, Cambyses took the field in the fourth year of his reign, and agreeably to the arrangements already made for the friendly passage of his army through Arabia, he marched at the head of an overwhelming force in a direct line across the latter country, instead of taking the more circuitous and ordinary route, through Upper Mesopotamia and Syria. At the suggestion of Phanes of Halicarnassus[4] contracts were made with the Arabs for the necessary supplies of water; and, faithful to his engagements, the king of Arabia collected all the camels in his dominions, and having loaded them with large skins, chiefly those of camels, filled with water, he sent them to the

crosses the Arabian desert.

526 to 525 B.C.

[1] Herod., lib. I., cap. cciv.
[2] Ibid., cap. ccv., ccxiv.
[3] Strabo, lib. XVI. See Appendix (A.) to this volume.
[4] Herod., lib. III., caps. iv., vii., ix.

The Arabs find supplies for the march.

places which were destitute of that indispensable requisite of life.[1] Water being thus provided the march of Cambyses was safely accomplished as far as Pelusium; and this strong-hold, the key of Egypt, was taken by the following stratagem, which was proposed by Phanes, who, on some disgust, had revolted from Amasis and joined Cambyses.[2] The Persian king placed a number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals in advance of his troops, and the Egyptians being unable to shoot an arrow that way, lest they might injure some of those sacred animals, the place was carried without difficulty.

Pelusium taken, and

Egypt submits to Cambyses.

Psammeticus, who had just succeeded on the death of Amasis, being defeated in a great battle fought in that neighbourhood, the invaders advanced to Memphis, where the Egyptian prince surrendered, and the whole of Egypt submitted in consequence. Cambyses being master of the country, indulged his ungovernable temper by destroying many of its monuments; nor did he even respect the dead, for the body of Amasis was dug up,[3] and treated ignominiously.

His rash expeditions towards

the temple of Ammon

During his short stay in Africa, Cambyses gave the reins to his headlong and reckless disposition, by undertaking at the same time two distant land expeditions; each of which was attended with the most fatal result. The first consisted of 50,000 men, whom he despatched to set fire to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. This force is said to have been overwhelmed by a shower of sand raised by a hurricane, whilst traversing the desert of Oasis Magna,[4] from which it is certain that the troops did not return.[5]

and against Ethiopia.

The second expedition proceeded under his own command towards Ethiopia, but the necessary supplies failing, a portion only of the army returned to Thebes, the rest having perished: the troops had in their retreat, been driven to the necessity of consuming first the sumpter beasts, and finally, as a last resource to maintain life, a number of their companions: these were taken by lot to be put to death for the support of the others.[6]

[1] Herod., lib. III., cap. ix.
[2] Ibid., lib. IV., and Polygænus, lib. VII.
[3] Ibid., lib. III., cap. xvi.
[4] Ibid., cap. xxv.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

Shortly after his return from the expedition, he received intelligence of a revolt in his own dominions, which was headed by Gomates, a Magian[1] (the brother of Patizithes); this man having personated Smerdis or Bardeus,[2] who had been murdered by order of Cambyses.[3] This information induced the king to set out with all haste for Persia, leaving the government of Egypt to the care of Ariandes. He avoided on his return the shorter route of the Desert by which he had advanced, and took that of Syria, where he died of a wound received from his own sword whilst precipitately mounting his horse. This event took place on Mount Carmel at Ecbatana;[4] which place had been named by the oracle of Buto,[5] as that which would be fatal to him.[6]

A revolt excited by Smerdis causes

the return and death of Cambyses.

We are told that there was not any one sufficiently bold to oppose the Magian, and Gomates had remained in undisputed possession of the empire during seven months, when Darius, the Gushtasp of the Persians, son of Lohrasp or Hystaspes, one of the seven nobles who conspired against him, mounted the throne.[7] According to Herodotus, it had been agreed among these nobles, that he whose horse first neighed to the rising sun should be king; and, by an artifice, the horse of Darius was made to win the monarchy for his master.[8] But, in detailing his own achievements on the tablets at Bísutún, this is made a religious war, in which, by the help of Ormazd, Darius

Darius obtains the throne by a stratagem.

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. X., pp. 201, 202.

[2] Ibid. [3] Herod., lib. III., cap. lxi.

[4] Plin., lib. V., cap. xix. [5] Herod., lib. III., cap. lxiv.

[6] According to the translation of the Bísutún tablet, Gomates, a Magian, having falsely declared himself to be Bardeus, the son of Cyrus, and the brother of Cambyses, the whole state of Persia, Media, and the other provinces became rebellious, and he assumed the crown: and Cambyses, unable to endure his misfortunes, died.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. X., pp. 201, 202.

[7] These alone, says Darius, were my assistants: Intæphernes, the son of Hys . . . ., a Persian; Otanes, the son of . . . ., a Persian; Gobryas by name, the son of Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes, the son of . . . ., a Persian; Megabyrus, the son of Zopyrus, a Persian; and Aspethines, the son of . . . ., a Persian.—Bísutún Tablet. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. X., p. 257.

[8] Lib. III., cap. lxxxv., lxxxvi.

slew Gomates the Magian, and the chief men who were with him; and having re-established the chaunts and sacrificial worship, he confided these duties to the families who were deprived of them by Gomates, or, in other words, he restored the ancient religion of the country in connexion with the State. Darius, although he only followed the steps of Cyrus and his uncle Cyaxares, may be considered the real founder of the Persian empire, in consequence of the wisdom he displayed in the government of the country, which had only been in part reduced to order, after having been subjected by the arms of those monarchs. Darius accomplished these great objects by dividing his vast dominions into provinces of a convenient size: a certain number of these constituted a viceroyalty, of which there were twenty, each under the general superintendence of a satrap, to whom all the inferior governors of provinces, districts, &c., were responsible; though they were appointed or removed only at the pleasure of the sovereign himself. By this arrangement, a salutary check was maintained over the governors of the satrapies. Such a check was the more necessary, as in general the satrapies not only comprised many provinces, but sometimes one of them consisted of several kingdoms. In the first, for instance, were the Ionians, the Carians, the Lycians, Pamphylians, and others;[1] in the second were the Mysians, the Lydians, and the Cabalii. Babylon, together with the territory of Assyria, belonged to the ninth satrapy.[2]

His organization of the

various satrapies of the empire.

In the time of Cyrus, and even during that of his successor, there was not any fixed taxation, and the sovereign only received uncertain gratuities from time to time; in addition to which, during war, contingents of men and money were furnished for the exigencies of the state. This system prevailed till a fixed tribute and a regular quota of men were established for each satrapy[3] by Darius. This regulation induced the Persians to designate him the Broker, whilst with equal point, Cambyses was called Master, and Cyrus the Father of the Empire.[4]

Moderate contributions established,

and intercommunications

But the statistics, then so wittily termed brokerage, were the

[1] Herod., lib. III., cap. xc.
[2] Ibid., cap. xcii.
[3] Ibid., cap. lxxxix.
[4] Ibid.

more easily managed, in consequence of a system of intercommunication which had been commenced throughout the empire in the time of Cyrus, and was more completely established in that of Darius.[1] The object was accomplished by means of couriers, who were stationed at certain distances, for the rapid transmission of the firmáns, which in this way were sent to, and answers received from, the different governors. Those issued by the monarch are supposed to have been stamped upon barrel-shaped bricks of small size, which were afterwards solidly baked as the best and surest means of preventing any change in the edicts; which thus became the laws of the Medes and Persians.[2] Without doubt one of the most memorable was the decree of Cyrus, permitting the return of the captives to rebuild Jerusalem and its Temple. Encouraged by the prophet Haggai, the work was resumed in the beginning of the second year of Darius, viz., 520 B.C. Tatnai, the governor of Syria and Palestine, having made an appeal to his sovereign, in order to ascertain if the decree of Cyrus really existed, as was alleged by the elders of the Jews, a search was in consequence made, and the decree being found in the archives of Ecbatana,[3] the king enjoined Tatnai and Setharboznai to see it fully executed. These persons were further commanded to carry out the original intentions of Cyrus, and to give at the same time all possible assistance to the Jews in rebuilding their Temple.[4] To this measure Darius was no doubt moved, like his predecessor, by an irresistible impulse, which made each an instrument in fulfilling the Divine purposes. In other respects, it would seem that the court of Persia could have no good ground of objection to the return of the Jews to their native land, since, in such return, they only moved from one part of the Assyrian dominions to another.

throughout the empire.

Firmáns or laws of the Medes and Persians.

Darius causes the building of the Temple to be resumed, and

the return of the Jews, agreeably to the edict of Cyrus.

[1] Herod., lib. VIII., cap. xcviii.

[2] Several of these barrel-shaped bricks may be seen in the British Museum; and Asiatic tradition connects them with the firmáns of the great Assyrian monarchs: the character is cuneiform.

[3] Ezra, chap. VI., v. 1–3.

[4] 1 Esdras, chap. V., v. 47, and following verses; also Ezra, chap. VI., v. 5–17.

Completion of the Temple.

The Temple, which had been commenced by Zerubbabel twenty years previously, or about 534 B.C., was completed in the seventh year of Darius, on the same scale of grandeur, but, in point of costly materials, it was "as nothing" if compared with the former structure.[1]

Expedition to Samos.

The first distant undertaking of Darius was that of sending an army under his general Otanes to Samos, with the view of restoring Syloson, the brother of Polycrates the tyrant of the island, to his throne, from whom when a private individual, he had received a splendid garment. This service was scarcely completed when the attention of the king was urgently called to his own dominions, by the revolt of the Babylonians. Their city, having been so long mistress of the East, could ill brook the change caused by its subjection to Persia, especially when Shushan became the capital of the empire; this change necessarily diminishing its pride and splendour.

Rebellions in Susiana and

It appears from the Bísutún monuments, that Darius was occupied previous to his accession, and probably as a satrap of his father, who governed Parthia and Hyrcania, in quelling a rebellion in Susiana and another in Babylonia. The former, led by Atrines the son of Opadarmes, was speedily overcome by his deputy, but the latter being very serious required his presence; Naditabirus, the son of Aena, calling himself Nabochodrossor, the son of Nabonidus, having seized the government. An interesting description, and even some of the details, are given of the campaign which followed. Darius, by means of a demonstration and the use of rafts, forced the passage, and defeated the army of Naditabirus on the banks of the Tigris, and completely overcame him the second time, when disputing the passage of the Euphrates near a city called Zanzána close to Babylon. A signal defeat in the vicinity of the capital put an end to the rebellion, and Naditabirus being taken prisoner was put to death.[2]

Babylonia quelled by Darius.

A fuller account, especially of the capture of the city, is however, given by Herodotus.

[1] Haggai, chap. II., v. 3.

[2] Translations of the Bísutún Tablets, vol. X., part iii., pp. 211-214, of Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: London, 1847.

Hoping to recover its lost importance by an attempt like that which was made by Nabopalasar against the Assyrians, the Babylonians took advantage of the unsettled state of things consequent on the death of Cambyses, to make preparations for war, by secretly laying in stores of provisions; and at the end of four or five years, the city was so amply provided, that the citizens openly revolted, and set up a king. The Babylonians revolt.

On receiving this intelligence, Darius hastily assembled his forces, and marched a powerful army to put an end to this rebellion. Seeing themselves begirt by a force which they could not oppose in the field, the Babylonians turned their thoughts wholly to the best means of resisting it within the walls; and having for this purpose agreed to cut off all unnecessary mouths, they cruelly strangled the whole of the women with the exception of the favourite wife of each individual, and a maid-servant to every house.[1] After continuing the siege for twenty months without the slightest advantage, Darius made himself master of the city by one of the most extraordinary stratagems hitherto recorded in history. Zopyrus, one of his most devoted captains, having cruelly maimed himself, went to the city, pretending to have fled from the tyranny of his master: having obtained the confidence of the besieged, and eventually the command of some of their troops, he thus gained an opportunity of opening two of the gates of the city to the Persians. Darius in consequence obtained possession of the place, when he immediately caused the crucifixion of 3,000 Babylonian nobles, who had been the chief fomenters of the revolt; he likewise took away the hundred brazen gates of the city, and reduced the height of its walls from 200 cubits to only 50 cubits.[2] Darius marches against Babylon. Cruelty of the Babylonians. Stratagem of Darius to take the city: his cruelty to the Babylonians.

The remaining inhabitants were not however, molested, but on the contrary, Darius caused each of his satrapies to furnish a proportion of women, amounting in all to 50,000, to replace those who had been so cruelly put to death before the siege.[3] Repeopling of Babylon, and

Darius appears to have remained at Babylon till a revolt, or rather an opposition to his authority, in Persia, Susiana, Media,

[1] Herod., lib. III., cap. cl.
[2] Ibid., cap. clviii., clix.
[3] Ibid., cap. clix.

consolidation of the empire.

Assyria, &c., obliged him to march in person, when being, as it is expressed, by the grace of Ormazd, completely successful in suppressing these rebellions, the most formidable of which was that of Media,[1] he became the sovereign of Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, and the maritime parts of Egypt. Also of Sparta, Ionia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Asia, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana (Gandaria), the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Arachosia, and the Mecians; in all twenty-one countries.[2]

After the accomplishment of this object, Darius became anxious to know the state of the countries lying eastward of Scythia, with a view to their conquest, and more especially the termination of the river Indus. Accordingly he built a fleet at Caspatyrus, in the territory of Pactyica on the Indus, which he entrusted to a skilful Greek mariner named Scylax, a native of Caryanda, who admirably fulfilled the instructions of the monarch by sailing down the whole length of the river;[3] thence coasting to the straits of Báb-el-Mandeb, and ascending the Arabian gulf to the port at its northern extremity, from which the Phœnicians had before taken their departure to circumnavigate Africa.[4]

Scylax sails down the Indus, and

ascends the Arabian Gulf.

The reality of the Periplus of Scylax has been much questioned, but scarcely it would seem upon sufficient grounds, since such a voyage was but limited compared with that of Ophir, and it was in all probability only following the course of the ordinary maritime trade between western India and the Persian Gulf. This voyage was accomplished in the short space of thirty months; and Darius immediately availed himself of the information acquired by it, to subjugate a portion of the Indian territory westward of the Indus:[5] this afterwards became the twentieth satrapy, and yielded a revenue of 360 talents of gold.[6]

Darius invades Scythia.

Soon after the consolidation of the new territory, Darius commenced preparations with a view to the subjection of Scythia, by way of punishment, as he alleged, for the invasion

[1] The name of Phraortes is mentioned in the Tablet in connexion with this kingdom.

[2] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. X., pp. 197, 198.

[3] Herod., lib. IV., cap. xliv.

[4] Ibid., cap. xlii.

[5] Ibid., cap. xliv.

[6] Ibid., lib. III., cap. xciv.

of Assyria by the people of that country in the time of Cyaxares,[1] about 120 years before.

The fleet which accompanied the troops consisted of 600 vessels, chiefly manned by Ionians and others from the coast of Asia Minor, while the land army collected on this occasion, including the cavalry, amounted to 700,000 men,[2] who were conducted by Darius himself to the shores of the Bosphorus, where they found a bridge already executed for their passage into Europe. The preparation of a bridge of boats was evidently a familiar operation at this time, both in Babylonia and Assyria. The one in question exceeded three-quarters of a mile in length, or according to Herodotus, seven stadia,[3] and it was successfully completed by Mandrocles the Samian, notwithstanding the great difficulty caused by a very rapid current.[4]

Passes the Bosphorus on a bridge of boats,

During the passage of his troops, Darius proceeded as far as the Cyaneæ rocks, at the entrance of the Black Sea; from thence he despatched his fleet with directions to ascend the Ister a certain distance, and prepare another bridge. Having reduced Thrace, Darius continued his march to the appointed passage; and after a fruitless pursuit of the Scythians through deserts and uncultivated countries[5] for three months, he returned after losing one-half of his numbers, but without abandoning his purpose, for he left Megabyzus the Persian, one of his chief commanders, with 80,000 men, to finish the conquest. This general, having succeeded in bringing the Thracians and others under the Persian yoke, rejoined Darius at Sardis,[6] from which place he afterwards accompanied the monarch to Susa.[7]

subdues Thrace.

Returns to Sardis and Susa.

Soon after the Scythian expedition, a revolt, arising out of a contest between two small factions at Naxos, one of the Cyclades, led the way in a most unexpected manner to an important train of events. Aristagoras having failed in immediately putting down the revolt in that island,[8] and being unable to fulfil the engagement made with Artaphernes, his

Aristagoras revolts, and,

[1] Herod., lib. IV., cap. i.
[2] Ibid., cap. lxxxvii.
[3] Ibid., cap. lxxxv.
[4] Ibid., cap. lxxxvii.
[5] Ibid., cap. cxxii., cxxiii.
[6] Ibid., lib. V., cap. xxiii.
Ibid., lib. V., cap. xxv.
[8] Ibid., cap. xxxiv.

assisted by the Athenians, burns Sardis.

immediate chief, to meet the expenses, determined to take arms[1] against Darius. With the assistance of the Ionians, and with twenty-five vessels which had been sent from Athens and Eretria,[2] Aristagoras and his allies boldly sailed to Ephesus; from whence they marched to Sardis, which city being chiefly built of cane, was burnt either accidentally or otherwise. The approach of the Persians and Lydians soon afterwards caused the retreat of the invaders. They were, however, overtaken and defeated at Ephesus, from whence the discouraged Athenians retreated with their vessels and quitted the alliance.[3]

Finally defeated near Ephesus.

War arises,

These circumstances determined Darius to make war upon Greece, which was carried on for a time with various degrees of success. Of its principal events, a brief notice will presently be given, on account of the consequences which resulted from them to the empire of Persia; and because they were the first steps by which the military glory of the Grecian people, was raised to the high eminence which it subsequently attained.

which exalts the military glory of Greece.

Early successes of the Ionians.

The Ionians speedily revenged the defeat at Ephesus by a brilliant descent which they made on the continental territory of Darius. In this they not only occupied Byzantium, and different places near the Hellespont, but likewise many others in Caria; and in consequence of these successes they were joined by the people of Cyprus.[4] In order to punish this invasion, and at the same time take ample revenge for the burning of Sardis, Daurises and Dardanus were sent with ample forces first against Abydos, Lampsacus, &c., and thence into Caria. In this province they gained a victory after a bloody battle,[5] the fruits of which, however, were lost by a successful ambuscade placed by Heraclides;[6] who followed up his success by subduing the Eolians and the rest of the ancient Teucrians.[7] Soon after these successes, mutual discord and Persian intrigues caused the Samians and Lesbians to abandon the Ionians, and the fleet of

Capture of Milo, Chios, &c.

Darius having captured Milo, the inhabitants were removed to Susa. In the following year Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, shared

[1] Herod., lib. V., cap. xxxv.
[2] Ibid., cap. xcviii., xcix.
[3] Ibid., cap. cii., ciii.
[4] Ibid., cap. ciii., civ.
[5] Ibid., cap. cxvii., cxx.
[6] Ibid., cap. cxxi., cxxii.
[7] Ibid.

the same fate;[1] whilst the shores of Thrace were subjected by the Phœnician fleets, in alliance with Persia.

Slaughter of Zoroaster and the Magi.

It was during an inroad in the northern provinces of Persia by Argjasp, a Scythian prince, which took place in the thirty-fifth year of Darius, that the celebrated Archimagus (Zoroaster) and the priests of his religion, about eighty in number, were slaughtered in the principal fire temple at Bàlkh, during an assault made on that city.

By some it is believed that the founder of the Magian order lived about 624 years before the first Egyptian dynasty, by others it is thought that he was cotemporary with Ninus;[2] and Xanthus, the historian of Lydia, places him 600 years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes.[3] It appears, however, that there were several persons who bore the name of Zoroaster. One of these was a Chaldean or an Assyrian; another was an inhabitant, or according to some, a king of Bactria, who was also called Oxyartes; a third was a Pamphylian, and there was a fourth, who, according to Pliny, lived a little before the time of Xerxes.

Four prophets bore the name of Zoroaster.

The last appears to synchronize with Zerdusht or Zerd-husht, the celebrated religious reformer of Persia, whose ministry was brief, but very remarkable, in consequence of the successful efforts which he made to restore the ancient religion. His tenets are contained in the celebrated Zend-avestá, and its compendium the Sad-der.[4]

Zerd-husht revives the ancient religion.

The exalted moral precepts, and the great knowledge of the divine attributes therein inculcated by this sage, have by some been supposed to have been derived from his intercourse with the Hebrew people in the time of Daniel, or possibly from the prophet himself, with whom he was cotemporary in Susiana.

Its precepts supposed to be derived from the Hebrews.

The reformer is supposed to have been born at Urumíyah, and to have commenced his ministry at Shíz[5] in that neigh-

[1] Herod., lib. V., cap. xxxi.
[2] Justinius, lib. I.
[3] Müller's Fragmenta Historicum Græcorum, p. 44.
[4] Hyde's Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar, cap. xxv., xxvi.
[5] Or Canzaca, the Atropatenian Ecbatana.—Royal Geographical Journal, vol. X., p. 68.

bourhood: his work professes to be the result of his prayers and meditations in a cave near that place.

His reformation of the Magian religion.

It should not, however, be forgotten, that this Zoroaster did not teach anything new, but merely restored what had been inculcated some centuries before by an individual of the same name.[1]

Sabaism and other corruptions, such as sacrifices on the highest mountains to Jupiter, the sun, moon, earth, &c.[2] being prohibited, the doctrines of the reformed Magian religion became nearly those of the ancient Persians. The good and evil principles are considered as being permitted by the will of God;

The doctrines inculcated by him.

a general resurrection and day of retribution were likewise inculcated by Zoroaster, who added, that those who had done well, and lived in obedience to the law of God, were to pass into the realm of light, and those who had done evil, were to suffer everlasting punishment in a land of obscurity. "Endeavour, therefore, O man" (so runs the precept), "to do all the good thou canst, without fear or apprehension, for God is benign and merciful, and will reward even the smallest good thou dost."[3]

Account given by Celsus.

A passage of Celsus, preserved by Origen,[4] appears to throw some light on the account given by Herodotus of the Sabaism of the Persians. Celsus compares the path of the soul through the firmament and planets, to a ladder which leads through seven

The seven gates or spheres.

gates to the sun. The first gate is said to be of lead, which, according to the Persians, expresses the slow revolution of Saturn; the second is tin, which typifies the brightness of Venus; the third gate being of brass, represents the supposed firmness of Jupiter; the fourth is iron, and on account of the general usefulness of that metal, it is represented by Mercury; the fifth, a mixed metal, is applied to Mars; the sixth, quicksilver, is identified with the Moon; the seventh gate is of gold, the emblem of the Sun, according to the Persians.[5]

Clitarchus, in his 12th book, mentions as a summary of the

[1] See vol. I., p. 85. [2] Herod., lib. I., cap. cxxxi.

[3] Sad-der, part V.; Hyde's Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar, &c.

[4] Orig. Contra Cels., lib. IV., edit. Spencer.

[5] See the French translation, vol. I., p. 426, and vol. II., pp. 389, 390, of the Zend-avestá, for a similar account.

religion of the Magi, that they offer to the gods sacrifices, prayers, and vows. Nature and the origin of the gods are objects of their researches, believing that fire, air, water, and earth, are divinities. They object to the worship of statues, and consider it most perverse to believe that the gods are male and female.[1]

The Magi believed in God.

The worship of Venus was condemned by the Magi, who remained firm to the great article of their faith, which they carefully transmitted to their posterity,[2] that "there is one God:" the belief in magic was probably introduced a little anterior to the time of Zerd-husht or Zoroaster.

The sun and fire considered as symbols of the Deity.

The explanation of the sage himself regarding the use of fire,[3] and the above-mentioned assertion in the firmàn of Cyrus,[4] serve to show that the sun and fire were considered but as symbols of the Deity,[5] and were venerated as such. In order to protect the latter, as an emblem of the Divine presence, temples were built for worship instead of continuing the ancient custom of burning fires on the tops of the mountains.[6] A liturgy was composed by Zoroaster, and tithes were set apart for the maintenance of the priesthood;[7] but fasting and celibacy were condemned, as tending to a neglect of the best gifts of God; whilst diligence in cultivation was considered better than repeating ten thousand prayers.[8]

The spiritual worship was long preserved in I'rán.

Here we are almost reminded of the thousands of rams, and ten thousand rivers of oil of the prophet;[9] and many passages in the Zend-avestá still more clearly recognize the Almighty government of the world, as well as that spiritual morality so conspicuous in the book of Job,[10] and which bears at the same time such close affinity to the precepts of Noah.

Other traces of a primæval religion appear to have been long preserved in the territory of Irán, which by its geogra-

[1] Apud Diog. Laert.
[2] Hyde, Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar., p. 90.
[3] See above, p. 171.
[4] See p. 170.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Herod., lib. I., cap. cxxxi.
[7] Sad-der, art. viii.
[8] Zend-avestá, tome I., p. 224, and Précis des Systèmes de Zoroaster.
[9] Micah, chap. VI., v. 5, 8.
[10] Job, chap. XX., v. 4, 9, 11, and 27; chap. XXIII., v. 12, 14; chap. XXIV., v. 1; chap. XXIX., v. 11–17; chap. XXXI., v. 4, 5, 6, 26, 39.

phical position connected the western countries with those of central and eastern Asia, and became at the same time the means of transmitting through the Magi, and their successors the Brahmins, a remnant, at least, of such a revelation of a future state as had been imparted to mankind.

Purity of worship maintained in Persia

The inscriptions placed by Darius Hystaspes on the tablets at Bísutún, and those of his successor at Persepolis, clearly show that religion was intimately linked with the state,[1] and at the same time they confirm the statement made by Sir William Jones and others, that the ancient Persians worshipped with pious fear, love, and adoration, one all-wise, omnipotent, eternal, infinite, and omnipresent God.[2]

and in Mesopotamia in the time of Balaam.

At the time of the exodus of the children of Israel, the same elevated morality appears to have existed among some of the people of Mesopotamia. Balaam, the Chaldean seer, tells the messengers from Moab[3] that man should act justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with his God;[4] adding, towards the close of his conference, that a star shall proceed from Jacob, and a sceptre from Israel.[5]

This remarkable prophecy was fulfilled about 1544 years later, when the Magi, the supposed posterity of the prophet himself, followed a star from the East, till it brought them to the manger of the Messiah in the city of David.

Darius assumes the title of Archimagus.

The death of Zoroaster, and the evils inflicted on the country in consequence, were soon revenged by a force under the son of Darius, who drove the Scythians before him with great slaughter. And the principal fire temple being restored, Darius continued his support to the re-established religion by assuming the title of Archimagus in the room of Zoroaster.

Mardonius invades Greece.

At this time, in consequence of the part taken by the Athenians in the rebellion of Aristagoras, a large fleet was despatched with a numerous army under the command of Mar-

[1] Royal Asiatic Journal, vol. X., pp. 280, 286, 291, 310.

[2] Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. I., p. 87, compared with Hyde's Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar, cap. xxiii. and xxxiii.; also Euseb., Præp. Evangel., lib. I., cap. ult., p. 42.

[3] The Elders of Moab carried the rewards of divination in their hand. Numb., chap. XXII., v. 7.

[4] Micah, chap. VI., v. 8.

[5] Numb., chap. XXIV., v. 17.

donius, who received peremptory orders from Darius to subdue Eretria, Athens, and Macedonia.[1] But the loss of 300 vessels and 20,000 men in doubling Cape Athos, together with an attack of the Bryges, compelled this commander to retreat into Asia, after fulfilling only one object, which was the reduction of the Macedonians.[2] Far from being discouraged by this unforeseen result, Darius renewed his preparations, and prepared vessels on a greater scale than those before sent: at the same time he dispatched heralds to Greece to demand earth and water. The people of Egina complied with these demands, but war was the consequence of the refusal of the Athenians.[3]

Darius demands earth and water.

Darius seized this occasion to send Datis and Artaphernes into Cilicia, where they embarked 300,000 men in vessels; and having burned the capitals of Naxos and Eretria, they passed on to the coast of Attica, and occupied the plain of Marathon with a force which has been estimated at 100,000 men.[4] The Athenian army was advantageously posted on the hills overlooking this circumscribed space, but Miltiades, who had served under the Persians, and was well acquainted with the nature of their troops, as well as their tactics, determined to forego this advantage, in order to avoid the fierce, and almost irresistible shock of an Asiatic host, by suddenly becoming the assailant. Accordingly, with a front sufficiently extended to occupy the whole width, he rushed at full speed, with 10,000 Athenian and 1,000 Platæan warriors to attack the enemy. The latter were most disadvantageously posted, being hampered by their circumscribed position between the sea, a marsh, and the hills in question, and exposed at the same time to the long spears of the Greeks. Success, therefore, favoured the assailants on both flanks, but in the centre they were broken by the Persians, who advanced for some distance through their disordered ranks. Had Datis taken advantage of this circumstance, the city of Athens would soon have been in his possession, but the Persians, being without orders, ceased to advance, and the Athenians, having routed both flanks, wheeled

Position of the contending forces, and

Utter defeat of the Persians.

[1] Herod., lib. VI., cap. xliii.
[2] Ibid., cap. xcii.
[3] Ibid., cap. xlv.
[4] By Cornelius Nepos. Herodotus does not mention the number.

round, and, by attacking the rear of this mass, the battle was gained: the name of Miltiades was thus immortalized by a splendid and unexpected victory.

The loss of the Athenians is stated to have been only 192 men during this unprecedented engagement, which terminated by taking seven of the enemy's vessels, and driving the discomfited Persians into their ships, after losing 6,400 men.[1]

Datis returns to Persia.

Datis made a bold attempt to recover his lost ground by doubling Cape Sunium, hoping to reach the city of Athens, but being frustrated by the rapid return of the handful of brave men from Marathon, he sailed back to Asia[2] to make the result known to his sovereign. Darius feeling irritated, rather than discouraged by this fresh disaster, resolved to take the field in person; and, accordingly, he sent orders to the different satrapies of his empire to equip vessels, and to furnish troops and provisions on such a scale as would overwhelm his enemies in Greece.[3]

Fresh preparations ordered by Darius.

A rebellion in Egypt.

After three years had been spent in making preparations and in assembling his numerous legions, and when just about to march, Darius received news of a rebellion in Egypt: this he determined to suppress at the same time, by detaching a portion of his army in that direction, whilst he intended to proceed with the remainder to punish the Greeks. A lengthened contest amongst his three sons, to determine which should be named the successor to the throne, was scarcely decided in favour of Xerxes, when a short illness carried off Darius in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

Death and character of Darius.

Although remarkable for that chivalrous generosity in pardoning offences, which so frequently forms part of the character of an Asiatic prince, Darius stained the brighter portions of his life by occasional acts of useless cruelty, such as the wanton execution of the three sons of Oebazus,[4] and that of his Egyptian lieutenant, Aryandes, for merely coining money in his name.[5] This monarch had the glory, not only of extending his empire, but also of consolidating many large and rich provinces; as

[1] Herod., lib. VI., cap. cxv., cxvii.
[2] Ibid., cap. cxvi.
[3] Ibid., lib. VII., cap. i.
[4] Ibid., lib. IV., cap. lxxxiv.
[5] Ibid., cap. clxvi.

those of Thrace, Macedon, the Ionian Isles, and the wide-spreading territory bordering upon India.

Works executed by Darius.

In addition to the detailed arrangements already mentioned for the management of the vast territory extending from the Indus to the Nile, the reign of Darius Hystaspes was very remarkable in other respects. He continued the canal intended by Nechus to open a communication from the Nile to the Red Sea,[1] and coined money of the purest metals, both gold and silver; of the former was the well-known Daric, and of the latter the Aryandic of Egypt.[2] But in thus providing for their ordinary wants, Darius did not fail to study the prosperity of his people, by the equity of his government[3] on one hand, and the generosity of his rewards on the other; and above all, by the moderation of his imposts. He was accustomed to refer the question of the amount of such taxes to the opinions of others,[4] taking care at the same time to fix the demands at a lower rate than had been pronounced equitable by the wise men of the state; who were, we are informed, consulted by him on all occasions of importance.[5]

His moderation, equity, and

The enlightened reign of this monarch, the second Ahasuerus of Scripture, or rather the second who bore what appears to have been a title rather than a name, was likewise distinguished by other circumstances, which had an influential effect upon his dominions; amongst these were the fostering care so successfully given to astronomy through his brother Jámásp[6] (Gushtasp), who was celebrated for his acquaintance with the fascinating science of astrology, and the change effected by the restoration of the Magian religion to its primitive purity. The latter object was brought about by Zoroaster, whose tenets speedily took a firm root in the empire,[7] and spread to the borders of Bactria.

encouragement of science.

Whilst this monarch and his immediate predecessors, Cyrus and Cambyses, were laying the foundation of the Persian mo-

[1] Herod., lib. IV., cap. xxxix.
[2] Ibid., cap. clxvi.
[3] Ibid., lib. III., cap. lxxxii., lxxxiii., cxxxii., and cxl.
[4] Plutarch, Apothegm., p. 172.
[5] Esther, chap. I., v. 13–15.
[6] Vol. I., p. 89.
[7] See above, vol. I., p. 85.

Colonies of Carthage.

narchy, the merchant princes of Africa were extending their possessions, by means of conquest, in the Mediterranean, and by their enterprising fleets elsewhere. Mercenary warriors, furnished by the African and European colonies of Carthage, secured her dominion in Sicily, Sardinia, &c.; while numerous and well-organized fleets were employed in establishing other agricultural and trading settlements.

Reverting to the latter, for which Tyre and Carthage had been so remarkable, two maritime enterprises appear to have taken place about this period which are deserving of notice, both on account of their importance, and also as having been probably the last undertaken previous to the Punic wars.

Voyage of Himilcon to the British islands.

According to a fragment preserved by Rufus Festus Avienes, Himilcon, a distinguished citizen of Carthage, conducted a fleet with settlers from that city, and having passed through the Pillars of Hercules to Gadira, he made his way from thence to the so-called *Holy Island*, which lies expanded on the sea, and is the dwelling of the Hibernian race: at hand, it is added, lies the Isle of Albion.[1]

Hanno explores the western coast of Africa, and

Of the other undertaking, commanded by the celebrated Hanno, a fuller account has been preserved by an inscription which he placed on his return, in the Temple of Cronus, at Carthage. About 30,000 Libyo-Phœnician men, women, and children, were conveyed in sixty vessels, of fifty oars each, to settlements on the western shores of Africa; these successively extended to the Island of Cerne, the situation of which is supposed to have been either near Mogador or Santa Cruz; that is, between 30½° to 31½° south latitude. The second part of the expedition appears to have been merely a voyage of discovery, which, from a passage in Herodotus, may be inferred to have reached the Gold Coast, at the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia.[2]

reaches the Senegal and Gambia rivers.

The death of Darius Hystaspes had the effect of showing

[1] Heeren's Historical Researches, &c., Africa, Appendix, vol. I., p. 502, 504.

[2] Herod., lib. IV., cap. cxcvi., compared with Heeren's Historical Researches, Africa, vol. I., pp. 92, 175, and Appendix, 475, &c.

that the recollection of upright conduct may survive the individual, particularly when the interests of a nation are concerned ;[1] for the memory of Cyrus being reverenced throughout Persia, the son of Darius, by the daughter of that monarch, was naturally preferred to his brothers, and Xerxes in consequence obtained quiet possession of the empire about 486 B.C.

Accession of Xerxes, grandson of Cyrus.

This prince commenced a reign which, although comparatively short, was remarkable for great events; and the first year was employed in perfecting the preparations for war, which were already far advanced. In the course of the following year, Xerxes completed one of his father's objects, which was the recovery of Egypt; and leaving his brother Achæmenes governor of that country,[2] he returned to Susa. The same year was made still more remarkable by the birth, at Halicarnassus,[3] of the celebrated historian who has recorded these events; and from his account of this reign, Xerxes appears to have been willing to forget the grievances of his father against Greece. The flames of his ambition were however kindled by the interested advice of Mardonius,[4] which prevailed against the better judgment of Artabanes; and those mighty preparations were commenced, which put in motion probably the greatest armament ever assembled in the world, on any occasion. Every nation from Bactria to Carthage[5] sent its quota of infantry and cavalry, furnished with flour and other provisions; additional supplies being placed in suitable depôts for the intended operations by vessels furnished by the maritime states of his dominions. To facilitate the movements by land, a bridge was ordered to be placed across the Hellespont, and to render those by water more secure than before, Xerxes employed the Persians, Bubares and Artaches, to cut a canal through Mount Athos, so that his galleys might pass from the Gulf of Contessa (Strymonicus Sinus), to that of Monte Santo (Singiticus Sinus), without risking such a loss as was experienced by Mardonius in doubling the promontory. Doubts have long existed regarding this extensive work, which, however, is not only mentioned by

Herodotus born at Halicarnassus.

Xerxes continues the preparations of his father.

He places a bridge over the Hellespont,

and cuts a canal through Mount Athos.

[1] See Appendix (B.) to this volume.
[2] Herod., lib. VII., cap. vii.
[3] Aul. Gell., lib. XV., cap. xxiii.
[4] Herod., lib. VII., cap. v., vi.
[5] Ibid., cap. lxxi., lxxxvi.

several authors,[1] but what appear to be its remains may still be traced in parts of the peninsula; moreover, its object, and the manner of its construction, are so particularly detailed by Herodotus,[2] that we can from thence scarcely doubt the fact.

Xerxes quits Susa, and

These and other preparations being completed, Xerxes put his army in motion towards the spring of the year 481 B.C., by marching from Susa to Critales in Cappadocia,[3] where all the levies from the regions lying to the eastward were assembled: he proceeded from thence to Lydia, where he was joined by the levies from Arabia and the rest of the territory lying to the westward: here the boundless wealth and liberality of Pytheus were exercised in maintaining, for a time, the whole of the army.[4]

experiences the liberality of Pytheus.

This vast concentration appears to have been conducted with the utmost regularity, owing to the accuracy of the combinations, and the care taken in providing supplies throughout the extensive line between the capital of Persia and that of Lesser Asia. During the winter's halt at Sardis, heralds were despatched to make the usual demands of earth and water from the Grecian states,[5] whilst workmen were employed in replacing the floating-bridge across the Hellespont, which had been destroyed by a storm at the moment when it was almost completed.[6] Early in the spring, Xerxes continued his march towards Abydos, where he found not only a prodigious fleet assembled,[7] according to his orders, to facilitate the contemplated invasion of Europe, but the means were likewise prepared for passing thither without embarking his legions. This surprising bridge, connecting Asia with Europe, is described as being double; one portion was formed by means of 360 fifty-oared boats, and the other of 314 triremes, in a line parallel to the former: each vessel was firmly anchored in a slanting direction, so as best to resist the effects of the current on one side, as well as the strong winds to which it was exposed on the other.[8] Two

The bridge over the Hellespont is destroyed by a storm, and replaced.

Account of this extraordinary structure,

[1] Thucydides, lib. IV., cap. cix.; Plato, De Leg., lib. III.; Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. ii.

[2] Lib. VII., cap. xxi., xxii., xxiii.

[3] Herod., lib. VII., cap. xxvi.

[4] Ibid., cap. xxvii.

[5] Ibid., cap. xxxii.

[6] Ibid., cap. xxxiv.

[7] Ibid., cap. xlv.

[8] Ibid., cap. xxxv.

enormous reed cables, and two others of hemp, well secured at the extremities, were passed over each line of boats from side to side of the Hellespont. Across these cables, trunks of trees were laid to support a platform, on which a deep covering of earth was placed; while barriers at the sides, to protect the horses and other animals,[1] completed this gigantic undertaking. Although one part of the bridge afforded a passage for the troops, whilst the baggage and the numerous camp followers, which always accompany an Asiatic army, had the use of the other, seven days and nights were consumed in passing into Thrace. The fleet then proceeded westward through the Dardanelles in order to rendezvous at the Sarpedian promontory, whilst the army proceeded north-eastward by the Chersonesus, and along the Gulf of Melas to the plain of Doriscus. Here Xerxes halted, and the fleet, consisting of nearly 3000 vessels, being drawn up on the beach,[2] the number of his followers was ascertained by the novel proceeding of causing the whole multitude to pass in succession through a walled enclosure, which was of the necessary size to contain exactly 10,000 men.[3]

and method of its preparation.

The army passes the Dardanelles.

Xerxes numbers his army on the plain of Doriscus.

The graphic details given by Herodotus are admirably adapted to place before the imagination the grandeur of the spectacle exhibited on the plain of Doriscus: when, mounted on a splendid car, the monarch visited in turn the contingents furnished by the several nations within his dominions;[4] and subsequently, from a throne raised on a Sidonial vessel, reviewed his fleet,[5] which for this purpose was ranged in order of battle. On land, the Persian troops, wearing close-grained felt caps, wide trousers, many-coloured tunics with sleeves, steel cuirasses, bucklers, bows, quivers, and poniards in the girdle, some of them also displaying gold, others silver pomegranates,[6] led the way.[7] The Medes followed, similarly equipped; then the Assyrians, and next the Chaldeans, both wearing linen cuirasses and brass helmets of an extraordinary form; these were armed

Armament and equipment of the Persians, the Medes, Assyrians,

[1] Herod., lib. VII., cap. xxxvi.
[2] Ibid., cap. lix.
[3] Ibid., cap. lx.
[4] Ibid., cap. c.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid, cap. xli.
[7] Ibid., cap. lxi.

with javelins, poniards, and wooden clubs bristling with iron spikes.[1] After them came the Bactrians, the Indians, the Parthians, the Ethiopians, the Armenians, the Lydians, and others; the Arabs, wearing girdles and ample dresses,[2] being last, that their camels might not frighten the horses.[3]

Bactrians, Indians, Lydians, Arabs, &c.

Numbers of the assembled host.

The numbers were found to be 1,700,000 infantry,[4] and with the addition of cavalry, marines, &c., there probably was an aggregate of upwards of two millions and a half of fighting men; the women, eunuchs, and camp followers, being estimated at an equal number;[5] but, as the result proved, Xerxes had very few soldiers,[6] for although there was a regular gradation of command from the chief of 10 up to the commander of 10,000,[7] the invaders of Greece can only be regarded as a tumultuous assemblage, which, like a cloud of locusts, covered and devastated the country as they advanced; and the forced labour of the inhabitants for several months scarcely sufficed to grind the vast quantities of corn which had been collected at the different places.[8]

Xerxes advances to

From the plains of Doriscus this multitude advanced towards the river Strymon in three bodies; one of these kept towards the interior; the centre was led by Xerxes himself, who forced the people to accompany him onward; whilst the third, under Mardonius, followed the coast line, keeping near the fleet.[9]

the pass of Thermopylæ.

The land forces reached the entrance of the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ without meeting any interruption; but the fleet was less fortunate in the voyage thither, for it encountered a storm by which 400 vessels were lost on the coast of Magnesia.[10]

The invading army found 4,000 Greeks, including 300 Spartans, under Leonidas, occupying that strong pass; the fleet, in which consisted the principal strength of the defenders, being stationed on the neighbouring coast of Eubœa. Xerxes made several attempts to force the pass, which were successively defeated, and he found his whole host totally inadequate to

[1] Herod., lib. VII., cap. lxiii.
[2] Ibid., cap. lxix.
[3] Ibid., cap. lxxxvii.
[4] Ibid., cap. lx.
[5] Ibid., cap. clxxxv., clxxxvi.
[6] Ibid., cap. ccx.
[7] Ibid., cap. lxxxi.
[8] Ibid., cap. cxix.
[9] Ibid., cap. cxxi.
[10] Ibid., cap. cxc.

that object, till Epialtes showed a path by which the hill might be gained, and the pass turned: this object was at length effected by Xerxes, after having suffered the loss of 20,000 men.[1]

At the moment when Leonidas and his gallant band perished so gloriously, a well-contested action was fought between the two fleets near Artemisium.[2] This proved to be a drawn battle; but the Persian flotilla was destined once more to suffer from the effects of a violent tempest, which immediately succeeded the fight,[3] and greatly lessened the superiority of the Persians over the Greeks in the more important contest then at hand.[4] Xerxes being at this juncture in possession of Thermopylæ, sent one portion of his troops to pillage the temple of Delphos,[5] whilst he proceeded at the head of the remainder to besiege the citadel of Athens, which he captured and burnt.[6] The city itself had been almost entirely abandoned on the approach of Xerxes, it being resolved to make the principal stand on board the fleet.[7] All possible care and attention had been bestowed on the latter by Themistocles and Aristides; who had advantageously placed 380 well-manned vessels[8] in the straits of Salamis. Here the shock took place, and a glorious victory was gained over the remainder of the Persian fleet, notwithstanding the encouragement given by the presence of the sovereign, who witnessed the bravery and self-devotion of the queen of Halicarnassus (Artemisa) and the other combatants, from a commanding spot near the foot of Mount Ægaleos.[9]

Battle of Artemisium.

Xerxes burns the citadel of Athens.

Naval victory of Salamis.

The loss of this battle immediately caused that sort of despondency which is common with Asiatic princes when a reverse is experienced; and forgetting that he was still at the head of his victorious legions, Xerxes determined to make a retrograde march forthwith to the Hellespont; whither he despatched the remainder of his shattered fleet in order to secure and protect

Result of the battle.

[1] Herod., lib. VIII., cap. xxiv.
[2] Ibid., cap. xi.
[3] Ibid., cap. xii.
[4] Ibid., cap. xiii.
[5] Ibid., cap. xxxv.
[6] Ibid., cap. lii. and liii.
[7] Ibid., cap. xli.
[8] Ctesias says there were 700 opposed to upwards of 1,000.—See Photius, History of Persia, cap. 26.
[9] Herod., lib. VIII., cap. lxxxix, xc.

Retreat of Xerxes, and

the bridge.[1] These arrangements having been made, Xerxes retraced his steps by the same route along which he had advanced from Thessaly, where, agreeably to his previous plans, the self-confident Mardonius was left with the immortals, the cuirassiers, and other chosen troops, to the number of 300,000; this chief having undertaken to finish the war satisfactorily.[2] Xerxes now made forced marches with the remainder of his troops, and reached the Hellespont in forty-five days, after having suffered a severe loss from plague, dysentery,[3] and scarcity of provisions; which, owing to his unexpected march, could not be provided at the different stations, as had been the case when advancing. The bridge having been again carried away by a tempest, the remnant of the army crossed the Hellespont in the fleet, and accompanied Xerxes to Sardis.[4] During the terror-stricken haste of the king, the Athenians having refused to submit, the operations of his general commenced in his rear. Mardonius marched through Bœotia into Attica with his whole army, and burnt everything, sacred as well as profane, that had escaped the fury of his master in the preceding year;[5] particularly at Athens and its vicinity. He then returned into Bœotia, and encamped on the river Asopus, whither he was followed by Pausanius and Aristides, with all the forces they could muster.

sufferings of his army.

Mardonius killed at the battle of Platæa.

After continued manœuvres for ten days, a feigned retreat of the Greeks brought about a glorious battle near the temple of Ceres at Platæa, in which, after a protracted and bloody contest, Mardonius was killed; and the greater part of his army, which, including the auxiliaries, amounted to about 350,000 men,[6] was destroyed by the Grecian forces, scarcely mustering 110,000.[7]

The same day on which the troops of Xerxes were destroyed in Europe, the remainder of his expeditionary fleet and army experienced a similar fate in Asia. Leotychides, who was invited by the Ionians, left Sparta with a fleet for the purpose

[1] Herod., lib. VIII., cap. cvii.
[2] Ibid., cap. c.
[3] Ibid., cap. cxv.
[4] Ibid., cap. cxvii.
[5] Ibid., lib. IX., cap. xiii.
[6] Ibid., cap. xxxi.
[7] Ibid., cap. xxix.

of liberating the Grecian cities in Asia. Being unable to meet and cope with him at sea, the Persians sought protection by beaching and entrenching their ships near the promontory of Mycale, where they had the support of about 60,000 men, who had been left by Xerxes, under the command of Tigranes, to defend Ionia.[1] Just at the moment when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were preparing to make a double attack, Leotychides resorted to the stratagem of causing a courier to spread amongst the Greeks, a report of the destruction of the Persians by their countrymen in Bœotia. Being thus encouraged, and their ordinary rivalry increased to the utmost, they advanced to the attack, and at length carried the position which, after the Ionians took flight, was nobly defended by the Persians till they were all killed, fighting hand to hand behind the entrenchments.[2]

The Persian fleet and army destroyed near Mycale.

The immediate result of this victory was the deliverance of the Ionian cities from the Persian yoke; for, instead of endeavouring to regain his lost ground, Xerxes, on learning the fate of his forces in Europe, after giving orders for the destruction of the Greek temples in Asia, with the intention of substituting those of Persia, sought his safety by proceeding with haste from Sardis to Susa; leaving Phœnicia and the other maritime provinces to defend themselves. The remnant of his prodigious forces either remained in the European provinces of the empire, or returned as scattered fugitives to different parts of Asia. In the mean time, pursuing their successes, the Greeks under Aristides and Cimon, drove the Persians from Cyprus as well as from the Hellespont and Propontis: Byzantium itself was mastered by Pausanius after a short siege.

Xerxes retires to Susa.

On reaching his capital, Xerxes abandoned himself to a life of pleasure, which continued till he was murdered at the instigation of Artabanes one of his officers.

His murder.

Thus ingloriously terminated, about 470 B.C., a reign of nearly twenty-one years, which in the commencement was remarkable for excessive vanity and ambition, mixed with cruelty and thoughtless profusion; and towards its close, for degradation and despondency. The character and the life of Xerxes present the most opposite extremes. The concentration

[1] Herod., lib. IX., cap. xcv. [2] Ibid., cap. ci., cii.

Character of Xerxes.

from the remotest parts of his dominions of a large fleet, and a vast army, with the abundant supplies provided for the voyage of the one and the marches of the other; the formation of bridges and the excavation of a canal for the passage of the fleet through Mount Athos, all undoubtedly indicate an enlarged mind; while his Egyptian campaign, and even the first part of the expedition to Greece, claim for him the title of warrior, which his name was intended to signify. Besides these circumstances, the conduct of this prince, in bestowing upon Pytheus heaps of gold in return for his splendid hospitality and his presents to his father Darius,[1] bespeaks generosity. But, on the other hand, he was guilty of the utmost barbarity in putting to death the son of that citizen;[2] he disgraced himself by his treatment of the remains of Leonidas; and he showed his despondency and cowardice in quitting the army, and abandoning his projects against Greece, while the almost unbounded resources of the empire were still at his command. The principal events of this monarch's reign are recorded on the monuments of Persepolis.[3]

Artaxerxes Longimanus usurps the throne.

As the Medo-Persian custom of naming a successor had not been followed, Artaxerxes, third son of Xerxes, after murdering Darius his eldest brother, usurped the throne; Hystaspes the second son being then in charge of the distant satrapy of Bactriana.

Artaxerxes, or Ahasuerus, who is also called Macrochir or Longimanus, soon put an end to the civil war which had been fomented at home by Artabanes, and this chief was put to death (B.C. 470). The prince was equally successful afterwards against his brother in Bactriana, whom he defeated, and whose party he entirely ruined. Having thus secured quiet possession of the empire, Longimanus applied himself to its consolidation by the reformation of abuses on the one hand, and on the other, the removal of such functionaries as were likely to be favourable to the two factions which he had overcome. He commemorated the establishment of his power by feastings and rejoicings, which continued at Susa for 180 days,[4] and concluded by a great feast of seven days, for all the people that were present in Shushan: in the same way Vashti the queen entertained the women in the harem.

Banquet at Shushan.

[1] Herod., lib. VII., cap. xxvii., and vol. I., p. 277. [2] Ibid. cap. xxxix.
[3] See Appendix (C.) to this volume. [4] Esther, chap. I., v. 4.

The grand banquet took place in the garden of the king's palace; the court opening into it being adorned with white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple, to silver rings and pillars of marble.[1] On the last day of the entertainment, while under the influence of wine, the king, wishing to display the attractions of his royal partner before the assembled guests, commanded the presence of the beautiful Vashti; but as this would have been a violation of eastern customs, as well as an outrage on her delicacy, the queen refused to appear,[2] and a divorce was the consequence of the wounded dignity of the monarch.

The queen Vashti divorced.

The attractions of Esther caused her to be chosen to succeed Vashti, and it is more than probable that her influence over Ahasuerus produced for her countrymen a favourable change in the sentiments of the prince, who liberally supported Esdras and Nehemiah; not only in the commencement of their labours, but likewise at a later period, when the decree was issued for rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem.[3] The former received from Ahasuerus, in the seventh year of his reign, a very ample commission, empowering him to return to Jerusalem accompanied by all the people of his nation who were so disposed, with liberty to restore the temple of the Jews. At the same time, it must be observed, the attention of the king was directed at home to the maintenance of the religion of Zoroaster. The early part of his reign was distinguished by the hospitable reception and generous friendship bestowed by Artaxerxes on his enemy Themistocles; whose banishment was not, however, unconnected with events which soon embroiled Persia, once more, in a war with Greece.

Esther raised to the throne.

Ahasuerus permits Esdras to return to Jerusalem.

Friendly reception of Themistocles.

The government of Artaxerxes had been gradually acquiring strength since his accession; and hoping to recover some of the authority of his predecessors over the maritime provinces, the king assembled, on the coast of Pamphylia, a fleet and an army, which were to be reinforced by eighty triremes from Phœnicia.

[1] The courts of the Persian palaces usually open into a spacious garden, which would only require a splendid tent equipage, such as that of the late monarch, with its extensive enclosures of various-coloured canvas, to complete the preparations for the guests.

[2] Esther, chap. I., v. 12.

[3] Esdras, chap. VIII., v. 21; Neh., chap. I., v. 2.

Intelligence of these preparations determined Cimon, the distinguished rival of Themistocles, to attack the Persians before they could be joined by the expected squadron, and he accordingly proceeded with a fleet and a body of land forces to the river Eurymedon on the coast of Pamphylia, where he gained a brilliant double victory over the Persian fleet and army on the same day, in the year 470 B.C.

Forces of Artaxerxes defeated by Cimon.

The Greeks assist the Egyptians.

This success induced the Athenians to send Charetimis with their victorious forces to assist the revolt of the Egyptians under Inarus. In consequence of this support, that prince maintained his ground till a second and more powerful army was sent thither by Artaxerxes, under the command of Megabyzus, who succeeded in reducing the country to subjection after a protracted war of six years; during which the Athenians lost two fleets. But these losses were amply repaid by the successful wars carried on both by sea and land by the illustrious Cimon; who at length reduced Artaxerxes to the necessity of making peace on the most disadvantageous terms. The Athenians not only secured the freedom of the Grecian cities in Asia, but likewise obtained other conditions of importance, which were peaceably preserved during the life of Artaxerxes. This prince died suddenly, at a time when he was about to arbitrate between two of the civil powers in Greece, on the subject of the Peloponesian war. Xerxes, his only son by Esther the queen, succeeded him; but he was almost immediately afterwards murdered at the instigation of his illegitimate brother, Sogdianus, who in consequence gained the throne about the year 425 B.C., from which, however, he was deposed two years later by Ochus.

B. C. 463.

Artaxerxes makes peace.

Death of Artaxerxes.

Darius Nothus reigns.

This prince, called by historians Darius Nothus or the Bastard, being the illegitimate son of Artaxerxes, reigned from 423 to 404 B.C., without any other remarkable events than the successive revolts of the Egyptians, Medes, and Lydians, which were soon suppressed.

A short time before his death, Darius confided to his younger son Cyrus the government of the western part of Lesser Asia; and this circumstance led to an important chain of events which endangered the safety of the empire.[1]

[1] See Appendix (D.) to this volume.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES, SON OF DARIUS NOTHUS; INVASION OF CYRUS, AND MARCH OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS FROM BABYLONIA. FROM 404 TO 360 B.C.

Nature of Eastern Governments.—Cyrus appointed Satrap of Lesser Asia.—Origin of his Rebellion.—His Government and Armaments.—Cyrus advances through Asia Minor.—His March from Myriandrus to the Rivers Chalus, the Daradax, and Euphrates.—Advance from Thapsacus to the River Araxes and Towns of Corsote and Carmandæ.—March from the Pilæ towards Babylon.—Battle of Cunaxa, and Death of Cyrus.—Commencement of the Retreat.—The Greeks reach the Median Wall, and cross the River Tigris.—March to Opis, Larissa, Mespila, and Jebel Júdí.—Advance through Kurdistán to the Rivers Centrites and Teleboas.—Passage of the Rivers Euphrates, Phasis, and Harpasus.—Advance to Gymnias and Mount Theches.—March to Trebizonde and Cerasunt.—The Mossynœci, Chalybes, and Tibarenians.—City of Cotyora.—Voyage to Harmene, and thence along the Coast of Paphlagonia to Heraclea.—Separation and Defeat of the Greeks.—The Greeks re-unite and Defeat the Troops of Pharnabazus.—The Greeks join Seuthes, and take service under the Lacedæmonians.—Xenophon resigns the Command.—State of Greece and Asia at the close of the King's Reign.—Character and Death of Artaxerxes.

THE events connected with the close of the reign of Darius Nothus, and the commencement of that of his successor, are of the greatest interest to the inquiring mind, on account of the graphic illustrations which they furnish of the principles as well as of the practical workings of eastern monarchies. These possess, on the one hand, the power which in the abstract belongs to despotism, and, on the other, the mild and regenerative principles, inseparable from the patriarchal system on which they are based. It is true, that an eastern sovereign is absolute, and frequently tyrannical; but whilst the fascinations of unlimited power must tend to foster this feeling, he cannot altogether forget that he should be the father of his people;

Regenerative principles of eastern governments.

B. C. 408. and this, as a redeeming point, appears to be the chief cause that those monarchies are upheld, and even restored, under very adverse circumstances.

Darius Nothus divides his empire.

Darius Nothus, partly to lessen his cares by the subdivision of his gigantic empire, but chiefly to gratify his queen, confided the satrapy of Lesser Asia to her favourite son Cyrus. This arrangement, if permanent, would still have left, on the decease of Darius, the extensive empire of Eastern Asia, as the share of the elder son. Such appears to have been the intention of the monarch, whilst the object of Parysatis was to enable her younger son to obtain the empire of Cyrus the Great; to which, by the laws of Persia, he was entitled, in consequence of having been born after his father's accession to the throne. His brother came into the world previously to that event.

Cyrus extends his influence in Asia Minor.

The territory westward of the river Halys comprised Phœnicia, Cilicia, Caria, and other maritime dependencies, and its ruler was enabled to exercise a powerful control over the Athenian, the Lacedæmonian, and other Greek States, which had then recently acquired political importance; and great as was the power thus obtained by the youthful Cyrus, it was much increased by his generous disposition, and the ample funds at his disposal. He strengthened himself by his alliances with the Greek governors in Asia Minor; and by subsidizing Lysander, he enabled the Lacedæmonians to overcome the Athenians, and terminate a war of twenty-seven years duration.

He is recalled by the king.

He had not, however, been long in Lesser Asia, when he was summoned to his father's court, nominally on account of the king's illness, but in reality, either because he had put to death two noble Persians, relatives of Darius, for some want of respect shown to him as viceroy, or because some intimation had transpired of those designs, which he afterwards carried out.

The prince obeyed the summons with much reluctance; and either from misgivings concerning the reception he might experience, or merely to swell the pomp of his journey, he took with him Tissaphernes, and 300 heavy-armed Greeks,[1] with other portions of the forces he was levying, and pro-

B. C. 404. ceeded slowly towards Susa.

[1] Xenoph., Anabasis, lib. I., cap. i.

Parysatis succeeded in reconciling the dying monarch to her favourite son, but her entreaties failed to accomplish the greater object for which she interceded, and instead of declaring Cyrus his successor, Darius merely bequeathed to him the continuation of his present satrapy, under his elder brother Arsaces.

Artaxerxes succeeds Darius.

On ascending the throne, this prince took the name of Artaxerxes, and by his extraordinary memory, obtained from the Greeks that of Mnemon.[1] Whilst being inaugurated at Pasargada, he was informed by one of the priests of Bellona, that Cyrus intended to murder him in the temple.[2] The latter was in consequence seized, and sentenced to death, but the entreaty of Parysatis saved his life, and preserved his government, to which he was permitted to return.

Cyrus resumes his government.

The desire of revenge being now added to ambition, the young prince lost no time in making extensive preparations for war; his design appeared to be favoured at this moment by a fresh rebellion in Egypt, and by the disaffected state of the greater part of Lesser Asia, more particularly of the Grecian colonies, over which Cyrus had great influence. Even at Susa itself he had a strong party, for his emissaries did not fail to prepare the people for the intended change, by telling them that the empire required a liberal-minded sovereign such as Cyrus, who loved war, and would not only shower his favours upon those who served him, but support and augment the glory of the throne.

B.C. 402.

His liberal promises and measures to dethrone the king.

Such were the circumstances under which the armaments of the prince were commenced, avowedly against Tissaphernes, and the revolted cities in Caria, Lydia, Ionia, &c., but in reality for the purpose of dethroning his brother. The duplicity of Cyrus appears to have been successful, for the king sanctioned his request to be allowed to add Ionia to his government: instead, however, of adopting decided measures to crush the rebellion, Cyrus encouraged the existing discontent, and fomented a mutual opposition amongst the western provinces; especially those which were either nominally or really subject to Tissaphernes.

Projects to deceive the king.

[1] Xenoph., Hellen., lib. I.

[2] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 251, ed. Langhorne.

Cyrus ingratiates himself with the subjects of Tissaphernes.

This satrap being unpopular, the lofty character and profuse generosity of Cyrus carried the day, and nearly the whole of the cities ceased to acknowledge the orders of Tissaphernes, giving homage and tribute willingly to the prince; who had, in consequence, almost the whole territory of Ionia at his disposal.

He makes large promises to the Persians.

Cyrus is said to have told the people of Persia, that he was better versed in philosophy, as well as in the tenets of the Magi, than his brother; that he could drink more wine; and that he possessed a greater and more royal heart than the king: in the figurative language of his countrymen, he added, that he would give horses to the foot soldiers, and chariots to the horsemen; also, that he would bestow villages instead of farms, and cities instead of villages; and that he would pay by measure, instead of counting out the money.[1]

Revolts, similar to that of Cyrus, still take place in Asia.

Revolts similar to that of Cyrus still occasionally take place in the East, where the satraps or páshás, except in respect of the annual tribute which they pay, may be considered independent of the sovereign at Constantinople. In 1831, the páshás of Albania, Baghdád, and Egypt, from some dissatisfaction, took arms against the sultán. The two first, though very powerful, failed; but the last, proceeding with more caution, entered Syria, under the pretence of punishing the páshá of Acre. The sultán, however, hoping the latter would successfully resist, lost the opportunity of giving timely assistance; and the fall of that fortress led to the temporary loss of Syria and a part of Asia Minor.

The Ephori of Lacedæmon send their fleet,

In return for the assistance formerly given to them by Cyrus against the Athenians, the Ephori of Lacedæmon sent their fleet under Samius to join that of the prince,[2] whose army consisted of 70,000 Asiatics chiefly from Persia, and about 13,000 Greeks under Clearchus, and other influential chiefs; amongst these was Proxenus, a distinguished Theban, who was accompanied by Xenophon,[3] the celebrated historian, of the campaign.

[1] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 254, ed. Langhorne.
[2] Xenoph., Hellen., lib. III., cap. i. s. 1.
[3] Anab., lib. III., cap. i., s. 4, 7.

and Cyrus commences his march from Sardis.

Leaving his relatives and friends in charge of the governments of Lydia, Phrygia, Ionia, &c., Cyrus commenced the march from Sardis in April, and displayed admirable judgment in taking the more circuitous route along the great plains, and through the principal cities of Asia Minor, in preference to that by which Xerxes advanced through Cappadocia; since it gave him the support of his fleet, by which he could receive supplies and reinforcements from time to time, besides having a fair chance of concealing for a longer period his bold design.

Ostensibly against the Pisidians.

Hoping to deceive his brother, Cyrus gave out that he was going to punish the Pisidians, but his real object being no longer doubtful, Tissaphernes, with an escort of 500 horsemen, proceeded to Susa; and on communicating the intelligence in person, the king commenced his defensive preparations.[1]

Cyrus' march to Chonos.

The direction of Cyrus' march appears to have been parallel to the Cogamus,[2] and having passed the Mæander on a bridge of seven boats, probably above the junction of the Lycus, he advanced to the well-peopled town of Colossæ, the site of which, near Chonos,[3] is about seventy-seven geographical miles from Sardis: and the thirty parasangs of Xenophon (taken at 2·6 miles each) give seventy-eight geographical miles.

Being reinforced, he advances to Celænæ.

After a halt of seven days, during which the army was joined by 1,500 heavy-armed veterans and targeteers, under Menon of Thessaly, Cyrus advanced twenty parasangs to Celænæ, whose site, as well as that of the later city of Apamea Cibotis, appears to have been near the present town of Dineïr,[4] and about forty-eight geographical miles from Chonos, or fifty-two geographical miles, if estimated at 2·6 miles the parasang. At this city, which was no less magnificent than the former, there was a palace of the king, and one of the prince, both situated on the Mæander, with the much-prized Persian luxury of an extensive park full of wild beasts:[5] here, Cyrus

[1] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. ii.

[2] See route on Index Map.

[3] Afterwards Chonæ, on the Lycus.—W. J. Hamilton's Researches, &c., vol. I., pp. 501–510; Rennell's Illustrations of the March of the Ten Thousand Greeks, p. 23, London, 1826.

[4] Rennell, pp. 22 and 24, and W. J. Hamilton, vol. I., pp. 497, 499, 505, and vol. II., p. 366.

[5] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. ii.

Halt of thirty days, and

spent thirty days by a halt, which is the more unaccountable, as the army had remained a week at the previous station. The energetic character of the prince forbids the belief, that the temptations of the chase could have been allowed to interfere with his ambitious project; and as the reinforcements from Greece could have joined more easily at either of the two halting-places to which he proceeded, delay on this account was unnecessary. Reasons, however, may be found in the deceptive policy of Cyrus towards his brother, and in his desire to keep his troops in ignorance of his designs. The concentration of his army and the halt itself, being for the time in accordance with the supposed purpose of extirpating the Pisidians.

its secret object.

Advance to Peltæ, and

An additional force of Asiatics, with the levies brought from Thrace and the rest of Greece, under Clearchus, having been reviewed in the park, and a census taken, the troops in two days performed a march of ten parasangs to Peltæ, a well-inhabited city; which, being the last on the road to Mysia, probably was a little way westward of Isheklí, or Eumenia,[1] and about twenty-five geographical miles from Dineïr, the distance according to the parasangs, at 2·6 miles, being only twenty-six geographical miles. After halting three days to celebrate the Lupercalian sacrifice, Cyrus advanced twelve parasangs to Ceramorum Agora (the market of the Cramians), whose site, according to the back distances from Kóniyeh, would be a little east of 'Ushák, and about thirty-one geographical miles from Isheklí, the parasangs giving but 31·2 geographical miles. Having by these two almost retrograde marches[2] advanced sufficiently far to the N.N.W. to round a difficult portion of the Taurus, he resumed the easterly direction, and in three marches or thirty parasangs,[3] having passed through the great mountain barrier, probably near the present town of Afiyúm Karáhisár, he reached the city called the plain of Caystrus;[4] the position of which may have been about Cháï Keui, near Ebér Gól, and seventy-four geographical miles from 'Ushák, the parasangs giving seventy-eight geographical miles.

thence to Ceramorum Agora.

Cyrus rounds a portion of the Taurus,

and gains the plain of Caystrus.

[1] W. J. Hamilton's Researches in Asia Minor, &c., vol. II., p. 203.

[2] See Index Map.

[3] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. ii.

[4] Or a city on the Plain of Caystrus. Anabasis, lib. I., cap. ii.

The difficulties regarding the positions of this and the two preceding sites have been removed by researches recently made in the country by Mr. W. J. Hamilton, and also Mr. William Ainsworth, during the Euphrates Expedition, and in his Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks.[1] The former, from a mean of the two marches eastward, viz., from Sardis to Colossæ, and from Iconium to Dana (Tyana), concludes the value of the parasang to be about 2·455 geographical miles.[2] The ancient parasang compared with

The modern farsang, or farsakh, of Persia, varies according to the nature of the ground, from three and a half, to four English miles per hour; and being almost always calculated for mules, or good horses, under favourable circumstances it frequently exceeds four miles. The ancient parasang appears to have been fixed at thirty stadia,[3] which at 202·84 yards would give three geographical miles. But this being also a road measure, it no doubt varied as at present, and was regulated according to the nature of the country; and fortunately we have the means of ascertaining this difference with considerable precision. A line, drawn along the map so as to touch the river, at short distances, from Thapsacus to the river Araxes, is about one hundred and five miles, which, for the fifty parasangs of Xenophon, give 2·10 geographical miles each. By the route followed from Sardis to Thapsacus, it is eight hundred and fifty-three geographical miles, which will give 2·608 geographical miles for each of the three hundred and twenty-seven parasangs. Again, from Thapsacus to the mounds of Múḥammed, thirty-six miles from Babylon, where, for the sake of water, the route constantly follows, and almost touches the river Euphrates, it is four hundred and twelve geographical miles, thus giving 1·98 geographical miles for each of the two hundred and eight parasangs, or 2·294 geographical miles for the mean of both. This scarcely differs from the result obtained by the laborious and discriminating geographer Major Rennell, who, without our present advantages, estimated the parasang at 2·25 miles; which, in fact, approaches an average of the the farsakh of Persia. Distance from Sardis to Thapsacus estimated, and thence to Cunaxa.

[1] Parker, London, 1844.

[2] W. J. Hamilton's Researches, &c., vol. II., pp. 199, 200.

[3] Herod., lib. II., cap. vi.; lib. V., cap. liii.; lib. VI., cap. xlii.

whole march of Cyrus. We find that the distance from Sardis to Cunaxa, or the mounds of Múḥammed, cannot be much under or over 1,265 geographical miles, making 2·364 geographical miles for each of the five hundred and thirty-five parasangs given by Xenophon between those places.[1]

Average value of the parasang.

From the preceding calculations, it appears that we are warranted in taking the average value of the parasang, at 2·608 geographical miles throughout the march to Thapsacus, and at 1·98, or almost two miles from thence to Cunaxa;[2] but subsequently, it is less than two geographical miles. The greater speed in the first part of the march, was the natural consequence of moving during the most favourable season of the year (April and May), with the additional advantage of roads. The want of the latter must have been a serious impediment to the carriages during the next fortnight; for, although the marches were pressing, the heavy-armed men, with their weapons, would have been greatly retarded by the almost insupportable heat of the summer months: in the subsequent retreat, the mountains, the rivers, and unknown tracts, as well as the snow on the ground, must have caused still greater retardations.

Difficulties encountered in Mesopotamia and Armenia.

Epyaxa, queen of Cilicia, visits Cyrus.

But to return to the march itself. During a halt of five days on the plains of Caystrus, Cyrus received Epyaxa, the queen of Cilicia; whose mysterious visit and opportune supply of treasure enabled him to appease the Greeks by giving them three months' arrears of pay. Accompanied by Epyaxa, he advanced ten parasangs to Thymbrium, on the borders of Lycaonia, probably at, or a little south-eastward of the present town of Aḳ-Shehr, and twenty-four or twenty-five miles from Cháï Keui. In two days more he advanced ten parasangs to Tyriacum, a populous town, probably represented by I'lghún, which is twenty-five or twenty-six miles from Aḳ-Shehr (the ten parasangs give twenty-six miles in each case). Here he remained three days, and delighted his guest by a splendid display of his Greek forces, uniformly clothed, and armed with brazen helmets, scarlet tunics, greaves, and burnished shields,

Review of his forces at Tyriacum.

[1] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. ii., s. 6..

[2] The country hereabouts is called Abú Jada.

at the same time astonishing her, by causing the phalanx to charge in their usual manner, shouting aloud to terrify the enemy as they advanced, running with their long spears protended.[1] The phalanx manœuvres.

Epyaxa and her escort accompanied the army, moving, and encamping with the prince. In three marches of twenty parasangs, the army reached Iconium, a distance, by the route of Ḳádun Khán and Ládiḳ,[2] of forty-nine or fifty geographical miles. After halting five days at that place, it advanced thirty parasangs in five marches along the plains of Lycaonia, and halted, probably near or westward of the now small town of Ḳará Búńár, (Barathra,) which is sixty or sixty-one miles from Ḳóniyeh. From thence, Epyaxa returned to her husband Syennesis, the king of Cilicia, probably crossing the Taurus by Ḳizil Chésmeh, 'Alan Búzuk, Mízetlí, Solí (or Pompeiopolis), and onward to Tarsus. It may be inferred, from what subsequently passed in Cilicia, that the object of this remarkable mission, and the timely supply of treasure, was to induce Cyrus to take another route, that Syennesis might not be embroiled with Artaxerxes, by permitting the march through his territory; and it is not improbable that, from her *peculiar intimacy* with the prince, the queen believed she had been successful. Cyrus availed himself of her return, to send a body of Greeks under Menon, nominally as a guard of honour, but in reality to turn the Cilician gates, the only pass which was practicable for an army through this part of the Taurus; he then advanced twenty-five parasangs in four days to Dana, now presumed to be Tyana, which is forty-nine or fifty miles from Ḳará-búńár. Epyaxa quits Cyrus at Barathra. Supposed object of her visits.

Cyrus had been informed that Syennesis in person, with a powerful body of troops, occupied the heights commanding this almost impregnable passage;[3] but during a halt of one day at the entrance, making the necessary dispositions to force his way, the videttes brought the satisfactory intelligence, that the heights had been abandoned by the Cilicians, on learning that Menon had reached his destination, and turned the pass, after plundering Tarsus, and opening a communication with the Cyrus turns the pass of the Taurus.

[1] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. ii.
[2] See Index Map.
[3] See above, vol. I., pp. 293, 354

Lacedæmonian galleys. The opportune arrival of the latter, added to the belief that the negotiation of Epyaxa had been successful, seems to have prevented the intended resistance of Syennesis, and four days' march through one of the longest and most difficult passes in the world,[1] brought Cyrus to Tarsus; which city is sixty-eight or seventy geographical miles, (called twenty-five parasangs), from the farther side of the pass near the Kolu Kushla.[2]

reaches Tarsus, and

At first, Syennesis refused to obey the mandate of Cyrus to appear at Tarsus, but Epyaxa induced him to quit his fastness in the mountains, and the Cilician prince made his peace by presenting large sums of money for the army: he received from Cyrus, in return, a Persian robe of honour, a golden bit, and other royal presents, in addition to a guarantee that his territories should not be plundered.

is visited by Syennesis.

The halt of twenty days at Tarsus, was rendered memorable by a circumstance which threatened to terminate the enterprise, at the moment when the requisite funds had been so unexpectedly obtained. The Greeks, chiefly the followers of Clearchus, perceiving that they had been entrapped, loudly demanded to return, instead of proceeding against Artaxerxes; a service for which, as alleged, they had not been engaged.[3] After lengthened discussions, the oratory of Clearchus prevailed, and by judiciously placing before the turbulent soldiery, on the one hand the difficulties and dishonour of a return, contrasted with the prospect of glory and rewards before them on the other, he induced them to advance. The object now avowed by Cyrus, was the punishment of his enemy Abrocamas, the satrap of Syria; who was, he said, encamped on the banks of the Euphrates, at the distance of twelve marches.[4]

Events at Tarsus.

The discontent of the Greeks is appeased.

An additional half-daric being promised per month, Cyrus advanced ten parasangs, in two marches, and crossed the river Sarus, now the Saïhún, where it was three plethra wide. Here the direct distance is seventeen geographical miles, but that by the road is rather more than twenty-nine miles between those

Cyrus advances, and crosses the rivers Saïhún and Jaïhán,

[1] See above, vol. I., pp. 293, 354, and Anabasis, lib. I., cap. ii.
[2] See No. 1 of Euphrates' Maps. [3] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. iii., s. 1.
[4] Ibid., s. 20.

places.[1] In another march of five parasangs (actually seventeen to nineteen miles), he reached the Pyramus or Jaïhán, which was one stadium in breadth; and fifteen parasangs, made in two marches from thence, brought him to Issus, the last city of Cilicia,[2] which is thirty-three to thirty-four miles from the town of Misís. The widths given by Xenophon, indicate that the passage of the Sarus was effected somewhere about the place now occupied by the city of Adánáh, and that of the Pyramus, in the vicinity of the present town of Mallus or Misís; and neither of the rivers being fordable, it may be presumed that they were, as in the case of the Mæander, crossed on some kind of temporary bridge.[3] Cyrus found his fleet anchored near the city of Issus, and with it came a reinforcement of 700 heavy-armed men under Cheirisophus, besides 400 others who had quitted Abrocamas, that they might take service against the king,[4] making it evident that the object of the expedition was now well known in this part of the country. Keeping between the mountains and the sea, one march of five parasangs brought Cyrus to the gates of Cilicia and Syria. Here a rocky spur, covered with brushwood, descends from the Amanus into the sea, leaving, as described by Xenophon, a narrow pass. This has been since washed away by the sea, and a paved road has been substituted for it. The latter is carried over the spur itself, and through the ruins of a marble gateway on the southern declivity. The gateway, now bears the European name of Jonas' pillars, and the Turkish name of Ṣakál Ṭútán (Beard Catcher). A little way northward of the pillars, on a hill perhaps nearly 300 feet high, stands the castle of Merkez (Centre), which commands the pass. Half a mile beyond the castle there is a wall, which terminates at the sea with a tower; a little farther is the Merkez-súï, and again, beyond, a small pile of ancient ruins. There are also other ruins higher up the river; and at the distance of two miles from the sea are traces of a double wall on each side, where the stream issues from the mountains. The Merkez-súï, or ancient Kersus, determines the sites of the

and reaches Issus,

where he finds his fleet with reinforcements.

The army advances along the coast.

Nature of the country.

[1] See Map No. 1.
[2] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. iv.
[3] Ibid., cap. ii.
[4] Ibid., cap. iv.

so-called gates or fortresses, which were erected to defend the ground; the one being in Cilicia, and the other in Syria, the river flowing between them.[1]

The limited width of the pass along the borders of the sea, added to the difficulty of turning it by keeping along the lower part of the Amanus, gave to it great importance and strength, especially when approached from the side of the Issus. Aware of this difficulty, and under the impression that it would be strongly occupied, Cyrus caused his fleet to land his heavy-armed veterans both within and without the Syrian fortress, to secure a passage for his army; but Abrocamas, not wishing to oppose a prince who might eventually take away his satrapy, had already retreated at the head of a force, estimated at 300,000 men, and Cyrus, without opposition, completed the next march, which was to the commercial city of Myriandrus. Each of these marches was of five parasangs, that is eleven or twelve miles.

Cyrus turns, and carries the pass of Syria and Cilicia.

Events at Myriandrus.

During a halt of seven days at this place, Xenias and Pasion, two men of some importance, stealthily departed by sea, but the judicious conduct of Cyrus in sending their effects, as well as their wives and children after them, prevented others from following an example which might have been fatal to his undertaking; and even those Greeks, who had been hitherto backward, became zealous followers, believing that so magnanimous a commander would not fail to be still more liberal to those who were faithful.[2]

March to the river Chalus, and

The important pass of Beïlán, as well as the gates of Cilicia and Syria, having been abandoned by Abrocamas, the army of Cyrus made twenty parasangs, in four marches, to the river Chalus. Proceeding through the pass in the Beïlán chain, and advancing north-eastward, keeping quite clear of the lake of Agá Denghíz and the surrounding marshes, it is about sixty-one geographical miles to the upper part of the Báluk-sú or Báluklú-sú[3] (Fish River), and about sixty-eight or seventy miles from the town of Beïlán, if a greater sweep be made northward along the slopes of the hills.[4] As there were three

[1] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. iv.
[2] Ibid.
[3] See Map No. 1.
[4] See above, vol. I., p. 412.

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RUINS OF BELES.

rivers to cross, namely, the Karà-sú, the Aswád, and the 'Afrín, four days would certainly be required for this part of the march. In advancing first in an easterly direction along the Báluk-sú, then southward by the banks of the same stream, and again eastward, quitting the latter when opposite to the fountain of El Báb, near the source of the stream called Dhahab or Dabb, it is about sixty-one miles to the last, the presumed Daradax:[1] and if the windings of the Ḳoweïḳ be followed in the earlier part of the march, it would be seventy or eighty miles[2] from the higher part of the Chalíb or Chalus, which, as in the time of Xenophon, still abounds in fish.[3] The distance (thirty parasangs) given by Xenophon between the rivers Chalus and Daradax, which was accomplished in five marches,[4] agrees with the nature of the intervening country; for whether the windings of the upper part of the Ḳoweïḳ were followed, or the stream forded two or three times in preference, a fifth march would be requisite as already mentioned.[5]

From thence to the river Daradax.

Having wantonly destroyed the palace and park of Belesis, the late governor of Syria, Cyrus, in three days' pressing marches,[6] following and constantly touching the Euphrates from Bális, reached the river Euphrates at Thapsacus,[7] which, as has been shown,[8] is about sixty-four or sixty-six miles from the Daradax.

Palace of Belesis destroyed.

Here Cyrus fulfilled his promise, by plainly telling the Greeks, through their commanders, that he intended to proceed to Babylon and against the king. At first the soldiers were angry, and for some days it was doubtful whether they could be induced to proceed. Abrocamas had destroyed the boats by which he had crossed, but the river happened to be fordable that year,[9] and Menon having persuaded his division to set the example by fording, the water coming up to their breasts, the rest of the contingents speedily followed. The whole army being then put in motion along the left bank of the great river,

At Thapsacus, Cyrus makes known the object of his march.

[1] See above, vol. I., p. 415.
[2] Ibid., p. 412.
[3] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. iv.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Vol. I., p. 416.
[6] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. iv.
[7] See Maps Nos. 1 and 3.
[8] See above, vol. I., p. 417.
[9] Ibid., p. 416.

He advances to the river Araxes,

they advanced a distance of one hundred and five geographical miles, or fifty parasangs, in nine days, to the river Araxes,[1] and entered the desert of Mesopotamia, after making the necessary provision for the coming march.

and from thence to Corsote.

In five marches, at times occupied in hunting ostriches, roe, deer, wild asses, and bustards, they accomplished a distance of thirty-five parasangs to the river Masca and the town of Corsote; the position of which seems to correspond with the ruins of Al Erzi, whose site is sixty-three miles from the river Araxes.[2]

Distance of the Pylæ from Corsote.

There has been some little difficulty about the termination of the succeeding march of ninety parasangs; but as it appears, by the subsequent movements, that the Pylæ were about twenty-four miles short of the Median wall, the pass in question may safely be placed about twenty-seven miles below Hít,[3] or nearly opposite to the village of Jarrah, from which, by the map, there are about one hundred and seventy-five, or one hundred and seventy-seven geographical miles to represent the ninety parasangs from Corsote to the Pylæ, which, at 1·98 each, give 178·2 geographical miles.

City of Carmandæ, and

Some time during the previous march they halted opposite to a large and magnificent city called Carmandæ,[4] from which panic, palm-wine, and other supplies were obtained; crossing the river for this purpose on rafts made with the skins of their tents stuffed with rushes. It was in the vicinity of this place

disputes of the Greeks.

that the serious dispute occurred between the followers of Clearchus and those of Menon, which, after some difficulty, Cyrus settled with that tact and knowledge of mankind for which he was so remarkable.

Not long after the army had marched from this place, that is, probably, during the first day from the Pylæ, the dung of the horses, and other traces of a body of horsemen, supposed to be about 2,000, were perceived, who had probably been em-

[1] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. iv., v.

[2] See Map No. 3.

[3] See Maps Nos. 5 and 7.

[4] As there is no other site on the right bank of the river, the position alluded to may have been near Jibbah, an island, opposite to which, on that bank, there are some ruins at fifty-eight miles from 'A'nah, and thirty or thirty-two from Hít.

ployed in destroying the forage. Under pretence of preventing this operation, but in reality to communicate with Artaxerxes, Orontas, a Persian nobleman, volunteered to pursue them; but his real purpose having been ascertained, by a letter prepared to be sent to Artaxerxes, and having been pardoned on two previous occasions, Cyrus ordered that there should be held a court-martial of his countrymen, who sentenced him to death,[1] and he was not seen subsequently; but whether privately executed or not, did not then appear.

Orontas sentenced to death.

Having in three days advanced twelve parasangs through Mesopotamia, Cyrus reviewed his forces, and put them in order of battle at midnight.[2] Expecting to engage the king on the following day, the prince, with his usual tact, addressed his followers in the most animated and, to soldiers, the most encouraging language. They were told that the satrapies of an empire, which extended so far south as to be uninhabitable through heat, and so far north, that the people perished from cold, would soon be at his disposal, and that he would adorn the brows of the generals with the coronets of princes, his only apprehension being, lest he might not have a sufficient number of friends to fill the other situations.[3]

Cyrus reviews his troops at midnight.

The census taken, showed that the various levies raised in the maritime and Greek states amounted to 10,400 heavy-armed men, and 2,400 targeteers, with nearly 20 scythed chariots, in addition to a mixed force of 100,000 Asiatics. The army of Artaxerxes, according to some deserters from it, was reported to be 1,200,000 infantry, 6,000 horse, and 200 armed chariots; large bodies of this force being commanded by Abrocamas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But as the first was not present with his contingent, the actual number was only 900,000 men, and 150 armed chariots,[4] or 400,000 horse and foot, according to the more moderate estimate of Diodorus Siculus.[5]

Estimate of the contending armies.

The position of the king was admirably suited to cover the capital, for, in addition to an army, which according to the lesser estimate (allowing three followers for each soldier)

[1] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. vi.
[2] See Map No. 7.
[3] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. vii.
[4] Ibid., cap. viii.
[5] Lib. XIV., cap. ix.

mustered 100,000 fighting men, and which would, independently of the chariots, form a line two deep extending twelve miles; the I'sa,[1] the Nahr Sersár, and other canals, were so many successive lines of defence, the whole constituting a splendid position, which, being in a plain, was suited for the chariots as well as for the cavalry.

The king's forces were entrenched, but

Not satisfied with these advantages, and the additional line of the Median wall, Artaxerxes formed an entrenched camp along the Euphrates, in the rear of the whole, to cover his baggage,[2] and also cut a wide and deep ditch as an advanced line of defence. With the exception of a passage left near the bank of the Euphrates, the latter work appears to have been carried from the river at a spot a few miles north-westward of the I'sa canal, till it joined the Median wall, probably about the centre.

abandon their position on the approach of the Greeks.

No doubt Artaxerxes intended to have made a stand for his empire at this and the succeeding lines of defence, but during an advance of three parasangs next day, in order of battle, Cyrus found the first line and the Median wall abandoned. It is evident that on the approach of the prince something like a panic induced Artaxerxes to lose sight of all his advantages, and he continued in full retreat towards Babylon, till the opportune arrival and entreaties of Teribazus inspired him with fresh courage.[3] The flight was now changed into an advance, and the invaders were met under circumstances which proved favourable to an extent that could not have been anticipated.

Cyrus passes the trench and advances.

Previously to reaching the new entrenchment, Cyrus had advanced with great regularity, but on finding that the works had been abandoned, and that the royal army had fled, he put faith in the previous prediction of the soothsayer, to whom he gave the promised reward of 3,000 darics or 10 talents; and believing that the empire would be his without a struggle, the march became exceedingly careless. About noon, on the third day, the invaders found themselves almost in presence of the Persian army, at a moment when they were in great confusion, some having their armour, and even their arms, carried in

The royal army again advances in order of battle.

[1] See Maps Nos. 7 and 8.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XIV., cap. ix.

[3] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 255, ed. Langhorne.

waggons, or on sumpter horses.[1] The situation is not mentioned, but taking the moderate estimate of about fifteen miles for a whole day, Cyrus was probably near the mounds of Múḥammed,[2] that is about thirty-six from Babylon, and as many from the Median wall, when Petagyas, a Persian, in whom he confided, came at full speed, crying out, in Greek as well as Persian, that the whole of the king's forces were at hand in order of battle. Cyrus hastened to arm, and his chariot being exchanged for his horse, he issued those orders, which probably would have secured complete success, if Clearchus had not failed in his duty[3] at this critical moment. The Greeks under this general occupied the right of the prince's army, and the Asiatics formed the rest of the line, which necessarily was greatly outflanked by that of the king. Knowing that, agreeably to Persian custom, Artaxerxes would be in the centre of his army, Cyrus determined to attack this point with the chariots and the Greeks, who were the *élite* of his force; but these, or rather their commander, although professing obedience, determined not to lose the advantage of leaning on the river with his right flank, and Cyrus proceeded to the post of danger under the impression that his orders would be obeyed. The battle was commenced by the Greeks, singing the pæan, as they advanced against Tissaphernes, who commanded the enemy's left wing. On seeing this, the Persian infantry fled, and not being supported by the cavalry, the drivers of the chariots having also fled, the expectation of breaking through the Greek phalanx with these machines was at an end, and the left wing being thrown into disorder by the Greeks almost without loss,[4] some already complimented the prince on being king.

The Greeks hastily prepare,

and became the assailants.

But Cyrus perceiving that there was still much to do advanced impetuously to charge the centre which still remained firm; when, though without the expected support of the Greeks, he

[1] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 256, ed. Langhorne, compared with Anabasis, lib. I., cap. vii.

[2] See Map No. 8.

[3] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 257, ed. Langhorne, compared with Anabasis, lib. I., cap. viii.

[4] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. viii.

routed the guard of 6,000, which preceded the king, and killed their commander. At this moment, when the king thought all was lost, Cyrus rushed heedlessly forward, and just as he had reached and wounded his brother in the midst of his guards, a dart brought him to the ground at his feet, and he perished covered with wounds.[1] The success of Artaxerxes was however limited to this event, and to some trifling advantages over the left of Cyrus, which enabled him to plunder the tents, &c., for, on the other flank, Clearchus was quite successful.[2] It is therefore evident, that if Clearchus had obeyed the orders of Cyrus, the Greeks would have broken the centre as easily as they forced the left of Artaxerxes' army.

Cyrus is killed whilst making an impetuous charge.

Clearchus causes the loss of the battle.

Being for some time ignorant of the death of their chief they thought the victory had been completely won, and such was their impression till the following day, when they received a message from Ariæus, that he would wait for them a short time in his former encampment previously to returning to Ionia.

The Greeks immediately sent to offer the crown to Ariæus, as the fruit of the victory, which they believed they had achieved; but, before they received his answer,[3] a message was delivered from the king, commanding them to lay down their arms. To this, notwithstanding his extremely precarious situation, Clearchus replied with much dignity, that it was not usual for conquerors to deliver up their arms.[4]

After nightfall, 40 horse and 300 Thracian foot, under Miltocythes, deserted to Artaxerxes; and about midnight, the remainder of the Greeks, under Clearchus, reached the camp of Ariæus,[5] which was probably a short distance in the rear, and not far from the river, as the baggage had been directed to follow the stream.[6] A consultation immediately followed, and the Persian chief gave the benefit of his local experience, by pointing out for their retreat a route preferable to that by which they had advanced, on account of its affording a better prospect of obtaining provisions and protection from the cavalry

The Greeks retire to the camp of Ariæus.

[1] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. viii.
[2] Ibid., lib. I., cap. x.
[3] Ibid., lib. II., cap. ii.
[4] Ibid., cap. i.
[5] See Map No. 7.
[6] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. ii.

of their pursuers. These observations had due weight with the Greeks, and it was determined to commence that retreat; the accomplishment of which constitutes an event unrivalled in military history, and first demonstrated the weakness of the Persian monarchy. Previously to setting out there was made, under the oaths of the leading Greek and Persian officers, who dipped their swords and spears in the mingled blood of a bull, a wolf, and a ram,[1] a compact, in which the barbarians engaged faithfully to conduct the Greeks on their homeward route. The troops were then put in motion, it being intended, agreeably to the recommendation of Ariæus, to substitute for the exhausted line near the Euphrates, one through the villages along the Tigris. The Greeks were to make very long marches through Mesopotamia, and thus get well in advance, in order that the king might be unable to attack them with a large force; a small one they had no reason to fear.[2]

The Greeks decide to force their way homeward.

The line of the Tigris is chosen for this daring attempt.

Accordingly, in the presence of overwhelming numbers, the daring attempt to force a passage northwards, through provinces and territories more or less subject to the king, was commenced. The first march[3] proved so far inauspicious that the Greeks went to rest supperless, in consequence of finding the villages, which they reached that night, without supplies, having been recently occupied by the enemy, whose cavalry was at hand, and even in their front.[4]

The retreat commenced.

In taking a northerly direction from the presumed position of the camp, it would be necessary to cross the Nahr Malká; and on account of this obstruction, as well as the presence of an enemy, the distance made would scarcely exceed ten miles. Fatigued by the march, and without sustenance, a slight circumstance was sufficient to cause a tumult and almost a panic among the Greeks. The panic was however speedily calmed by the ingenuity of Clearchus, and at day-break he marched with the intention of becoming the assailant. This bold manœuvre led to a negotiation with the king on equal terms, and guides were in consequence appointed to conduct the Greeks across the Nahr Sersár, and its affluents, which intersect this

Obstructions during the second march.

[1] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. ii.
[2] Ibid., sec. 5.
[3] See Map No. 7.
[4] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. ii.

part of the country. These cuts appear to have been filled with water, but the difficulties were overcome by cutting down the palm trees to make bridges, in which operation Clearchus set the example, and the army reached the intended halting-place in some villages probably not more than ten miles from the preceding station. These were abundantly supplied with corn, vinegar, and wine made from dates.[1] After spending about twenty-three days in negotiations, having made engagements to be faithfully conducted homeward, and obtained supplies, the Greeks, the troops of Ariæus, and those of the king under Tissaphernes, commenced what seemed a peaceable march, although certain circumstances attending it gave rise to suspicion, and some precautions were adopted in consequence by the Greeks. In three days, probably taking, as in the preceding march, a westerly direction, in order to round the marshes and inundations near 'Aḳar Ḳúf,[2] the armies came up to, and departed from, the Median wall into the interior.[3]

The Greek negotiations with the Persians fail.

They continue their route to the Median wall.

[1] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. ii.

[2] See Map No. 7.

[3] The translation of this passage of Xenophon, *ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον αὐτοῦ εἴσω*, Anabasis, lib. II., cap. iv., has been much discussed and variously rendered. In Allpress's Xenophon, p. 80, the army is made to arrive at and pass along within the Median wall, which translation is also given in the Anabasis of Xenophon, by Charles Anther, LL.D., William Tegg and Co., Cheapside; by the Rev. Dr. Butcher, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; as well as by Schneider, who, in a note on this passage, condemns Halbkardt for translating it: "Kamen sie zur Medischen Mauer, und setzten nŭn *jenseit* derselben ihren Marsch fort." Viger, in his Greek Idioms, also quotes an instance from Xenophon, where the verb occurring in the passage in question joined with a substantive in the genitive case, signifies "departure from" or deflection; and Donnegan's Greek Lexicon gives *εἴσω* as an adverb, with the signification of "in the interior," "inside," or within, which renderings of the passage are in conformity with the relative geographical positions of the Median wall and Sitace. On the other hand, Hutchinson, in his edition of Xenophon, p. 139, and Mitford, History of Greece, vol. IV., p. 189, state that the Greeks came up to and passed through the Median wall; and this interpretation has been followed by Bishop Thirlwall, in his History of Greece, vol. IV., p. 335, ed. London, 1847, since he conceives, in accordance with Passow, in his Greek Lexicon, that when joined with a verb of motion *εἴσω* must bear the signification of *to the inside*, not *on the inside*. The Bishop of St. David's considers that Schneider's condemnation of Halbkardt arises solely from the great difficulty of reconciling his translation with the geographical position

This wall, whose remains are described by Xenophon,[1] was of bricks, and once 100 feet high and 20 feet thick: it is still to be traced, with its towers and ditch, running south-westward from the Tigris, nearly opposite Ḳádisíyeh, to the Euphrates, near Felújah, a distance of forty-two or forty-three miles.[2]

In two marches of eight parasangs, apparently in an easterly direction, and crossing two canals coming from the Tigris, they encamped near a handsome park, close to the once magnificent city of Sitace, which was situated about fifteen stadia from the river Tigris. The next morning they crossed the river on a bridge of thirty-seven boats, without being molested by the enemy; and making twenty parasangs in four marches, they reached the river Physcus, where stood a large and populous city named Opis.[3]

Thence they cross the Tigris, and advance to Opis.

In taking the distance backward at the average rate of the march through Asia Minor, or 2·608 geographical miles per parasang along the Upper Tigris (at the favourable season of the year), from the known point of the river Záb, there would be 130 geographical miles for the fifty parasangs to Opis, which places that city a little above Ḳáïm,[4] and close to the head of the Nahrawán, instead of being, as before supposed, some miles lower down near the river 'Adhím.[5] Twenty parasangs or fifty-two geographical miles from the latter along the ancient bed of the Tigris, would place Sitace about ten miles north-west of Baghdád, near Sherí'at el Beïdhá, the presumed site of the Sitace of Xenophon.[6] The circuit made to the Median wall in going thither can be partly accounted for, by the necessity of avoiding the marshes and inundations, which at this season, the period of floods, would have intervened in a direct line from the first halting-place.

Position of Opis and Sitace.

of Sitace, but that the philological difficulty thus raised by Schneider, is quite as great as the geographical difficulty of the other. The same opinion appears to be held by other Grecian scholars: the Right Rev. Dr. Wilson, Lord Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and the Rev. Dr. MacDonnell, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, among the number.

[1] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. iv.

[2] See above, vol. I., 29, 30, 118, also Geographical Journal, vol. IX., pp. 446, 472, and 473, and vol. XI., p. 130.

[3] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. iv.

[4] See Map No. 6.

[5] See above, vol. I., p. 30.

[6] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. iv.

The Greeks continue their retreat; pass the lesser Záb, and

Keeping parallel to the river Tigris in advancing from Opis, six marches brought the Greeks to some villages belonging to the queen-mother, Parysatis; which, at 2·608 geographical miles for each of the thirty parasangs, or 78·24 geographical miles, would place the villages in question about three miles beyond the Lesser Záb.

halt opposite Cænæ.

Continuing the march through the Median desert, the army halted on the evening of the first day opposite to Cænæ, which at 15·648 geographical miles for the six parasangs, would place this large and opulent city on the right bank, at the ruins of U'r of the Persians, which are three or four miles below Sherḳát, or Ṭo-práḳ Ḳal'ah-sí. In four more days making twenty-four parasangs, it halted on the river Záb; where the enemy was prepared to oppose their passage.[1] Here a negotiation was most imprudently entered into with Tissaphernes, who, having by these means got Clearchus, Menon, Proxenus, Agias, and others, into his power, carried them to the king, by whose order they were beheaded.[2] After the calamity of losing their principal leaders by this treachery, the management of the retreat devolved upon Cheirisophus and Xenophon, but more particularly on the latter, owing to his talents and courage. Having, by an animating address, prepared the Greeks for difficulties and dangers, the carriages were burnt, and the baggage being reduced as a necessary preliminary, the army passed the river Zabatus, probably in boats, and then advanced in order of battle with the remainder of the baggage in the centre; but they were so much harassed by the Persian horse under Mithridates, that the Greeks scarcely advanced three miles during that day. Ever fertile in expedients, Xenophon immediately organized 200 Rhodian, or other slingers, and fifty cavalry clad in buff coats and corslets; and the whole being mounted on the baggage horses, not only repulsed Mithridates on the following day, but subsequently covered the march to the large uninhabited city called Larissa, which the army reached in the evening.[3] The remains of a vast pyramid, and extensive walls, go far to show that Ashur

Clearchus and others beheaded.

Xenophon conducts the Greeks

to the ruins of Larissa, and

[1] Anabasis, lib. II., cap. iv. [2] Ibid., cap. vi., sec. 16.
[3] Ibid., lib. III., cap. iv.

or Nimrúd represents the place in question; and, as already observed, its situation between Nineveh and Calah, justifies the supposition of Bochart, that this was the Resen, or Al Resen of the Scriptures.[1] The succeeding march of six parasangs, to the Median city of Messila or Mespila, makes the latter agree with the site of Nineveh, which is about sixteen miles from the preceding ruins at the nearest point.

Onward to Mespila or Nineveh.

The difficulties of the Greeks were now increased, owing to the presence of a very large army, consisting of the troops of Ariæus, those of Orontas, and some under a natural brother of the king, in addition to a portion of the royal army under Tissaphernes. On the following day, the Persians, with this prodigious force, menaced both flanks as well as the rear of the retreating army, but failed in making any serious impression; and having completed the march of four parasangs, the Greeks encamped in some villages abounding in corn. The distance of about ten miles and a half would bring them to the small Chaldean town of Tel Ḳeïf,[2] a site of much interest.[3]

Halt at some villages.

On the following day the disadvantages of marching in a square, without being covered, having become manifest, particularly when passing a defile or bridge, six companies of one hundred men each, in subdivisions of fifty and twenty-five men, were formed into a moveable column, which not only protected the rear, but was always ready to act on emergencies when any detached duties were required.[4]

From thence the Greeks advance to some villages.

Having failed to make an impression, another and more promising project was adopted by the Persians, who, by making a rapid march, succeeded in placing themselves in advance of the Greeks. In proceeding steadily over the plain at some distance from the Tigris, the latter were cheered on the fourth day with the sight of a triple range of hills, beyond which, there was a palace with many villages around it, and these were their intended halting-place. The Greeks had reached the first eminence, and were descending to gain the second,

Difficulties occasioned by the stratagems of the enemy.

[1] See above, vol. I., pp. 21, 22.

[2] See Index Map.

[3] W. F. Ainsworth's Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks, p. 141.

[4] Anabasis, lib. III., cap. iv.

when a shower of darts, stones, &c., announced that it was in possession of the Persians; but after a stout resistance they succeeded in forcing this, as well as the subsequent position, and with some loss finally reached a village at the foot of the mountain. Here they found an abundance of provisions, particularly wheaten flour and wine, with barley for the horses; and during a halt of three days, arrangements were made for the care of the wounded by establishing a medical department consisting of eight surgeons for this purpose.[1]

The Greeks arrive at Zákhú.

The four preceding marches of six parasangs each, or from forty-eight to fifty miles, as well as the distance from Tel Keïf, and the nature of the Jebel 'Abyádh, or Chá Spí, of the Kurds, make the position of Zákhú,[2] or Zákkó, on the Khábúr, answer the description of this halting-place of Xenophon.[3]

They are closely pressed.

During the succeeding day's march over the level country beyond Zákhú, the Greeks were so much pressed by Tissaphernes, that it became necessary to halt at the first village. A skirmish succeeded, in which the Persians were worsted and

The Greeks force their way to

forced to retire. The latter encamped, as they were accustomed to do, at the distance of sixty stadia, as a security from night attacks, which cause so much alarm to the Persians, owing to the manner of picqueting their horses. On perceiving that the Persians were clear off, the Greeks decamped, and in two marches, probably passing over the plain of Zákhú in the line of the present Chaldean village of Tel Róbbin, without seeing the enemy, they gained the winding mountain valleys of Kurdistán. A superior knowledge of the country, and the greater speed of their horses, had however been turned to account by the Persians in the meantime, and the Greeks, to their astonishment, found the enemy in possession of the heights (probably near the ruins of the castle of Rahábí) over which they necessarily must pass, whilst the troops of Ariæus and Tissaphernes

some villages on the Tigris.

pressed upon their rear.[4] The skill and courage of Xenophon, however, soon triumphed over this difficulty, for by making a

[1] Anabasis, lib. III., cap. iv.

[2] See Index Map.

[3] Anabasis; and Ainsworth's Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks, p. 144.

[4] Anabasis, lib. III., cap. iv.

flank movement at the head of a select body of troops, the defenders were turned, and the pass being forced, the Greeks proceeded in their march and encamped at one of the well-stored villages in the plain near the Tigris; now, doubtless, the tract round Jezíreh-ibn-'Omar.[1]

The lofty barriers of Jebel Júdí being in front, as well as on one flank, and an almost impassable river on the other, or western side, the pass leading to the plain being moreover occupied by a numerous army, an individual, whose name well deserved to have been recorded, offered to extricate the ten thousand from their perilous position by enabling them to pass the river; the project was to form for the troops a bridge consisting of 10,000 inflated skins of sheep, goats, and other animals, covered with hurdles and turf.[2]

Proposed passage of the river.

This ingenious contrivance was however declined, from an opinion that the troops might be attacked during the passage, and the Greeks made a retrograde, or rather a flank movement, penetrating, or more properly exploring, a valley running in an easterly direction into the mountains; probably along the vale of Már Yuhannah, now the seat of a Chaldean bishop.[3] In the villages of this valley, the Greeks not only obtained supplies, but also intelligence almost of equal importance, since it enabled them to decide on the best means of accomplishing their hazardous enterprise.

The Greeks examine the country, and

Besides the route westward to Lydia, Ionia, &c., and that which they had partly followed from Babylonia, also a third going eastward to Susa and the Persian Ecbatana, they learnt from some prisoners that there was a fourth leading northward over the Carduchian mountains, by which the march might be continued without either crossing the Tigris, or being so much exposed as before to the enemy's cavalry.

determine to change their line of march.

Having decided on scaling the mountains to follow the last route, a rapid night-march not only carried the Greeks some

[1] Ainsworth's Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks, p. 148.

[2] An account of such bridges will be found in the Chapter on Arts and Sciences at the end of this volume.

[3] Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, by W. F. Ainsworth. Parker, 1844.

distance from their pursuers, but enabled them to master one of the most defensible passes in the country, before the Kurds were prepared to offer anything like serious opposition. In this remarkable opening, no doubt that which passes by the castles, and through the flourishing gardens of the village of Fénik (Phœnica),[1] the Greeks found the houses, as in the present day, well supplied with copper utensils.[2]

They regain the Tigris, and

The Greeks having dismissed the slaves lately taken, and reduced the baggage and horses to the utmost, quitted the river for a time, when, proceeding by the ravine of Záwújah and over the highlands of Fínduk, they regained the great stream at a difficult pass, probably the present Chelek, where there is a rapid and a ferry. With much difficulty and some loss, the Greeks gained this pass, partly by detaching a force to turn it, and partly by a direct attack; and after being exposed for a time to similar warfare, they reached the river Centrites or Buhtán-cháï,[3] which falls into the Tigris above the ancient Armenian village of Til.[3] The march from the vale of Már Yuhannah occupied seven days of harassing warfare, and it was so judiciously conducted, that the Kurds only had time to occupy the passes in small numbers: here, however, they rolled down fragments of rocks on the Greeks whilst passing the more difficult roads and narrow defiles.[4] The latter were often very steep and commanded by precipices; from which, with much difficulty, the mountaineers were driven, either by a direct attack, or by being turned, in the manner now practised.

after a harassing march reach the river Centrites.

Formidable opposition of the Kurds.

The proposed quiet halt of the Greeks in an abundant plain was cut short by their unexpectedly finding a body of horse and foot, who proved to be Armenian, Mygdonian,[5] and Chaldean mercenaries in the pay of the Persians, advantageously posted to dispute the passage of the Centrites.

Fresh difficulties of the Greeks.

In addition to this difficulty, the Greeks found that it was

[1] Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, &c., p. 155; and Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. i.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See above, vol. I., p. 18.

[4] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. ii.

[5] Possibly from the valley of Belicha. There are it appears two Chaldean districts, those of Milán and Bátán, in that neighbourhood. Ainsworth's Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, p. 168.

almost impracticable to cross, owing to the water being up to the breast, with a rocky bottom and a rapid current; and they were the more discouraged, on turning round, and perceiving that the Carduchians occupied the encampment which they had just quitted.[1]

Passage of the Centrites.

Chance, however, made known to the Greeks a crossing-place which does not appear to have been sought or thought of, and owing to the masterly disposition of Xenophon, they passed without serious loss, notwithstanding the opposition in front, and the annoyance to the rear from the Carduchians and Persians, who suffered some loss, the latter especially, from Xenophon's cavalry.[2]

Leaving the Persian forces and undisciplined Kurds behind, the Greeks, without serious opposition from the mercenaries, advanced five parasangs through the hills and gentle acclivities of this part of Armenia, to a village with the palace of the satrap, and many elegant houses, each having a turret at the top. At this place, which seems to be represented by the town of Se'rt, they found provisions in abundance, although it was, like the preceding part of the country, deserted.[3] Having refreshed themselves here, two days' march of ten parasangs, brought them above the springs of the (eastern) Tigris, and in ten additional parasangs, they reached the banks of the river Teleboas.

The Greeks reach the palace of the satrap,

and advance to the river Teleboas.

It is considered to be a journey of thirty-eight hours from Se'rt to Músh by the shortest route;[4] but as the Greeks approached the source of the Tigris, theirs must have been rather longer. About twenty hours would be consumed in their march to the high ground in question;[5] and about twenty hours more, in reaching the supposed Teleboas or Ḳará-ṣú, at the village of Arisban, near Músh.[6] As the trunk of the Murád-ṣú, into which the latter falls, is not usually fordable in this part of its course, it became necessary for the Greeks to proceed higher

[1] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. ii. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., cap. iv.

[4] Lieut.-Col. Shiel's Journey from Tabríz through Kurdistán, vol. VIII., p. 77, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[5] Near Bitlís, which is above fifty miles from Se'rt. Ibid.

[6] See Index Map.

A compact made with Teribazus, is broken by the Greeks.

up, that is, in a north-easterly direction, between this stream and the slopes of Nimrúd and Sapán Tághs: this was facilitated in consequence of a compact proposed by Teribazus, that the march through Armenia should not be molested, and that the Greeks should be permitted to take provisions, provided they abstained from useless devastation.[1]

Agreeably to an arrangement which was highly advantageous to those, who, in the month of December, were to encounter the severe cold and deep snow of this elevated country without tents or the means of carrying provisions, the Greeks recommenced their march; and in three days, followed and watched by the Persians at the distance of ten stadia, they advanced fifteen parasangs over a plain, when they arrived at another palace surrounded by many beautiful villages full of provisions.[2]

Whilst sheltering themselves in these villages from a deep fall of snow, some suspicion about the hostile intentions of the Persians, which appears to have been the consequence of their own excesses, induced the Greeks to make an attack; and in this, the tent, the silver-posted bed, and some of the domestics of Teribazus were taken. After breaking the compact by this act of hostility, the Greeks hastened onward, and having passed a difficult defile without experiencing any molestation, in three marches through snow, without perceiving habitations, they reached and forded the Euphrates or Murád Cháï, at no great distance, according to report, from its springs, the water only reaching to the middle of the body.[3]

Great difficulties caused by the snow.

Having accomplished the passage, the Greeks marched fifteen parasangs from thence in three days, over a plain covered to the depth of six feet with snow, from which, and from a bleak northerly wind, the soldiers suffered exceedingly, especially in the third and fourth marches; some of the men experiencing that craving species of hunger called Bulimy.[4] The last day at night-fall, Cheirisophus found himself at a village only one parasang from that which was occupied by the satrap himself; and here many of the Greeks who could not obtain cover perished from cold. Being ignorant of the advantages of

[1] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. iv.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., lib. V., cap. v.
[4] Ibid.

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lessening the rigour of an Armenian winter, by clearing away the snow at their bivouac, they suffered in the most deplorable manner,[1] and many more must have perished, had it not been for Xenophon, who, by his authority and encouraging example, checked the Persians, and subsequently succeeded in joining his coadjutor Cheirisophus.[2] As at present, the Armenian villages generally consisted of subterraneous apartments, which being entered either by a sloping descent, or by means of a ladder from an aperture resembling the mouth of a well, they were found to contain horses, cows, goats, sheep, and fowls, in addition to one or two families, who resorted to this protection from the severity of the winter, with an ample stock of provisions and fodder.[3] Under the faith of their confident assertion that they were the king's troops, the Greeks remained eight days in these villages, enjoying an abundance of fowls, lamb, kid, pork, and veal, with plenty of wheaten bread, and barley-wine (beer), which the people drank out of jars by means of reeds;[4] they proceeded three days through a deserted country, and in seven other marches, performed without a guide,[5] they found themselves on the river Phasis, where it is a plethron wide.

Encouraging example of Xenophon.

Armenian villages, &c. described.

Agreeably to the intention of fording the great rivers towards their sources,[6] the Greeks would necessarily proceed from the Teleboas in a north-eastern direction through a very mountainous tract, till they could cross the Murád Cháï:[7] this could not have been the case before they reached 39° 10′ north latitude, or somewhere about seventy miles from the Ḳará-sú, which, under existing circumstances, would require the seven marches given by Xenophon.

The Greeks by a circuitous march reach

From hence, in a north-western direction to a point where the river Aras or Phasis[8] of Xenophon is generally fordable,

the upper part of the Phasis or Aras.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIV. cap. x.
[2] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. v.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., cap. vi.
[5] After conducting the army for three days, the bailiff left it on account of the ill usage he experienced from Cheirisophus. Anab., lib. IV., cap. vi.
[6] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. i.
[7] See Index Map.
[8] Supposed to be from the plain or district of Pasiani or Pásin, which is traversed by the Aras in this part of its course. See D'Anville's Anc. Geog., vol. I., p. 361, London, 1810, and Mr. Brant's Map, vol. VI., of Royal Geographical Journal, and vol. X., pp. 341-430.

namely, at the junction of the Ḥaṣan Ḳal'eh-ṣú and the Bín-gṓl-ṣú, near Kṓprí Keui, it cannot be less than from seventy to eighty miles; since the shorter distance from the latter point to the upper part of the Murád-ṣú, near Ḳará Kilísá, is sixty-six miles.[1]

It has just been seen, that the distance in question occupied thirteen marches, or, including four days not particularly mentioned, about sixty-nine parasangs. But as it is to be observed, that these were intended to be road distances answering to one hour, it may fairly be presumed, that an army could not accomplish much more than about one mile in each, especially through snow so deep that the whole of the specified time must have been consumed between the rivers Euphrates and Araxes; even the pressing marches through Mesopotamia were less than two miles per hour. We are told, that it even became necessary to tie bags stuffed with hay to the horses' feet to prevent their sinking.[2]

Increasing difficulties of the retreat.

On the second day after crossing the latter river, the Greeks discovered the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, namely the Chalybeans, the Taochians, and the Phasians, assembled to dispute their passage, and occupying strong ground probably between the territories of the two last.

The Greeks force their way through the country of the Taochians.

Here, as when difficulties of the same kind previously occurred, the eminences were gained by an attack made in the flank by volunteers; and the disheartened defenders having fled with loss, the Greeks got possession of some well-stored villages in advance.

During the succeeding five marches of thirty parasangs, made through the territory of the Taochians,[3] provisions were scarce, it being the custom of the country people to place their

Cattle, &c. contained in entrenchments

[1] Mr. Brant's Journey, vol. X., p. 424 to 430 of Royal Geographical Journey.

[2] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. vi.

[3] Presumed to be part of the mountainous tract stretching northward of the upper part of the Araxes. Traces of the name are supposed to be found in the Ṭáṓk of the Turks, and Tuchí or Taoutchie of the Georgian districts.—Aperçu des Possessions Russes au-delà du Caucase, sous le Rapport Statistique, Ethnographique, Topographique et Financier. St. Petersburg, 1836. 4 tomes en 8vo., avec une carte. M.S. traduit par M. le Capitaine Stoltzman.

supplies in secret fastnesses, probably wattled enclosures such as those still in use in the little Kabarda and district of Tuchí.[1] One of these entrenchments, containing a number of oxen, asses, and sheep, was, however, taken after a prolonged resistance; during which, the women chose to perish rather than fall into the power of the Greeks.

The Greeks pass through the hostile Chalybeans.

The latter now proceeded a distance of fifty parasangs through the territory of the Chalybeans to the river Harpasus, which they accomplished in seven marches;[2] notwithstanding the difficulties caused by the most warlike, and the most troublesome people hitherto encountered. The system of hostilities pursued, chiefly consisted in constantly harassing the rear; but when pressed in turn, they retreated to fastnesses in which their provisions were secured: so that the Greeks would have been starved by their systematic and persevering opposition, had it not been for the supply of cattle taken from the Taochians.

Difficulties of the march through Armenia.

The difficulties experienced by Rennell, Ainsworth, and other commentators in following this part of the retreat of the ten thousand, will be greatly lessened, if it be borne in mind, that the daily marches, through the deep snow in January,[3] the army being also harassed by the Chalybeans, must have been very short. From the supposed crossing-place on the Aras, keeping a little way northward of the direct line, it is about 110 miles to the Tchórúḳ-sú (Jorák) or Acampsis, near Karà Aghatch, which would coincide with the fourteen marches given by Xenophon,[4] as does also the position of the river in question, with the Harpasus; the last seven marches being, as we are informed, through the country of the Chalybeans, the Chaldeans of Strabo.[5]

The Greeks continue their march through

This probably was the southern part of the district of Tchildir; for the Chaldeans, as a separate people, occupied a tract next to the Colchians, which was, however, afterwards

[1] See above, vol. I., pp. 154–159. [2] See Index Map.

[3] The writer found it very deep in this part of Armenia, both in December, 1831, and in January, 1832.

[4] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. vii.

[5] Lib. XII., p. 549.

extended to Pontus, and formed a considerable kingdom under Mithridates.[1]

Quitting the river Harpasus,[2] twenty parasangs, made in four marches, brought the Greeks to a halting-place at some villages, possibly near the present town of Baïbúrṭ, in which they remained three days to obtain provisions. From hence, apparently proceeding towards the western pass through the great northern chain, they made twenty parasangs in three additional marches, to the rich and well-inhabited city of Gymnias.[3] Possibly this place may now be represented by the small town of Gemerí on the Ḳará-ṣú, an affluent of the river Frát; in which case the distance thither being about 60 miles, would occupy seven or eight marches along the slopes of the Paryadres, a branch of the Taurus,[4] or, as is stated, through the country of the Scythinians. This appears to be the only trace of that ephemeral power, which commenced with the Sacæ or Scythians,[5] on the banks of the Araxes; from whence the people extended their name and authority over Imiretia, Colchis, Georgia, the Caucasus, Media, Persia, and even Palestine; according to Herodotus[6] the same people ruled Asia during twenty-eight years.

the country of the Scythians, and

reach the city of Gymnias.

On leaving Gymnias, the guide furnished by the satrap of the district, delighted the Greeks by saying that he would forfeit his head if he did not show them the sea in five marches; and accordingly on the fifth day, on ascending the holy mountain of Theches, the Greeks gave a tremendous shout of surprise and delight on finding his promise realized. The mountain alluded to may be the present Gaúr Ṭágh;[7] and from thence to Ṭarábuzún, although the direct distance is not great, the journey occupied five days with good horses. This

The sea discovered from Mount Theches.

[1] Compare Stephanus de Urbibus, pp. 101, 749, with Adelung's Mithridates, vol. I., p. 315, and Athenæus, vol. VI., p. 13, according to Nicholas of Damas. et Orell, p. 136, and above, pp. 36, 55.

[2] See Index Map.

[3] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. vii.

[4] See above, vol. I., pp. 286, 287.

[5] Compare Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xxvi., with Herod., lib. I., cap. cv., and Ouseley's Oriental Collections, vol. II., p. 143.

[6] Lib. I., cap. cvi.

[7] From the summit of this mountain the writer saw the sea in 1831.

was owing to the necessity of passing along what in reality is more a winding chasm than a mountain valley in the ordinary acceptation of the word; and it is scarcely necessary to observe that the marches through the mountains of Kurdistán and Armenia often must have presented difficulties and caused delays susceptible of the same kind of explanation.

Distance from Gaur Ṭágh to Ṭarábuzún.

Gaúr Ṭágh is not, however, the only mountain in this part of the country, from which the Euxine may be seen, for the guide informed the author that it is also visible from three other peaks, namely, the Zigani mountain, two hours N.W. of Godol; again, with a more extensive view, from Fililein, two hours on the other side of Godól towards Gúmish Khánah; and, lastly, at the higher peak of Karagúl,[1] three hours southward of the latter.

The sea is visible from three other peaks, and from Karagúl.

The name of the first, "Infidel Mountain," and its position with respect to Ṭarábuzún, claim for it the honour of representing the holy Theches; the localities also appear to correspond to the description. Xenophon tells us that on the first day they came to a river separating the Macronians from the Scythinians; and on this, which disembogued into another river, the Macronians were drawn up to disputé the passage. A negotiation, followed by a treaty, produced however friendship with that people.[2]

The Greeks being opposed by the Macronians,

Eleven or twelve miles N.N.W. of Gaúr Ṭágh (visible from thence) is the village of Damajula, which is situated near the meeting of four valleys and two rivers. One of the latter coming from the N.W. has remarkably steep banks rising fifteen or twenty feet, with hills above, of difficult ascent on the eastern side, and a chain of more accessible shoulders on the opposite; both are covered with firs, and silver poplars of small size. This valley would have been met during the first day's march from Gaúr Ṭágh, and troops posted on the opposite sides would be within speaking distance, although they must have been completely separated by the difficult nature of the ravine. Peace being concluded, the Greeks were conducted by this people during the succeeding three marches through the remainder of their territory; no doubt follow-

enter into a treaty.

[1] See above, vol. I., p. 287.

[2] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. viii.

ing the valleys of Damoulee and Godol, till at the termination of the latter, and about thirty-one miles from Damajula, they entered that of Gúmish Khánah, a little northward of the town of this name.

The Colchians are drawn up to oppose

The great and deep valley in question runs northward from thence along the foot of the Colchian mountains for about twelve miles, when an abutment of the latter, called Karákaban, crosses it near Zigani, at an elevation of about 5300 feet, and the pass thus formed was occupied in force by the Colchians.[1]

Being in a state of hostility with the latter, the Macronians returned to their own country, a distance of about forty-three miles, which would correspond with the three marches made in a more favourable season (February), than the preceding part of the march. It is difficult to imagine a stronger barrier or a more formidable position than that which here presented itself, to exercise the talent, and display the unshaken intrepidity of the Grecian chief. Owing to the nature of the ground, as well as the numbers by which it was occupied, the Greeks, even could they have passed the latter unbroken, would have been outflanked had they attacked in line. But Xenophon, without hesitation, turned this circumstance to his own advantage, by a masterpiece of tactics hitherto unequalled.

the Greeks near Zigana.

By means of a judicious attack the pass is carried,

The Greeks were formed in eleven columns, three of which, each consisting of 600 targeteers and archers, occupied the flanks and centre; these ascended the hill at such distances from one another that Xenophon not only outstretched the flanks of the Colchians, but was also prepared to attack them in rear, if, contrary to expectation, they had stood the shock and maintained their ground. At first the Colchians advanced, but before they closed with the Greek columns, they opened right and left, and eventually fled in disorder, abandoning the well-stored villages in their rear.[2]

After three days' halt, suffering from the quantity and nature of the honey, which, from the abundance of the Azalea pontica, the Rhododendron ponticum, and the hellebore in this fine country, affects the brain for a time, the Greeks, in two

[1] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. viii. [2] Ibid.

marches of seven parasangs, reached the villages near Ṭarábuzún, (Trebizond). Here they halted for a space of thirty days, doing sacrifice, celebrating gymnic games,[1] and occupied with the double object of endeavouring to provide shipping through the Greek admiral in the Euxine (Anaxibius), and in foraging or rather plundering the rich valleys in the vicinity, in order to lay in a supply of provisions for their march, in case of failing to collect vessels; for, agreeably to the Grecian law, without an express compact, men were bound to no reciprocal duties.[2] In one of these excursions, the Drillœ defended their capital with such determined valour, that the Greeks were repulsed, and it required all the talent and presence of mind of Xenophon, who was summoned to their assistance, to extricate the troops from their critical situation: this he effected by interposing a barrier of burning houses between his troops and the enemy.[3]

and the Greeks reach Ṭarábuzún.

When the supplies furnished by the surrounding country were nearly exhausted, and only a portion of the necessary shipping was obtained, the Greeks embarked their women and children, with the sick and the aged, under the two oldest generals, Philesius and Sophænetus, while the remainder proceeded by land; and in three marches they reached the Greek city Cerasus, now Kerasunt. The site of the ancient city is presumed to have been on the Kerasún Deréh-sú,[4] about eight miles from Cape Yoros, and from Trebizond not quite forty miles. And considering the difficulties of the country, it is not likely that a greater distance could have been accomplished in three days. Here they halted ten days, still mustering 8,000 men,[5] and with the exception of one-tenth, which they dedicated to Apollo and the Ephesian Diana, every man received his share of the prize-money produced from the sale of the slaves; who appear to have been taken on every occasion that offered itself throughout the march.

The women and aged, &c., are sent by sea, and

[1] Anabasis, lib. IV., cap. viii.
[2] Mitford's Greece, chap. XV., sec. iv.
[3] Anabasis, lib. V., cap. iii.
[4] W. J. Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. I., p. 250.
[5] Anabasis, lib. V., cap. iii.

the Greeks continue their march into the territory of the Moschi.

Those who had come thus far in vessels, continued their voyage along the coast, whilst the remainder marched to the borders of the Mossynœci or Moschi, whose territory was maritime, and appears to have stretched from a little distance westward of Ṭarábuzún, to the district of Pharnacia, or upwards of seventy miles along the coast. These are described as a savage people, living in the eastern part of Pontus, subsisting on the flesh of wild animals and the fruit of the oak, and inhabiting trees and turrets, from which they take their name of Mossynœ.[1]

Having made an alliance with one tribe or section of this people, who came by sea to join them, the Greeks entered the territory, and marched against the others, which had given them umbrage. This last, then occupied a fort or citadel within what was considered the metropolis, which appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Kerasunt. This fortification had been the cause of the present war, for being strong, the district which happened to possess it for the time being was considered to be supreme, and it was seized by one of the belligerents, contrary to a stipulation, that it should be common to both.

The Greeks suffer a defeat, but

The Mossynœci, making their usual dancing gestures, advanced to the attack of their countrymen, who were supported by a portion of the Greeks, both were however repulsed with considerable loss, and pursued till they were covered by the main body of the latter. Next morning, after an eloquent exhortation to recover the disgrace of having for the first time shown their backs to an enemy, Xenophon moved to the attack in columns, having his allies on the left, and the intervals occupied by the light-armed troops, in order to prevent those of the enemy from getting between, and pelting the Greeks with stones. After a determined defence, the place was taken, and the king and his attendants allowed themselves to be burnt rather than abandon the wooden tower which served as his palace. The Greeks now sacked the remainder of the city, and having delivered it over to their new allies, in eight days they completed their march through the rest of the Mos-

afterwards capture the stronghold of the Moschi.

[1] Strabo, lib. XII., p. 547.

synœcian territory,[1] and traversed that of the Chalybes. The latter were subjects of the former, and far from being numerous, they lived by the manufacture of iron,[2] and were mixed with the Tibarenians.[3] It was with some reluctance that the Greeks consented to march through the territory of the latter; they did so, however, keeping near the coast till they reached Cotyora, now probably Ordou, and originally a Sinopian colony. The distance to this city from the field of battle near Babylon is estimated by Xenophon at six hundred and twenty parasangs,[4] which, at the presumed average of 1·9 mile per parasang, would be but 1175·8 miles, and this was performed in one hundred and twenty marches. This gives 9·79 miles each day, which, considering the difficulties of the season and the encumbrances of buff-coats, shields, and some baggage, would scarcely be, if at all, exceeded.

Cotyora and distance from Cunaxa.

Here this distinguished band met an unkind reception, for, instead of exercising hospitality, the Cotyorians refused to receive the sick into the town, or even to provide a market without the walls. The Greeks, however, remained there forty-five days, which were employed in making processions, in celebrating the gymnic games according to the manner of their respective states, and in supplying themselves with provisions, which was done partly at the expense of the Cotyorians, and partly by plundering the neighbouring Paphlagonians: this gave great umbrage, and the Sinopians would have retaliated had it not been for the firmness displayed by Xenophon. After discussing the question of forming a Greek settlement on the Euxine, as well as the relative advantages of a homeward voyage by sea, and a march thither by land, the former course was adopted; and the Cotyorians having provided the necessary shipping to get rid of their uninvited guests, a fair wind carried the Greeks rapidly along the coast of Paphlagonia, when, passing in succession the rivers Thermedon (Thermeh-sú), Iris (Yechíl Irmák), and Halys (Kizil Irmák), they landed at Harmene or Armene, a port five miles

Inhospitality of the Cotyorians.

Occupations of the Greeks.

The Greeks sail from Cotyora; land at Harmene, and

[1] See Index Map.

[2] Xen., Anabasis, lib. V., cap. v.; Apollon. Rhodius, II., v. 375.

[3] Bochart, in Phaleg., p. 207. [4] Anabasis, lib. V., cap. v.

from the flourishing city of Sinope, once a Milesian settlement.[1] Here they halted five days, and Xenophon having declined the honour, after consulting the gods by sacrifice, Cheirisophus was elected sole commander,[2] the army preferring this to continuing as heretofore under an oligarchy of military chiefs, who were not considered so likely as a single general to enable the soldiers to acquire booty as they approached Greece. Next day, the wind being fair, the Greeks proceeded along the remainder of the coast of Paphlagonia, and, continuing to follow that of Bithynia, the army disembarked near Heraclea at the close of the second day's sail. By a strange mistake, Xenophon mentions the rivers Thermedon and Halys,[3] as having been passed in this, instead of in the preceding voyage from Cotyora to Harmene.[4]

again at Heraclea.

At Heraclea discord not only caused Cheirisophus to lose the chief command, but led, for a time, to the army being divided into three separate bodies.[5] The Arcadians and the Achæans, mustering about 4,500 heavy armed men, proceeded by sea under ten generals or chiefs, and disembarked at Calpæ on the coast of Asiatic Thrace, confidently expecting, by preceding their comrades, to obtain much booty. The heavy-armed men and the Thracian targeteers, who amounted to about 2,100 men, under Cheirisophus, marched along the coast to Thrace; and the third, under Xenophon, consisting of 1,700 heavy armed with 300 targeteers and 40 horsemen, landed on the confines of Thrace, and marched towards Calpæ,[6] in a direct line. In the latter part of this march through the heart of the country, the commander, by means of his cavalry, learnt that the Arcadians had at first been successful, by taking numerous slaves and a quantity of cattle, but afterwards the Thracians had nearly destroyed the detachment under Hegesander, annihilated another under Smicres, and surrounded the hill occupied by the remainder of the Arcadians.[7]

Separation of the Greeks into three corps.

Perilous situation of one body of the Arcadians.

In a moment, the ingratitude and wrongs experienced from

[1] Anabasis, lib. V., cap. v.
[2] Ibid., lib. VI., cap. i.
[3] Ibid.
[4] See Coast of the Black-Sea, Index Map.
[5] Anabasis, lib. V., cap. ii.
[6] Ibid., lib. VI., cap. iv.
[7] Ibid., cap. iii.

his countrymen were forgotten by Xenophon, and after making a feeling appeal to them, he put his troops in motion, hoping not only to extricate the Arcadians, but likewise by concentration to reorganize the army once more. "Let us therefore press on," said Xenophon, "resolved either to die on the field, or save our countrymen." The Greeks did not fail to respond to this generous feeling, and the able generalship of Xenophon accomplished the object without even the necessity of fighting a battle.[1]

Courage and skill of Xenophon.

The sudden extinction of the numerous fires lighted by Xenophon's troops, induced the Thracians, as well as the Arcadian Greeks, to decamp, the former supposing that a night attack was intended; this belief gave time for a junction with the latter to be effected next day near Port Calpæ, now Kiepé or Kéfken 'Adasi.[2] This place is on a neck of land about seventy miles eastward of Byzantium; and here Xenophon also found the forces which had marched under Cheirisophus, but the general himself was just dead of fever.

Junction effected in consequence.

The late discord produced a salutary lesson; and having buried the dead, including Cheirisophus, the Greeks resolved to continue the march under the same generals, and subject to the regulations which previously existed. Having also decreed that the man, who might again propose to divide the army, should suffer death, preparations were made for a movement, beginning, as usual, with sacrifices.[3]

The Greeks resolve not to separate in future.

For some days, the omens continued unpropitious, when the soldiers becoming suspicious of Xenophon, and very impatient, about 2,000 of them proceeded to collect provisions under Neon, an Asinæan, the successor of Cheirisophus: being attacked, whilst dispersed in the villages, by a body of horse under Pharnabazus, they were driven to an adjoining hill, after the loss of 500 men, the greatest calamity hitherto experienced.[4] From this perilous situation they were relieved by a select body of troops under Xenophon; who, in order to prevent alarm or despondency, took the precaution of securing the position of the Greeks by running a fosse and a strong

The Greeks having secured their

[1] Anabasis, lib. VI., cap. iii.
[2] Index Map.
[3] Anabasis, lib. VI., cap. iv.
[4] Ibid.

position, assume the offensive.

palisade from side to side of the neck of land which joins the promontory to the continent. The baggage being thus protected, and a vessel having arrived most opportunely from Heraclea with corn, wine, and live cattle,[1] the moral courage of the Greeks was in some measure restored, and Xenophon assumed the offensive. He found the enemy's forces regularly disposed in line under Pharnabazus, Spithridates, and Rathines, and formidable from the numbers both of the Persian horse and Bithynian foot.[2]

Xenophon makes a combined and

The main body of the Greeks advanced to the attack in line, having in reserve three divisions, of about 200 men each, supporting the flanks and centre, keeping at the distance of about one hundred paces from the principal line.

The troops in this line, owing to some difficulties in crossing a wide valley, hastily concluded that the movement was impossible, and halted in consequence. Xenophon, as usual, hastened to the post of danger, and put himself at the head of the intended attack: this was successful after repeated charges had been made, and the Greeks returned to their encampment, having gained a complete victory.[3]

successful attack on the enemy.

The immediate result of the action was the retreat of the Persian forces, so that the army obtained the command of the surrounding country and its supplies. It may here be observed, that when the whole body made an excursion, the booty became common property; but at other times parties of soldiers, with their slaves, made marauding excursions on their private account, on which occasions, agreeably to a general vote of the army, the acquisition of each individual was considered to be his own;[4] arrangements which naturally gave rise to constant disputes. The country people now furnished certain supplies in order to save their farms and villages, and as the Greek cities also sent provisions, the camp abounded in everything necessary.[5] Owing to an opinion that Port Calpæ was to be a permanent colony, the hopes of a profitable trade brought merchants there, and deputations arrived from

The Greeks advance from Calpæ

[1] Anabasis, lib. VI., cap. v.
[2] Ibid., cap. vi.
[3] Ibid., cap. v.
[4] Ibid., cap. vi.
[5] Ibid.

some of the Bithynian tribes to solicit alliances with the Greeks.

The next halt was at Chrysopolis, a city situated almost at the western entrance of the Bosphorus, which place the Greeks reached in six days, having taken a vast quantity of slaves and cattle during the march. From hence Anaxibius, the admiral at Byzantium, at the instigation of Pharnabazus, who hoped to save the rest of his satrapy from being plundered, induced the Greek generals and captains to visit that city, promising to take the Greeks into regular pay if they passed over for this purpose. This took place accordingly; but finding themselves deceived and sent out of Byzantium on a false pretence, the soldiers re-entered, and would have seized and retained the city, if Xenophon had not managed to induce them to proceed to some villages in the vicinity, whither he followed, after being almost expelled from the city which he had just saved. Afterwards, agreeably to a treaty concluded at a great banquet, and on the faith of large promises, the Greeks marched to assist Seuthes, son of Mæsades, in recovering his patrimony as one of the independent kings of Thrace.[1]

to Chrysopolis, and visit Byzantium.

They serve in Thrace, and

A joint night march was then made, and, agreeably to the practice of the Greeks, the heavy troops of both forces were put in advance, as the surest means of regulating the rest of the line. The result of the first attack was the capture of many slaves and cattle. Another trifling affair brought about a peace; but Seuthes failed in the promised payments.

During an expedition which followed into Upper Thrace, the Lacedæmonians, who had entered into an alliance with Pharnabazus, offered pay to the Greeks if they would serve against Tissaphernes. This they accepted, and having received some cattle from Seuthes in lieu of the payment due from him, Xenophon led the Greeks across the Dardanelles to Lampsacus;[2] from whence they proceeded through Troas, then crossed Mount Ida to Antandrus. Subsequently the army marched to the plain of Thebe, thence through Adramyttium, by Certonium, Aterne, and the plains of Caïcus, to Pergamus, a city of Mysia. In a second excursion made in this neighbour-

then under the Lacedæmonians.

[1] Anabasis, lib. VII., cap. iii.

[2] Ibid., cap. viii.

After a successful foray against the Persians,

hood, the first having failed owing to the height of the walls and strength of the castle, Xenophon captured the wife, children, and the chief part of the riches of the Persian chief Asidates, with which booty he returned to Pergamus; and soon afterwards Thimbron, the admiral, arrived with proposals to enter the Lacedæmonian service. Having, in addition to their pay, the prospect of continuing the same freebooting warfare in a more promising field, the offer was accepted, and Xenophon delivered over the troops whom he had so long and so ably conducted, and with whom he had braved so many dangers.

Xenophon gives over the command.

The military organization of the Greeks.

The celebrated formation of the Greeks consisted in a portion of bowmen and horsemen being added to the light or middle-armed and heavy-armed infantry; the latter, embodied in the dense order of the phalanx, being the chief dependence. The soldier found his own arms according to his means, and in a great measure after his own taste; but his discipline was regulated by the institutions of the state to which he belonged. An individual not provided with armour, and unacquainted with the discipline of the heavy armed, was put among the more ignoble or light-armed troops; in which he had less pay, no allowance for a servant, and, above all, his name was not enrolled amongst those who fell in battle.[1]

Heavy and light armed troops.

But the force thus organized laboured under the disadvantage of being employed only in an annual tour of service; and, owing to the jarring interests of the different states, their contingents carried with them the still more serious evil of discord, which, although smothered for a time in the midst of dangers and when exposed to incessant exertions, was at other times ready to break out and compromise the safety, if not the very existence, of the army. On the other hand, the narrative of the events in question exemplifies the principle that strength is gained by combination; it shows also what may be effected by troops acting under the salutary restraint of discipline. Xenophon has proved to the world not only that dense bodies are best suited to force their way through an enemy, but that they can retreat with comparative safety, even in the presence of a greatly superior force. In such a movement, more particu-

Advantages of a dense mass,

[1] Mitford's History of Greece, chap. XXIV., sec. iii.

larly through a mountainous country, the line is shorter than that of the pursuing force, which of necessity covers more ground, so that, when halted to repel an attack, the former at once becomes superior on the ground which it occupies. Therefore, although an enemy may overtake, he dare not attack with a small force; and whilst he is concentrating sufficient strength to operate with advantage, the retreating columns will have gained a considerable distance. It was simply on this principle, skilfully carried out, that the ten thousand Greeks were enabled to continue their march, alternately forcing the passes, occupied by hostile Kurds, Chalybeans, &c., and with indomitable valour showing an irresistible front to their pursuers.

In attack and when retreating.

The Anabasis, therefore, has been in a great measure the guide of commanders in subsequent times; and it has done more to advance military tactics than any other portion of ancient or modern history. Even before the events in question could be recorded, a decided improvement in the art of war took place throughout Greece; and this continued to increase till it caused the overthrow of the ponderous empire wielded in Asia by the Persian monarchs. The invasion of the younger Cyrus first made the real state of this vast territory known, and those who had so successfully braved the power of the great king were ready to do so again.

A knowledge of tactics acquired from the Anabasis.

When the Greek troops took service for this purpose under the Lacedæmonians, the different provinces of Persia continued, as in the time of Darius Hystaspes, to preserve their institutions, and were governed by their own laws. Then, as now, if the satrap sent his tribute to the great king at the stated time, he was in other respects almost unfettered, for the Persian laws were both few and simple, and the treatment of the conquered was mild and liberal.[1] But frequently, as it is in modern times also, several inferior governments were placed under a powerful satrap. The Pontic and Hellespontic provinces, for instance, were governed by Pharnabazus, whose territories bore indifferently the name of the Bithynian, or Hellespontine satrapy. The seat of the government was at Dascylium, a rich city, in which there was a sumptuous palace, having parks

Mildness of the Persian government.

Some of the satrapies included several kingdoms.

[1] Herod., lib. VI., cap. xlii.

and open chases, with fish and game of every kind.[1] Some of the satrapies included kingdoms, as that of Tissaphernes, under whom were Lydia, Caria, Ionia, and, in fact, most of the tract westward of the river Halys.

Eastern governments based on feudalism.

Except that the power of the chiefs was derived from the sovereign instead of being hereditary, the working details of the Asiatic districts were based on feudalism; and as the efficiency of the latter in a great measure depended on the fidelity of the chiefs who were raised to the government of provinces, the actual power of the king over his distant dominions was imperfect; the empire, as a whole, not only being unwieldy from its extent, but weak, owing to the intrigues, jealousies, and contending interests of the satraps. These rulers were easily moved to take arms one against another, or failing an open rupture, they were ready to invade the territory of a rival, or to provide another state with the funds for this purpose; sometimes, even, they made war upon their sovereign himself. As an elucidation of this state of things, it may here be mentioned, that when the Lacedæmonians determined to make war on the Persians in Asia, Dercyllidas, the successor of Thimbron, successfully invaded the satrapy of Pharnabazus, and secured the independence of the Ionian and Æolian colonies;[2] having for this purpose at least, the tacit assistance of Tissaphernes, who gladly contributed funds in order to keep the Greeks at a distance from his own districts.

Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes combine

But the advantageous position, which, with a small force, enabled Dercyllidas to attack one great satrapy, and keep the other in check, was lost by the ill-advised orders issued by the Ephori of Lacedæmon, to carry the war into Caria; for, being thus released from the presence of the Greeks, Pharnabazus made a proposal to Tissaphernes to unite their forces, in order to expel them from Asia.

to expel the Greeks from Asia.

With this view, the two satraps proceeded into Caria, and by a treaty subsequently made near the Mæander, Dercyllidas, with his forces, agreed to quit the continent; the Asian Greeks were to be considered free;[3] and as the Greek cities already

[1] Xen., Hel., lib. IV., cap. i.
[2] Ibid., lib. III., cap. ii.
[3] Ibid.

enjoyed their own institutions, each party gained the leading object almost without a sacrifice.

Ere this treaty was ratified by the Persian king, a report that he was making preparations induced the Lacedæmonians to send a force under Agesilaus to Ephesus. The events which followed, though not strongly marked, are well calculated to show the nature of the Persian government in Lesser Asia, and were, in the sequel, of vast importance to that empire. The nominal object of the armament being the independency of the Greek cities, Tissaphernes professed his willingness to accede; but during a truce to obtain the king's sanction for that object, he collected an army, and then announced to Agesilaus that if his forces were not immediately withdrawn from Asia, he must expect the vengeance of the great king.[1]

Agesilaus proceeds against Ephesus.

Covert preparations of Tissaphernes.

On the other hand, the Grecian commander assembled the Ionian, Æolian, and Hellespontine forces, and feigning an attack on Caria, he unexpectedly fell upon and plundered the satrapy of Pharnabazus; but on the repulse of his cavalry by an inferior body of horse near Dascylium, he retreated to the coast, where, having organized a fresh army, he defeated Tissaphernes and took the Persian camp on the river Pactolus.[2]

Defeat seldom finds excuse or even palliation in any country, still less in the east, and the renewed influence of Parysatis over the king being thrown into the scale,[3] Artaxerxes commissioned Tithraustes to supersede and behead Tissaphernes.

Tissaphernes is superseded.

More influenced by his personal interests than the desire to wipe away the late disgrace, the new satrap told Agesilaus that his predecessor had justly suffered for his misconduct, adding that the king consented to the freedom of the Asian Greek cities on the payment of the ancient tribute for the land; and he proposed that the European army should be withdrawn.[4] In furtherance of this object he advanced about 6,000*l.*, or 30 talents, to defray the expense of the march, and gave a hint that Pharnabazus might still be considered an enemy of the

Tithraustes makes a separate peace.

[1] Xen., Hel., cap. iv.; Plutarch, in Agesilaus.
[2] Xen., Hel., lib. III., cap. iv.
[3] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 273.
[4] Xen., Hell., lib. III., cap. iv.

Agesilaus continues the campaign.

Greeks. Accordingly, Agesilaus proceeded northward, when some towns voluntarily surrendered and others were taken by assault. Being reinforced by 1,000 Paphlagonian horse and 2,000 targeteers, he plundered Bithynia and took its attractive capital.[1]

The Greeks invade, and then abandon Bithynia.

At times, however, the Persian cavalry maintained its superiority, and 700 Greeks were routed by 400 under Pharnabazus. In return, the camp of the latter was surprised;[2] but afterwards a personal conference led to a better understanding, and believing that he had gained his object of detaching Pharnabazus from his allegiance, Agesilaus led his army out of Bithynia.

The Persians are victorious at sea.

Whilst Agesilaus, encouraged by his successes, was making preparations for the dismemberment of the Persian empire, a fresh combination of Athens, Bœotia, Corinth, Argos, &c. against the Lacedæmonians, obliged the latter to recall their forces. Pharnabazus seized this opportunity, and assisted by a Phœnician fleet, he completely defeated that of the Lacedæmonians near Cnidus. The misfortune was partially redeemed almost immediately by the battle gained by Agesilaus over the confederates in the vale of Coronea;[3] and this appears to have been the last victory either won or shared by the Grecian troops which had accompanied Cyrus.

The Persians defeated near Coronea.

Proposals of the Lacedæmonians to Artaxerxes.

The result of the battle of Cnidus, aided by a profuse liberality on the part of the Persian satrap was fatal to the Lacedæmonians; and the power of Athens being in a great degree restored by the money and fleet of Pharnabazus, the Lacedæmonians despatched Antalcidas to Susa, hoping, in conjunction with Bœotia, Corinth, &c., to renew their alliance with Artaxerxes, through Teribazus, the satrap of Lydia.

The terms proposed, namely, to acknowledge the king's sovereignty over the Greek cities in Asia, the islands, as well as the Greek cities in Europe being at the same time independent were acceptable to the satrap; but the latter portion being opposed by one of the parties, the negotiation failed as regarded peace. Teribazus, however, was so far gained, that forgetting the late hostility of the Lacedæmonians to his sovereign, he

[1] Xen., Hel., lib. IV., cap. i. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., cap. iii.

secretly furnished money to equip their fleet,[1] and hostilities were renewed by sea and land without any very decided result.

In this state of things, the Lacedæmonians despatched Antalcidas once more, as ambassador to Teribazus, who had resumed his command in Lesser Asia. This satrap was not only found to be favourable, but provided with the necessary authority from Susa.

Rescript of Artaxerxes.

Teribazus immediately appointed a congress to be held, and the ministers of the belligerent republics having in consequence, assembled, he produced a rescript under the royal signet to the following effect:—"Artaxerxes, the king, holds it just, that all cities on the continent of Asia should belong to his dominion; also the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus; and that all other Grecian cities, small and great, should be independent; Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scirus to remain, as before, under Athens:" to which was added, "the king will join in war with those who accepted, against those who refused these terms."[2]

Disunion of the Greeks.

Although as an assemblage of disciplined military communities they were irresistible whilst united, that never-failing source of discord, separate independence, made it far otherwise, and all acceded to the rescript of the Persian king as a mediator, that he might terminate the destructive quarrels, assassinations, and massacres, existing among themselves.

B. C. 382.

Artaxerxes sends an army into Cyprus.

Momentary tranquillity in Greece enabled the king to send 300,000 men, under Teribazus and his son-in-law Orontas, to Cyprus, where Evagoras, who had carried war into Phœnicia, taken Tyre, and formed an alliance with Acoris, the ruler of Egypt,[3] was in open rebellion. Unable to resist, Evagoras determined to become an obedient satrap; and by a timely submission, he not only preserved the original government of Salamis, but Cyprus was made a separate dependency of the empire, a feudal vassalage; or, as it is expressed in the treaty, "it was made subject to Artaxerxes, as one king is to another:"[4] so that Evagoras was rewarded rather than punished.

Evagoras is continued in his post. B. C. 379.

[1] Xen., Hel., lib. IV., cap. viii.

[2] Mitford's Greece, chap. XXV., sec. vii., compared with Diod. Sic., lib. XIV., chap. xxvii.

[3] Diod. Sic., lib. XV., cap. v. [4] Ibid.

Teribazus being recalled at the instigation of Orontas, who succeeded to the satrapy of Lydia with the general direction of public affairs in that quarter, the former accompanied Artaxerxes with 300,000 foot and 20,000 horse, to punish the revolted Cadusians.[1] A warlike people and a sterile country reduced the troops to the greatest extremity, from which, however, the ingenuity of Teribazus delivered them. He made a treaty by which the two sovereigns of that country were brought separately to submit to the king: and as a reward for this eminent service, he was restored to his former government and honours.[2]

Teribazus is rewarded.

B. C 376. The recovery of their citadel by the Thebans led to those contests in Greece which preceded the battle of Leuctra; but the war seeming endless, ambassadors were sent with Pelopidas from Thebes, Argos, and the other states, to solicit the decision of Persia. Pelopidas returned from Susa, accompanied by a person of rank, bearing another rescript; in which mandate, as if still all-powerful in regulating the affairs of Greece, the king pronounced that Messenia should be independent of Lacedæmon, that the Athenians should lay up their fleet, and that war should be made on the state which refused to comply. It was also provided that if any Greek city denied its contingent for the latter purpose, it should be attacked forthwith; all who complied being considered as the friends, and those who refused as the enemies of the king.[3] A congress was held at Thebes; but as unity only prevailed in time of danger from without, a civil war almost immediately followed.

The Thebans appeal to Persia.

B.C. 367. Second rescript of Artaxerxes.

Temporary peace. The doubtful battle of Mantinea, and the death of Epaminondas, led to another temporary peace; from which, however, the Lacedæmonians were excluded.[4]

Agesilaus takes service under Tachos. Agesilaus was about to proceed against Messenia, when a wider field offered itself to his ambition; and in his eightieth year, forgetting his dignity and reputation, he quitted the throne of

[1] A people near the south-western extremity of the Caspian Sea, and also called Geles.—Plin., lib. VI., cap. xvi.; Strabo, lib. XI., p. 507.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XV., cap. v., and Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, ed. Langhorne, vol. VI., pp. 274, 275.

[3] Diod. Sic., lib. XIV., cap. xxvii. [4] Ibid., lib. XV., cap. xxi.

Sparta, hoping to receive the command of the forces of Egypt then in rebellion. On his arrival, Tachos the satrap, being disappointed in the personal appearance of the mighty king of Sparta, when he beheld a diminutive and aged man, reserved for himself the chief command of the forces by sea and land, with which he proceeded against the Phœnicians, confiding to Agesilaus only the mercenaries.[1]

Nectanabis obtains the throne.

On the departure of Tachos, his cousin Nectanabis attempted to seize the government of Egypt, and both having applied to the Lacedæmonians, Agesilaus was enabled, with the sanction of that people, to place Nectanabis on the throne. Tachos, being expelled, fled to his master Artaxerxes, who not only pardoned his rebellion, but conferred on him the command of the Egyptian army.[2]

The conspiracy of the self-appointed satrap of Egypt was very formidable to the king, who was at the same time embarrassed by the rebellion of Orontas, satrap of Mysia; Ariorbazus, satrap of Phrygia; Autophrades of Lydia; Datames of Cappadocia, and Mausolus of Caria; and besides these, he was at war with the Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians, Cilicians, Syrians, Phœnicians, and all the Asian Greeks.[3]

Orontas was appointed general of the Asiatic confederacy; but either being insincere at first, or subsequently a traitor, he betrayed their purpose, and the whole fell to the ground at the very moment when the long-cherished object of Agesilaus, the dismemberment of the empire, seemed about to be realized. He died whilst on his return to Greece, in his eighty-fourth year.[4] Lesser Asia having returned to its allegiance, the king made another attempt to recover his dominions in Egypt, but did not live to see it completed.

Death of Agesilaus. B. C. 360.

Artaxerxes declares his successor.

Hoping to put an end to the intrigues and contentions of his three sons, Artaxerxes declared Darius, the eldest, his successor, and allowed him to assume the title of king; but not being satisfied with his position, the prince formed a conspiracy, in which Teribazus joined. Both were put to death, however,

[1] Plutarch, in Agesilaus, vol. IV., pp. 212, 213, ed. Langhorne.
[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XV., cap. xxii. [3] Ibid.
[4] Plutarch, in Agesilaus, vol. IV., p. 215, ed. Langhorne.

B. C. 360 or 359.

and Ochus, having got rid of his other brother Ariaspes, succeeded to the throne on the death of Artaxerxes, then in his ninety-fourth year and the sixty-second of his reign.[1]

Precept given by Darius Nothus.

His father, Darius Nothus, had left him, together with his immense empire, the valuable precept: "Act justly in all things towards God and towards man;" and, addressing him on his death-bed, added that he, himself, had governed successfully, because he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without swerving from either.[2]

Artaxerxes' early character,

Being of a mild and affable disposition, with moderate desires, it appears that, in the outset of his reign especially, Artaxerxes followed his father's last instructions so faithfully, that he secured the affection of his subjects. But on the other hand, he caused the person to be put to death who robbed him of the glory (for such he chose to consider it) of having killed his brother;[3] and

and later conduct.

he sanctioned, if he did not originate, the treachery by which the Greek generals perished. Later in life, the queen-mother prevailed upon him to put Tissaphernes to death, and committed other atrocities in his name; and on mere suspicion he put many of his grandees to death after his expedition against the Cadusians. The inmates of his harem are said to have numbered 360;[4] and finally he outraged the laws even of Persia, by marrying two of his own daughters, Atossa and Amestris.

[1] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 282, ed. Langhorne.
[2] Athenæus, lib. VII.: Dipnosophist. Justin, lib. V., cap. viii. and xi.
[3] Plutarch, in Artaxerxes, vol. VI., p. 263, ed. Langhorne.
[4] Ibid.

CHAPTER IX.

OUTLINE OF THE MARCHES AND CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO HIS ENTRANCE INTO BABYLON.

Resources of Macedonia, and her Constitution.—Philip's Accession and Wars.—Battle of Chæronea.—Assassination of the King and succession of Alexander.—Appointed Leader of the Greek Confederacy.—Civil and Military state of Macedonia.—Alexander's Campaigns on the Danube and against the Illyrians.—Preparations and Invasion of Asia.—Situation of Persia under Darius Codomanus.—Government and weakness of the Satrapies when invaded.—Alexander crosses the Hellespont, trusting to success for his resources.—Battle of the Granicus.—Advance to Sardis and Ephesus into Caria.—Winter there.—The Married Soldiers visit Greece.—Telmessus and other cities of Lycia taken.—Alexander passes Mount Climax, and marches to Celænæ and Gordium.—Asia Minor submits.—Cilicia, Campestris, and rugged Cilicia invaded.—Approach of Darius.—Battle of the Issus.—Visit to the Captives.—Darius' Baggage, &c. taken at Damascus.—Invasion of Phœnicia.—Capture of Tyre and Gaza.—Subjection of Egypt.—Visit to the Oasis of Ammon.—Settlement of the Government of Egypt.—March to Thapsacus and through Mesopotamia.—Passage of the Tigris.—Preparations of Darius.—Battle of Arbela.—March to Babylon and Restoration of the celebrated Temple.

The invasion of Asia by the younger Cyrus led to the achievements of Alexander.

THE campaigns which have been followed in the preceding chapter, more particularly the retreat of Xenophon and his followers, no doubt led in some degree, to the still more eventful period of history now about to be noticed; from which not only very great geographical knowledge but extensive commercial benefits were derived. The campaigns of the army raised by Cyrus demonstrated what might have been the power of the Grecian republics, had they been united as well as free; but owing to the weakness caused by the divisions arising from an excess of liberty, the Grecians became subject to, or rather merged in, the bordering and comparatively new kingdom of Macedonia; whose prince, profiting by the geographical knowledge acquired during the expedition to Baby-

lonia, and the experience then gained in the art of war, executed those mighty achievements which led to the conquest of the Old World.

Great battles and extensive conquests have belonged to every period of the world, and extraordinary campaigns, such as that of the ten thousand Greeks may have taken place from time to time; but the brilliant victories, the unparalleled sieges and vast conquests, above all the wonderful marches of Alexander the Great, will, in all probability, stand alone for ever; more particularly when considered in connexion with the limited means at his command.

Geographical position and advantages of Macedonia.

Situated between Thrace, Thessaly, and Epirus, Macedonia by its south-easterly prolongation forms a peninsula terminating with three capes, namely, the Nymphæum promontory, now Mount Athos, the Ampelæ promontory, now Cape Drepano, and that of Canastærum, now Cape Pailhuri; but although it has a rugged mountain barrier on the remaining sides, namely, on the north-east, on the north, the west, and the south, the cultivatable territory is more extensive than that of any of the Republican states. Moreover, it possesses a better soil, and is, on account of the facilities of communication, more valuable, and, at the same time, stronger; for, owing to its being less broken and separated, its defenders can be more readily united than those of Greece.

Her patriarchal constitution.

In addition to these advantages, Macedonia derived others of greater importance from her ancient patriarchal constitution, in the maintenance and defence of which the community at large had the greatest interest; and, as will presently be seen, it was at the same time the source of great strength in offensive as well as defensive warfare.

Enjoying the actual freedom of a limited monarchy, rather than that which existed nominally in the democratic states of Greece, the people of Macedonia were greatly attached to the constitution, and to their sovereign. The king, it is true, was nominally supreme, being both the commander of the army and the administrator of justice; but this double authority was regulated by certain principles and established laws.

Limited power of the king.

In the latter capacity, for instance, he only condemned or

acquitted in concurrence with the assembled representatives; and in the former, high treason and other grave matters were determined by him in a council of the whole army.

Common origin of the Macedonians and Grecians.

The princes of Macedonia, three brothers, were originally from Argos;[1] the speech, the manners, and the religion of the Macedonians were also those of the Greeks;[2] their common origin going back to the time of the arrival of Danaus from Egypt. It would appear that the Pelasgians occupied Argos, Epirus, Macedonia, and the whole of Greece,[3] at the period in question; the name of that people having been previously applied to the whole territory.[4] Instead of having fortified cities like the Greeks, the Macedonians chiefly occupied open agricultural villages, and the necessity of being always prepared, rendered them a nation of warriors. But at a later period certain frontier provinces were considered as advanced posts, which were usually entrusted to the younger sons of the reigning family.

Warlike propensities of the Macedonians.

But the advantages of thus keeping war at a distance were counterbalanced by the jarring interests which arose, as these appanages became partly hereditary; particularly, as in the instance now to be mentioned, when the chief became a competitor for the throne.

Philip, son of Amyntas, aspires to the government.

Hearing that Perdiccas had fallen in an unsuccessful battle against the Illyrians, Philip, son of Amyntas, left one of these governments and hastened to Pella, hoping to succeed his brother. Although hereditary, the Macedonians were not very strict as to the succession, provided it continued in the royal house. On this occasion, one party favoured a child, the son of Perdiccas, another Pausanias, who was supported by the Thracians; and a third, assisted by the Athenians, espoused the cause of Argæus. Moreover, confusion and dejection prevailed amongst the people owing to the recent defeat, added to the apprehension of a fresh invasion of the Illyrians.

Superior talents, enlarged by education in the school of

[1] Herod., lib. VIII., cap. cxxxvii.

[2] Mitford's Greece, chap. I., sec. 1 and 34.

[3] Æschyl., Danaid, p. 316, ed. H. Stephen, and Mitford's Greece, chap. I., s. 2; Strabo, lib. VII., p. 321.

[4] Herod., lib. VIII., cap. xliv.

By his talents and capacity

Pythagoras, when the guest of Epaminondas at Thebes,[1] and possessing at the same time elegant and winning manners, Philip was eminently qualified to take the lead in Macedonia. Although arduous, his situation was promising; for the working powers of government being distributed amongst the people,[2] the eloquent master-spirit of the prince could not fail to lead his subjects, securing their affection, and commanding their admiration at the same time. Professedly as guardian of his nephew Amyntas, Philip first gained the army, and next succeeded in bringing the leading men to his interest, by expressions of confidence on the one hand, and large promises on the other; at the same time, by the secret and judicious use of gold, he put a stop to the plundering invasions of the Pæonians and Illyrians.[3] Confidence being now in some degree restored, Philip gave his earliest attention to the state of the army, endeavouring to perfect the organization of Archelaus, and grafting on it the more modern tactics of the Greeks. With the latter, as well as with the experience gained by the Cyrean army, he was well acquainted, and from him originated the celebrated Macedonian phalanx, which it is supposed he had already introduced into his former government. It consisted of 375 men in front and 16 deep armed with spears from 14 to 16 feet in length, in addition to a long shield, a short sword, a headpiece, and a breast-plate of quilted linen.[4]

he gains the army and leading men of the country.

Origin of the Macedonian phalanx.

With troops thus formed and armed the king overcame the Athenians; and his competitor Argæus having been killed, the peace which ensued enabled him to reduce the Illyrian tribes to submission.[5] The Macedonians now assisted the Athenians in taking Potidæa, with the intention of seizing the neighbouring territory of Olynthus also. But before there was time to accomplish the latter object, an unprovoked descent made on Pydna by the Athenian fleet put an end to the alliance; and satisfaction being refused, the Macedonians and Olyntheans, with united forces, marched against the Athenians, recovered Pydna, and captured Potidæa. A successful expe-

Subjection of the Illyrians.

B. C. 357.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVI., cap. ii. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. [4] Potter's Archæol., vol. II., chap. xvii.
[5] Diod. Sic., lib. XVI., cap. iii.

dition into Thessaly having followed, Philip married Olympias, the daughter of the king of Epirus, and professed himself ready to imitate Archelaus by cultivating the arts of peace; but the restless spirit at Athens brought about a formidable confederacy of the kings of Thrace and Illyria, assisted as they were by the principality of Pæonia.[1]

Philip defeats the Athenians and marries Olympias.

Alike prepared to meet and to surmount such difficulties, the energetic Philip despatched Parmenio, his ablest general, against the Illyrians, and, having overcome his opponent in Pæonia, he marched into Thrace, where he was equally fortunate. These last successes were scarcely completed, when a courier announced a great victory gained by Parmenio over the Illyrians; a second messenger brought intelligence that his horse had gained the Olympian race; and a third made known the birth of a son and heir to his kingdom, which now extended from the Euxine sea to the Adriatic.

Philip's successes. B. C. 354.

Birth of his son Alexander.

Philip's election to be general of the Amphictyons gave fresh vigour to his enemies, and Demosthenes induced the Athenian people to declare that they did not admit the claim of the king of Macedon to be an Amphictyon: troops and ships were accordingly sent into Bœotia; and, for this purpose, conceding the precedency to the Thebans, they marched to Chæronea.

Philip, as general of the Amphictyons, carefully avoided being the aggressor; and having fruitlessly repeated his desires of peace to the Athenians and Thebans, marched at the head of 30,000 foot and 2,000 horse into the Bœotian province,[2] then occupied by 50,000 Athenians and Thebans.[3]

Campaign against the Athenians and Thebans.

Philip retained the command of the right wing, and entrusted that of the left wing to Alexander. The Athenian forces were commanded by Chares, and the Thebans by Lysicles; the latter being remarkable for his rashness, and the former for his ignorance as a commander. The battle continued doubtful till about mid-day, when Alexander, anxious to signalize himself in his first battle, attacked, and with great difficulty overcame the sacred battalion of the Thebans. Nearly

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVI., cap. xi.
[2] Ibid., cap. xxiv.
[3] Ibid.

Battle of Chæronea.

at the same time Philip gained some advantage over the Athenians on the left. But at this moment Lysicles penetrated the centre of the Macedonians, crying out, "Let us pursue them to Macedonia!" Perceiving the mistake made by advancing thus incautiously, instead of attacking the phalanx in flank, Philip coolly remarked, "The Athenians do not know how to conquer," and causing the phalanx to fall back and re-form under the cover of a height, put the Athenians to flight, when the whole army was routed with the loss of 1,000 Athenians and as many Thebans.[1] Demosthenes himself narrowly escaped, throwing away his shield as he fled.[2]

Philip's moderation after the victory.

Philip's moderation after this victory, both at Thebes and Athens, was great. No individual was allowed to suffer in person or property; and his magnanimity and generosity at the latter city excited the admiration of the whole of Greece, with the exception of the implacable war party.

Philip elected autocrator of Greece.

Peace was offered on the same terms as before, and a congress being assembled at Corinth, Philip was elected general autocrator of Greece, which appointment was particularly opportune, by favouring the changes that had taken place. The fascinations of the late great victory took the place of

B. C. 336.

nobler objects. The peaceable improvement of Macedonia was postponed, and Philip sent two of his generals in order to attempt the conquest of Asia, whither he had previously sent Attalus and Parmenio to prepare the way, by exciting revolt.[3] The divorce of Olympias soon followed, and next year their daughter was married to her uncle the king of Epirus.

Philip perishes by the hand of Pausanias.

It was during the festivities on the latter occasion, and as it is believed, to revenge an insult received from Attalus, that Philip perished by the hand of Pausanias, a Macedonian youth of rank.[4]

Being the popular king of a free people, and, at the same time, head of the Greek republics by their free choice, Philip was in a position to extend to the latter the benefit of a limited monarchy, with all the happiness and independence that are

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVI., cap. xxiv.
[2] Æsch. de Cor., p. 545.
[3] Diod. Sic., lib. XVI., cap. xxv.
[4] Ibid.

compatible with the interests of the community at large. But the details of the intended improvements, as well as those connected with the Persian war, were lost by the untimely fate of the king.

Power of Macedonia compared with Persia. B. C. 336.

On his accession, Macedonia was but an ordinary state weakened by war and dissensions, but on the death of this gifted monarch it was, next to Persia, the most powerful kingdom existing; and having now become the centre of arts and civilization, its influence was much greater than the latter kingdom. The vast physical power which descended to Darius Codomanus was thus, in a great measure, counterbalanced, and the successor of Philip was placed in a position no less commanding than that of the Persian monarch himself. Happily, notwithstanding his extreme youth and inexperience, Alexander was gifted with the necessary talents to grapple with the complicated and difficult circumstances in which he was placed. Previously to the funeral obsequies, the prince told the assembled Macedonians that, though the name was changed, they would find that the king remained.[1] The able statesmen and generals of his father, therefore, were continued; the friends of Philip became those of Alexander; and the machinery continuing the same, none of his personal friends being raised to distinguished offices, civil or military, it is not surprising that the energy of Alexander was sufficient, on the one hand, to stifle the plot which had caused the catastrophe at home,[2] and, on the other, to maintain the ascendancy as chief of the Grecian republics, notwithstanding the unremitting exertions of Demosthenes and the rest of his enemies.

By his judicious policy, Alexander

At Corinth, the states, with the exception of Lacedæmon, decreed that the youthful Alexander should be head of the confederacy, and that the unquiet spirits should be occupied by carrying the war into Asia; for which, as will be seen, there were ample means at command. The surface of Macedonia Proper nearly equalled that of republican Greece, but, owing to circumstances, its power was infinitely greater. The people enjoyed equal rights; and since all might be called upon to serve, they were a nation of men uniting the civil and military

is elected head of the Greek confederacy.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. ii. [2] Arrian, lib. I., cap. xviii.

Military and civil privileges of the Macedonians.

character, for which they were prepared by an appropriate education. In fact, the laws for the city and the camp were in every respect similar; the army exercising jurisdiction abroad, and the people at home. But the disadvantages arising from the leader of the army being controlled, were counterbalanced by the enthusiasm which that leader inspired, and they ceased altogether under such generals as Philip and Alexander, whose appeals to the affections of the soldiers were superior to mere commands, and rendered the courage of the army irresistible.

Alexander's first campaign.

Dangers at home, however, delayed the contemplated attack on Persia, and Parmenio being entrusted with the defence of Macedonia against the Illyrians, Alexander proceeded against the rebels: by a rapid march he not only covered Amphipolis, but drove them into the mountains. Here, conjointly with the Thracians, they took up a strong position between steep precipices on the verge of a quick declivity, having in front a barrier of waggons ready to be rolled down, in order to break the Macedonian phalanx as it advanced.

Perhaps on no occasion throughout a military career replete with the most daring achievements, were more skill and cool intrepidity displayed, than by the youthful prince in this hazardous attack. On seeing the waggons put in motion, as they advanced, those Macedonians who could not shelter themselves behind rocks, were commanded to lie down under a cover formed by means of their compacted shields. This project succeeded, and the machines having passed over them almost harmlessly, the phalanx re-formed and advanced. Being attacked at the same time in flank by the Hypaspists led by Alexander, the enemy fled with such precipitation that they left their families and slaves in the hands of the conqueror.[1] The line of march from Pella by Amphipolis indicates that this affair took place on the southern slope of Mount Hemæus, near the principal pass through the Balkan, and northward of Adrianople.

Defeat of the Illyrians and Thracians.

A victory over the Triballians or Bulgarians followed, and in three days, traversing Mount Hemæus, Alexander reached

[1] Arrian, lib. I, cap. i.

the river Ister, or Danube, no doubt below the present town of Widdin. Here he experienced a slight check in attacking the island of Peuce,[1] but he speedily effected the passage of this considerable river, partly by means of vessels dragged up the stream from the Euxine for this purpose, and partly on the skins of which the tents were formed, stuffed with straw.[2]

Passage of the Danube.

The great water barrier, which had been their chief dependence, being thus overcome, the Getæ or Goths hastily fled, leaving their capital and much booty at the mercy of the Macedonians. Alexander was now obliged to retrace his steps, and as the best means of repelling the inroad of the Illyrians and Taulantians into Macedonia, he made a rapid march and gained a battle over the former near their capital, Pellion, before their allies had time to render assistance; the latter were therefore beaten in detail, and a peace having been dictated in consequence to the Illyrians and Taulantians, Alexander was free to attend to other objects of importance.[3]

Subjection of the Getæ and other tribes.

Owing to a combination of the republics, which had been brought about by Demosthenes, the conqueror hastened towards Greece; but the report of his death led to a revolution before he reached Thebes, and the city was stormed in consequence: 6,000 of the inhabitants perished in the assault, and 30,000 of the survivors being condemned to be sold, Alexander returned to his kingdom to celebrate the Macedonian Olympic games in the city of Dia, previously to commencing his gigantic enterprise.[4]

Return of Alexander and subjection of Thebes.

With the exception of the opposing Lacedæmonians, the invasion of Asia was popular throughout Greece; and the meeting at Corinth has been aptly called by Rollin, a Diet of the Western, deliberating on the destruction of the Eastern world. A force of 7,000 Greeks and 5,000 mercenaries were therefore readily placed at Alexander's disposal, and the exhausted treasury left by Philip having been replenished by a loan of 800 talents, he crossed the Hellespont in the spring, at the head of a force, according to Anaximenes, of 43,000 foot

The invasion of Asia desired by the Greeks.

B. C. 334.

[1] The Danube forms several islands below Widdin.
[2] Arrian, lib. I., cap. iii.
[3] Ibid., cap. v., vi.
[4] Ibid., cap. xi.

Alexander's preparations.

and 5,500 horse, or with little more than 34,500 infantry and 4,500 cavalry, according to Arrian and Plutarch;[1] and with the riches of Asia as a temptation to his followers, he ventured to invade an empire whose power was but little diminished since the time of Xerxes; notwithstanding its serious reverses, and some changes which it had undergone: these may now be briefly noticed.

State of Asia from the time of Xerxes

It has already been seen that after his failure in Egypt, Ochus took the command of Lesser Asia in person; and the renewed allegiance of Sidon being followed by the collection of a powerful fleet, that of Cyprus also followed, and nine governments having been formed under as many vassal kings, the army proceeded through the territory of Sidon; and the ulterior object, the subjection of Egypt, was completed by these skilful combinations. Extremes belong to the Asiatic character, and in this case three brilliant campaigns were succeeded by a state of inactive luxury.[2] In order that this might be as little interrupted as possible, Ochus, partly following out the intentions of the second Darius, divided his vast territories into two great governments; that of the eastern provinces was entrusted to the eunuch Bagóas, as a reward for his great services during his command in Egypt; and on Mentor, whose services in the same part of the world had given him an equal if not a greater claim, that of the western districts was conferred. This satrapy extended from the Euxine to Upper Egypt; it was, consequently, larger than the territory of the younger Cyrus, and was ably conducted. Indeed, everywhere good government and prosperity prevailed throughout both viceroyalties.

Ochus having been poisoned, and his successor, Arses, likewise having met the same fate after a reign of three years, Codomanus, the satrap of Armenia, and a descendant of the second Darius, was raised to the throne.[3] Some preparations had been made by his predecessor to avert the hostile intentions of Philip, which were largely increased when he learnt from his emissaries, particularly in Athens, after the termination of the

to the accession of Darius Codomanus.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xvii.; Plut. de fort. Alex., p. 327.
[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVI., cap. xlvii. and lii.
[3] Ibid., lib. XVII., cap. ii.

Illyrian war and the capture of Thebes, that the threatened invasion of the father was about to be realized by his victorious son.

Darius had been distinguished not only as a warrior against the bordering nations, but still more for his judicious government of a large tract of country;[1] and perhaps at no time since the hosts of Xerxes marched into Greece, was the empire more capable of being formidable, than when the satrap Codomanus appeared as the sovereign of Asia, under the well-known name of Darius.

Character and disposition of Darius.

Averse from war, and of a mild, equitable, and amiable disposition, we are justified in believing, that if he had been permitted to carry out his plans, or had his circumstances been less trying than having such a powerful enemy as Alexander, the reign of this prince might have been as much distinguished for the equity and justice of a flourishing government as it now is remarkable in the page of history, for the greatest calamities and reverses.

The two earlier sovereigns of the same name, more particularly Hystaspes, followed the Median, or rather the still more ancient system of government, and the third equally endeavoured to carry out the paternal arrangements; making in practice as well as in theory, little or no distinction between born subjects, and those who had become so either from choice or by the rights of conquest.

The nature of Eastern governments.

The vast territory of Darius, which comprised numerous provinces, or, more properly, kingdoms, having different manners, languages, laws, customs, and interests, presented at best a disjointed mass, without any common interest in supporting the supreme government; or any tie whatever beyond that of temporary subjection. Therefore, one decided victory carried with it the allegiance of many satraps, who, in the East, are at all times ready to transfer to the conqueror those services which they had previously rendered to the legitimate sovereign; to whom they consider such services due only as long, to use the phraseology of the East, as it is God's will that he should retain power.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., c. 2.

Weakness of Persia.

This source of inherent weakness existed in the empire on the invasion of another prince, whose talents and daring were scarcely inferior to those of the great conqueror himself. The younger Cyrus was well aware that a single victory would have placed at his command the empire for which he contended, and ensured for him the same services from Abrocamas, Tissaphernes, Teribazus, and the other satraps, which they had previously rendered to his brother. And if it be borne in mind, that had it not been for the disobedience of Clearchus this object would have been accomplished with a force of only 12,000 veterans to assist the Asiatics, the nature and comparative power of the great enterprise now about to be described will be better understood. In following the steps so ably traced by his prototype, Alexander conducted into Asia at least triple the number of experienced troops, who were entirely devoted to their leader, and raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by his personal example, and the additional temptation of the great wealth of Asia: in the distribution of this, it will be seen that he realized the promised liberality of Cyrus. The funds on which he relied to carry out his momentous undertaking were the fruits of his victories.

Advantages possessed by Alexander.

Alexander was no doubt as well acquainted with the political state of the territories about to be invaded as he proved to be with their geographical state. The mutual jealousies of the satraps, as evinced by Tissaphernes, in assisting the Greeks to overcome his rival, and the limited authority of the great king over these feudal chiefs,[1] could not have escaped the penetration of the Macedonian monarch.

His admirable policy.

Well knowing how to turn such advantages to account by continuing the satraps in their governments; and, at the same time, holding out incentives, almost princely, to every chief in his army, Alexander felt that the zeal of his officers as well as the discipline of his troops must necessarily prevail, and bring in its train the defection of some, or perhaps all of the Greek mercenaries who were employed against him; as well as gain for him the suffrages of the Greek settlements in Asia. To procure the freedom of the latter was the avowed object of Alex-

[1] See above, vol. II., chap. viii., pp. 243, 244.

ander; though had the wishes of the people been consulted, most of the states would probably have remained contentedly in their allegiance to Persia.

He passes the Hellespont,

Depending almost entirely on Asia for ordinary supplies as well as money, but little provision was made, and the army soon reached the straits which separate Europe from this continent. Whilst the fleet was occupied in transporting the troops across the unguarded Hellespont from Sestos to Abydos, Alexander poured libations to the waves, ordered altars to be raised where he embarked and landed; and when visiting the localities immortalized by the king of poets, in accordance with the keenness of his feelings and the powerful superstition of the time, he offered sacrifices to Protesilaus and some others of the principal heroes connected with the fate of the city: on the site of Troy itself he hung his own armour, replacing it by a suit which had been worn by one of the former heroes.[1]

and offers sacrifices at Troy.

Aware that although he had neglected the passage of the Hellespont, the satrap Mentor was prepared to oppose his advance either across Mount Ida or through the towns along the western coast, Alexander caused his army to proceed eastward along the Propontis, and having, as just noticed, visited Troy, he joined it at Arisba. From hence he advanced by Percote and Lampsacus to the Practius river; and onward by Hermotus and Colonæ to the neighbourhood of Zelia, in Bithynia.

Advance along the Propontis into Bithynia.

Since the death of Mentor, the Persian forces were jointly under Spithridates, the satrap of Lydia, Ionia, &c., and Arsites, the Hellespontine satrap; Memnon being only an auxiliary without a command. Contrary to the advice of the latter, to waste the country and avoid a battle, it was determined to take the bolder course of defending the territory, and a rapid march enabled the lieutenants of Darius to take a position near Zelia, on the river Granicus,[2] with a force consisting of about 20,000 Persian horse, and as many Greek mercenaries under Omares;[3] but with the addition of the light-armed troops and followers,

Defensive preparations.

[1] Arrian, lib. I., chap. xi.
[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. iv.
[3] Arrian, lib. I., cap. xv.

the aggregate probably approached 110,000, as estimated by Diodorus Siculus,[1] and Quintius Curtius.[2]

Defective position of the Persians on the river Granicus.

Instead of placing the cavalry in the rear as a support, and the heavy armed in the first line, where their spears would have told so effectually in defending the bank of the river, the Persian chiefs, depending upon their principal arm, committted the serious mistake of reversing this order; posting the horse on the level ground near the river and the phalanges on the heights.[3]

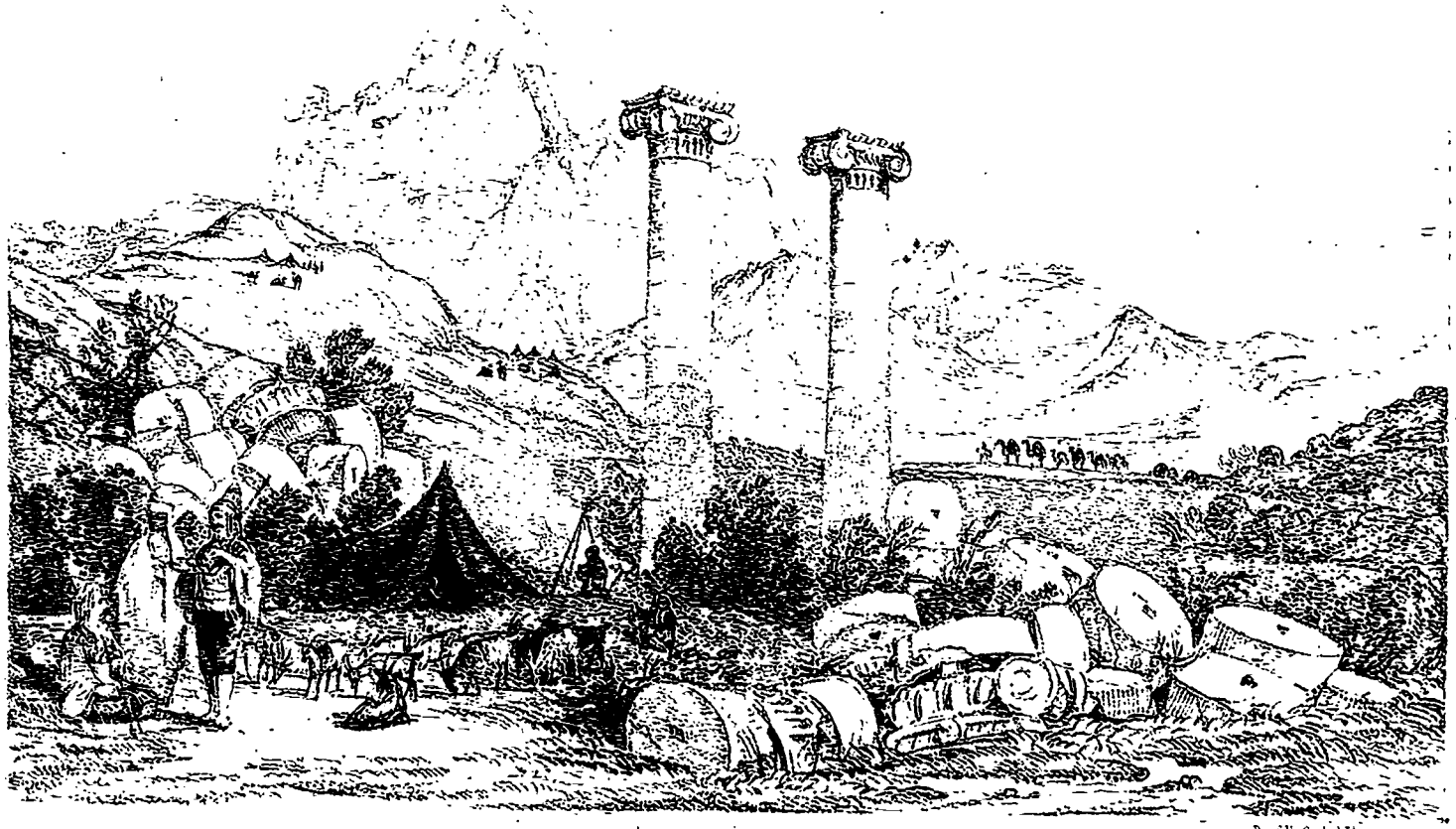
Alexander's plan of attack.

Having in person carefully examined, and also ascertained that the river was fordable, Alexander immediately prepared to attack, giving to his troops, with the intervals, a front equal to the too extended line of the enemy. The phalanges occupied the centre, and the cavalry the two wings. On the left were the Grecian, the Thracian, and the Thessalian horse; on the right were the royal companions, also the Macedonian heavy horse and the Hypaspists; the first being supported by the Agrians and bowmen, and the second by the Pæonians, who were also middle armed. Alexander entrusted the command of the left wing to Parmenio, reserving to himself that of the right, which was to make the principal attack. This wing advanced under cover of some infantry and cavalry to begin the battle; and although the latter were quickly compelled to retire, their attack gave the main body time to reach the right bank, on which point, attracted by the splendour of Alexander's armour, the Persians directed their choicest troops, when the battle became more a personal struggle between individuals than an ordinary action. The bravery of the Persian leaders was conspicuous till the more successful valour of Alexander and the royal companions prevailed; when Mithridates, a son-in-law of Darius, Pharnaces, the queen's brother, Spithridates, and seven others of great eminence having fallen, the retreat of the Persian cavalry was the consequence. The infantry being now left without support, Alexander immediately made an attack with a condensed force against the centre of the Persian Greeks,

Progress of the battle.

[1] Lib. XVII., cap. iv. [2] Preface, p. 20.

[3] Compare Arrian, lib. I., cap. xv., xvi., with Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. iv., and Quint. Curt., page 20, Preface.



RUINS OF THE ACROPOLIS AND ANCIENT TEMPLE AT SARDIS .

who after a resolute but unavailing resistance were broken. In addition to the killed, amongst whom were many of the leading men of Persia, 2,000 prisoners surrendered themselves in this great and complete victory gained by Alexander against the forces of Darius: his own loss was very trifling.

The Persians are defeated after an obstinate defence.

Funeral honours for the slain were the first consideration of the king, and the next, those objects likely to facilitate his ulterior plans. The wounded received personal visits, and were treated with extraordinary care. Privileges and immunities were granted to distinguished soldiers; and 300 complete suits of Persian armour were sent to the temple of Minerva, in which they were placed, with the inscription "From Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, *excepting the Lacedæmonians*, these trophies taken from the barbarians of Asia." Regarding the empire as his own, Alexander admonished the soldiers to avoid plunder and spare his subjects; and Callas, the satrap over the Hellespontine Phrygia, received instructions to exact only the regular revenue hitherto payable to Darius at Dascilium, and to receive it at the capital city.

Alexander retraced his steps to Ilium; from whence, following nearly the route of the army of Cyrus, he proceeded through Antandrus, Adramyttium, Pergamus, and Thyatira, to Sardis; which formidable citadel with its treasure, were surrendered by the treason of Mithrenes, the governor. Alexander having continued the ancient constitution of the city, and ordered the erection of a temple to Jupiter, he proceeded to Ephesus, where he ordered that its venerable temple should be rebuilt by his engineer, Denocrates, and that the tribute formerly raised for Darius, should in future be paid to this establishment.[1] Miletus then fell, after a short but determined resistance; and, in consequence, the Persian fleet was compelled to leave the coast: his own fleet being laid up to save expense, Alexander advanced to Halicarnassus; which was occupied by a considerable force under Memnon, the commander-in-chief of the Asiatic coast of the empire.

Alexander advances to Sardis, and proceeds by way of Ephesus,

The province (Caria) was however divided; Orontobates was faithful to Darius, whilst queen Ada, his competitor, joined[2]

into Caria.

[1] Arrian, lib., I., cap. xviii. [2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. v.

Siege of Halicarnassus

Alexander; she gave up the strong fortress of Alindæ, and assisted him with troops and supplies. Under these circumstances, the consummate skill of the besieged enabled them to protract the defence of Halicarnassus for a considerable period; for, when by infinite labour the besiegers filled up the ditch so as to place their engines near the walls, their works were constantly demolished or burnt by the sallies of the besieged. Again, when the former succeeded in levelling part of the walls, another portion was seen to rise suddenly behind the opening. The contest was long and doubtful, and bold sallies were constantly made; in one of which, literally a battle, the Macedonians lost more men in maintaining their position than they had done at the battle of the Granicus. The constancy of Alexander, however, triumphed at length; Memnon retreated by sea to Cos, and the capital of Caria being demolished, Alexander, after visiting queen Ada in the fortress of Alindæ (Moola), continued his march coastways, leaving the citadel of Halicarnassus (now Budroun) still occupied by the troops of Darius.

The town is taken, and its castle blockaded.

As a reward for the services of Ada, Alexander confirmed to her the princely dignity and authority, and also granted to the kingdom its ancient and valued political constitution. Owing to the time of the year, distant operations were postponed, but the approaching winter was not destined to be spent in a state of inactivity. The officers and soldiers who had been recently married, were permitted to go home, with an understanding that they would return in the spring, bringing any recruits they might be able to engage; after, by way of encouragement, dwelling upon the generosity and kind feelings displayed by their victorious captain. Parmenio was now despatched to preserve the communication with Greece, and raise contributions in money and supplies in the countries still subject to Persia; whilst Alexander proceeded with a select body of troops, almost without baggage, to reduce the towns and ports along the mountainous shore, stretching from Caria eastward. Here he found the way prepared by the news of his liberality and successes, which had preceded him. The people being favourable, the mercenaries consented to depart, and the strong town of Hyparna, on the borders of Lycia, became his without a

Communications preserved with Greece.

blow. Entering the latter territory, he took Telmissus (now Makri), and crossing Anticragus, Pinara (now Minara), Xanthus, and Patara fell in succession, in addition to thirty small towns which followed this example; and, lastly, Phaselis, the principal city of Lower Lycia (now Tekrova, in the Gulf of Adalia), sent deputies bearing a crown of gold and offers of submission: on his way thither, to pass the remainder of the winter, he captured the town of Telmissus, in Pisidia, by storm.

Further operations in Caria and Lycia.

Towards the close of winter, Alexander hastened onward, hoping by occupying the ports of Cilicia and the adjoining part of the Syrian coast to deprive the enemy of the services of his fleet; and this was carried out with his characteristic boldness.

Mount Climax, a singularly rugged chain, intervened in the line of Perga, and terminated at the coast by a precipitous cliff washed by the sea, leaving no passage whatever, except under extraordinary circumstances. Having ascertained that the periodical wind was at hand, which would cause a momentary passage, Alexander despatched a few light troops over the ordinary route, and seizing the precise moment of a decrease of water, during a northerly wind, the troops by wading for many hours up to the middle, at the foot of what is termed the ladder, succeeded in passing along the Lycian shore. The accomplishment of this rash undertaking, was attributed to miraculous interposition;[1] and the Pamphylian towns of Perga, Aspendus, Sidé, and Sillium, being subjected in consequence, Alexander, following the vale of Cestrus, entered the recesses of Mount Taurus. Here he defeated the Salagassians and Telmisseans, captured the city of the former, formed an alliance with the Selgæ; and the whole of Pisidia submitted, apparently for the first time to any conqueror.[2]

Adventurous march round Mount Climax.

Subjection of Pisidia, &c.

A march of five days enabled Alexander to take the capital of Phrygia (Celænæ), after which he marched on Gordium, where he was joined by Parmenio and the rest of his army, including the bridegrooms, with a strong body of recruits from Macedonia; and the first campaign in Asia terminated by cutting the famous knot.[3]

[1] Plin., lib. V., Alex., pp. 673. 674.

[2] Arrian, lib. I., cap. xxvii., xxviii., xxix.

[3] Ibid., cap. xxx.

Memnon purposes to cut off Alexander.

Memnon, hoping to recover his oversight, by which Sardis, Ephesus, Miletus, and Halicarnassus were lost to Darius, was both diligent and successful in another quarter during the operations just mentioned. A large portion of the coast, it is true, was in possession of a victorious enemy, but the numerous islands were open to Memnon's commanding fleet; which, having taken Chios without a blow, proceeded to Lesbos, and took the island, with the exception of Mitylene. Memnon awaited the fall of this city, in order that he might proceed to the Hellespont, and execute his part of the great plan which had been projected, of cutting Alexander off from Europe, and thus enabling Darius to overpower the small force that had dared to invade his dominions. But death terminated Memnon's faithful services in the camp before Mitylene; and Pharnabazus, his nephew and successor, being unequal to the task, his great designs fell to the ground.

His death.

Being no longer seriously threatened, Alexander had the choice of either resuming the offensive, or of remaining on the defensive behind the Taurus, confining himself to the peninsula of which he was already almost master; and circumstances speedily gave him the command of the remainder of the territory. Owing to some dissatisfaction, Paphlagonia offered to transfer its allegiance from Darius to Alexander;[1] and since the only province still subject to Persia, namely, Cappadocia, submitted as he advanced, Alexander thus became master of the whole of Hither Asia: but it was necessary to possess Cilicia also, this being the first province beyond, and containing the most practicable route between Greater and Lesser Asia; also, with Syria by land, and Greece by sea. Alexander, therefore, made a rapid march to the place where Cyrus had been encamped; and having forced the imperfectly guarded gates of Cilicia, he was in time to save Tarsus from being plundered by the Persian troops.[2]

Hither Asia subjected.

Over-exertion, added to the imprudence of bathing in the cold waters of the Cydnus, brought on a fever, which delayed his progress for a time, but from which he eventually recovered. The important mountain-passes which connect Cilicia

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. iv. [2] Ibid.

with the countries to the eastward must have been known from the march of Cyrus; therefore Parmenio was despatched along the coast with the greater part of the heavy-armed foot to occupy them; this he accomplished, in addition to taking the city of Issus, and securing the defile to the westward (Karà Kapú), whilst the rest of the army was engaged on a more difficult service in the opposite direction. Anchialus, a town founded by Sardanapalus, was the fruit of Alexander's first day's march; and, proceeding westward, he garrisoned Solé, after laying it under contribution. Having subjected Rugged Cilicia in the short space of seven days, he received intelligence, on returning to Campestris, that Halicarnassus had fallen, and that his generals had been completely successful in Caria. Whilst Alexander was employed in securing Cilicia, and the part of Syria westward of the Amanus, Darius was scarcely less diligent: his Greek mercenaries were increased to about 30,000 men,[1] to whom were joined about 60,000 Asiatics, called Cardacs, trained like the Greeks for close fight; and the middle and light armed made up the remainder of an army estimated, most likely including the followers, at 600,000;[2] which, however, would only give from 150,000 to 200,000 combatants. But if the large number of Greeks and Cardacs be taken into consideration, Darius was at the head of the most efficient army which had hitherto marched towards Greece, and he was assisted by many talented refugees from the latter country: this, however, owing to the suspicious disposition of Asiatics, was at least but a doubtful advantage.

Cilicia Campestris and Rugged Cilicia occupied.

Vast preparations of Darius.

Darius crossed the Euphrates and encamped about two days from the passes of the Amanus, at a place called Sochi;[3] where, his Grecian counsellors recommended him to halt, urging that the impetuosity of Alexander would induce him to advance. The Persians attributed this advice to sinister motives, and recommended the bolder course of moving through the passes to expel the invaders; adding, that this would be more becoming a great monarch and the fine army which he had raised. Darius appears to have hesitated, and during the

He crosses the Euphrates.

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. viii. [2] Ibid.

[3] Possibly Ukúz-Suzlé on the river 'Afrín.

delay, intrigue and suspicion caused the unjust execution of the Athenian Charidemus. This event turned the scale; and the treasure, the harems of the distinguished officers, with the heavy baggage, being sent to Damascus, the army was ordered to advance for this purpose; quitting ground, which although but partially adapted for cavalry, afforded space to deploy the whole army.

Darius advances from Sochi, and

Alexander, who was then at Mallus, felt, on the one hand, that the advantages of a fine position would be lost by proceeding, whilst on the other, a moral effect must be produced on his adherents by attacking Darius. As usual, Alexander determined to risk everything, and a movement was made, in ignorance that Darius was then simultaneously advancing, which gave rise to the singular circumstance, that the contending armies were, previously to the battle, in reverse positions.

Alexander to Myriandrus.

Having resolved to engage Darius wherever he could be found, the energetic Alexander hastened through the Syrian gates, and encamped beyond Myriandrus. As a defensive position, and for an inferior force, the narrow strip extending to the Issus was particularly favourable. The Mediterranean secured one flank, the range of Amanus the other, the principal pass (now Beïlán) being no doubt occupied; there was besides a speedy communication by means of light vessels, with the rest of the ground to be defended. In this state of things, Darius crossed the Amanus by the upper or northern pass, which had been neglected by Alexander, and having debouched near the town of Issus, just after Alexander had passed, some of the sick and wounded Macedonians who had been left there were cruelly maimed, and then sent to report the number of his forces to Alexander. A violent thunder-storm at the moment, prevented Alexander from ascertaining the fact till the following day, when one of his vessels announced that a very large army was encamped on the western slopes of Amanus. Although much surprised, and probably seriously alarmed, by this unlooked-for intelligence, his retreat being thus cut off by an overwhelming force, he carefully concealed his apprehensions, and adopted at the same time the most decided measures.

The contending armies pass one another.

The soldiers were commanded to take refreshments preparatory to a march; and in order to anticipate the discouraging effect of a retrograde movement, Alexander, with admirable presence of mind, told his commanders that Darius had taken precisely the step which he most desired; having been led by divine impulse into a situation where a great part of his force, and particularly his powerful cavalry, could not act for want of space. Hoping also to remedy his own omission, he despatched a body of horse with some bowmen; and, himself speedily following, he reached the gates of Cilicia and Syria about midnight; when, having gained this important pass, which had been equally neglected by Darius, he halted for the rest of the night.[1]

Alexander returns and occupies the gates of Cilicia before Darius.

It is probable that Darius became aware of the relative positions of the armies rather sooner than it was known to Alexander; but this advantage was lost to him on account of the encumbrances which impeded his movements: he endeavoured the next morning to repair his neglect; but finding the gates already in possession of the enemy, he halted after a march of about ten miles, and occupied a position which extended from the mountain to the sea along the river Pinarus.[2]

Positions of the contending armies.

At the foot of the mountains, the stream in question, now the Delí-cháï, makes a bold sweep southward, and again westward, between banks so steep as to be impracticable for ordinary cavalry; but a little lower, and onward to the sea, the banks are lower. Darius therefore proceeded to strengthen his position along the right bank, covering the operation by a large body of cavalry and infantry, who remained in advance till it was completed. The margin of the Pinarus was therefore occupied by the heavy-armed troops of Darius, the Greek mercenaries and the family of Darius being in the centre, with the Cardacs on each flank. The nearest heights on the left were occupied by light-armed troops; the cavalry extended along the right bank, from the Cardacs to the sea.[3] The plains and the resources of Cilicia being thus completely covered, the

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. viii.

[2] Ibid., lib. II., cap. x., and Quintius Curtius, lib. III., cap. 9, 10.

[3] Ibid., Arrian and Quintius Curtius.

position of Alexander was full of difficulty, and a daring attack offered the only chance of extricating his army from its perilous situation.

Dispositions of Alexander's forces.

Having ascertained the enemy's formation, he placed his phalanx opposite to the Greeks serving under Darius, and the republican Greeks were posted on each flank to oppose the Cardacs and the cavalry. The left wing was entrusted to Parmenio; Alexander commanded the right, intending, by a desperate attempt, to force the enemy's left.[1]

The limited space decidedly favoured the attack of an inferior force, particularly as the banks of the river did not offer any serious impediment except towards the left of the Persians, where it was counterbalanced by another circumstance, of which Alexander speedily took advantage. Owing to the outward sweep made, as already noticed, by the Pinarus in passing the lowest slope of the hills, the Persians, who occupied the interior or right bank, must of necessity not only have been outflanked by an enemy occupying the exterior side, but partly taken in reverse also as the assailants advanced. But, as stated by Arrian,[2] the latter were in the first instance exposed to the same evil; for, owing to the curve or bay in the mountains, the Persian light troops posted on the high ground, threatened the rear of the Macedonians. Believing that these hills effectually secured the left of the position, Darius detached a considerable body of cavalry to strengthen his right, posting nearly the whole of this arm between the Cardacs and the sea. Here the grand attack of the Persians was to be made on the cavalry of Alexander, with a view to its being followed up, by taking the infantry in flank and rear.

The right of the Persian army strengthened.

By these dispositions, the right and stronger part of each army was opposed to, and destined to attack the left and weaker portion of the enemy. But on perceiving that this had been carried too far, Alexander despatched the Thessalian horse and some chosen foot to reinforce Parmenio, who had orders to keep close to the sea, that he might not be outflanked; while Darius made no attempt to remedy his error.

Alexander having completed his dispositions, addressed a

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. x.

[2] Lib. II., cap. viii.

few animating words to his followers, alternately rousing the national feeling of the Macedonians, the Greeks, Illyrians, and Thracians; reminding the Greeks of the conduct of the ten thousand,[1] and the whole that they were about to be the liberators of the universe, and to push their conquests farther than those of Hercules or Bacchus; also that the spoils of the East would soon be at their feet, almost without the necessity of using a sword to gain them. Alexander addresses his soldiers.

At this juncture, the wild war-cry of the Persians was heard and answered by that of the Macedonians, which was still louder, owing to the reverberation of the mountains and forests. Alexander seized this moment to order the middle and light armed troops to advance, to cover the phalanx, which had an enemy in rear as well as in front;[2] and the Persian light troops being driven from the heights which encircle this part of the Pinarus, a position was gained from which missiles reached the flank and rear of the Persian heavy armed, on the river's brink.[3] Alexander seized this moment to lead his phalanx slowly across the Pinarus, and having ascended its opposite bank, he rushed to attack the Cardacs, who were quickly routed. Encouraged by this success, the Macedonian phalanx next attacked the more formidable post of the Persian Greeks, and a severe contest followed. At the same time, the cavalry was hotly engaged, each side having the advantage alternately; both suffered great loss, and, owing to the great bravery of the troops, the combat was long undecided.[4] In the meanwhile the Macedonian infantry suffered severely in this part of the battle, but they continued to persevere[5] till the confederate Greeks, after having put the enemy's left to flight, came to their support. Being thus taken in flank, the Persian Greeks gave way, and were nearly all put to the sword. Commencement, and progress of the battle. Mutual advantages during the contest.

The conflict now approached the centre of the line, in which, agreeably to ancient custom, Darius had taken post, seated on a splendid chariot drawn by four horses abreast, and his striking costume as well as his position, at once marked him as

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. vii.
[2] Ibid., cap. ix.
[3] Ibid., cap. x.
[4] Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. vi.
[5] Ibid., cap. xi.

a special object of attack, as well as defence; for Sabaces the satrap of Egypt, Atires, Rheomithrus, and other illustrious Persians, perished at his side; and it is said that Alexander himself was slightly wounded in the tumult.[1] Darius continued in his chariot in the midst of the slaughter, till the horses became so ungovernable, owing to their wounds and the heap of slain under their feet, that the king would have been carried into the enemy's ranks, had it not been for a vigorous charge made by his brother Oxathres. This gave time to bring up another chariot, and the struggle continued for a time.[2] But as the left had been routed, and he was nearly cut off from the right wing, by the almost total destruction of the centre, Darius fled in his chariot, till the nature of the ground obliged him to mount his horse.[3]

Flight of Darius, and

Up to this period the Persian horse appear to have had the advantage; and it is probable that even the skill of Parmenio and the bravery of the Thessalian cavalry would have been unavailing, had it not been for the masterly attack made by Alexander on the opposite extremity of the line, and the rapid successes which caused the Persian horse and the rest of the right wing to commence a retrograde movement that they might not be cut off.[4]

loss of the battle in consequence.

Near the battle-ground the mountains are practicable for infantry, and they are partially so for such expert horsemen as the Persians. The infantry would naturally resort to the slopes of the hills for immediate safety, but owing to their position near the sea, the bulk of the cavalry would be obliged to follow the coast, till they could return as they entered, by the Upper Amanic pass, which was at no great distance; and there no doubt the pursuit of Alexander terminated.

Arrian states the loss of the Persians to have been 100,000, including 10,000 horse,[5] which probably was more than half the number of combatants. Other writers, except Justin,

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vi., and Quintius Curtius, lib. III., cap. xi.

[2] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xii.; Plut., p. 669.

[3] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xi.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

make it greater.[1] The latter[2] gives 61,000 foot, 11,000 horse, and 40,000 Persians. Loss of the Persians, according to Justin.

The carnage during a fierce and prolonged contest in the centre of the line must have been considerable, but this could scarcely have been the case, either on the left, where the Persians were speedily routed, or on the right, where they had the advantage; and the estimate of Justin, in the absence of any Persian accounts, seems to be nearest the truth, even including the followers. On giving up the pursuit, and retracing his steps as far as the camp lately occupied by Darius, Alexander found the royal tent prepared, agreeably to Eastern custom, with all that splendour for which the Persians were remarkable; and he could not overlook the circumstance that he appeared to have succeeded to the dominion, as well as to the moveable palace of Darius. The feast given the same night to some of his principal officers, was interrupted by wild shrieks and lamentations in an adjacent tent. On ascertaining that the latter emanated from a part of the royal harem, who were making the customary lamentations for the supposed death of Darius, Alexander sent to inform the princesses that he was still alive, adding the assurance, that their treatment should in every way be suitable to their exalted rank. Next day, after seeing his wounded soldiers, though still suffering from his own wounds, he visited the royal captives, accompanied by his favourite Hephæstion, to give this assurance in person. The superior height of the latter—a lofty stature being much valued in Persia—caused Sisygambis, the queen-mother, to throw herself at his feet; Alexander endeavoured to relieve her confusion by saying there was no mistake, for Hephæstion was also an Alexander.

The tent of Darius

Alexander treats the royal captives honourably.

At once perceiving, from his condescension and kindness, that Alexander did not intend that the youthful queen should experience the fate which the laws of Asiatic conquest prepared her to expect, Sisygambis, after acknowledging her gratitude, added, addressing the conqueror particularly, "That she could support the heavy yoke entailed by her calamity, since he pre-

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vi., states it to be 120,000, and 10,000 horse.
[2] Lib. XI., c. 9.

ferred to be distinguished by his clemency rather than by his power."[1]

The magnanimous decision of Alexander was taken possibly not without a struggle, and he quitted their tent exhorting the princesses to take courage; but, lest his resolution might fail, he did not again trust himself in the presence of the youthful queen, the most attractive as well as the most lovely woman of her time.[2]

Altars consecrated on the field of battle.

After celebrating the merits of the slain, and bestowing suitable rewards on the living, Alexander consecrated altars to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva on the battle-ground, preparatory to indulging that overpowering ambition to which his late success had given birth, and for which circumstances were now so peculiarly favourable.

Darius with the remnant of his army had passed the river Euphrates, leaving Syria unprotected. Parmenio and the Thessalian horse were despatched to seize it, whilst the rest of the army took nearly a parallel direction along the coast towards Phœnicia. Although a satrapy of Persia, this territory contained several governments, subject to different patriarchal chiefs or kings, who were always jealous, and not unfrequently opposed to one another. Aradus, one of these, comprised the northern part of Phœnicia, and, within its limits, Mariamé and Marathus, two ports nearly opposite to the isle of Aradus (Ruad).[3]

Advance into Syria and Phœnicia.

Owing to the mercantile connexion of the latter place with Greece, the transfer of its allegiance to Alexander was to be expected; and during the advance of the conqueror, no doubt along the valley of the Orontes, Gerostratus, the sovereign of Aradus, sent a golden crown in token of submission.

Parmenio captures Damascus.

Parmenio, in the meanwhile, accomplished his task; for, through treason, the capital of Syria, with a large amount of treasure, fell into his hands, as well as the deputies who had been sent by the Lacedæmonians, Thebans, and Athenians, to concert measures with Darius against Alexander. Nearly at the same time messengers came from Babylon with an appeal,

[1] Quintius Curtius, lib. III., c. xii. [2] Ibid.
[3] Plin., lib. V., c. xx.

which, being at once feeling and dignified, showed that Darius was not subdued by his recent calamity. His letter stated, in substance, that Alexander having continued the unprovoked hostilities commenced by his father, he had been compelled to defend his territory; and God's will having disposed of the victory, it now remained to offer peace and friendship, and to solicit, as a king from a king, the release of his wife and family at the price of any ransom he might name, in addition to the territory westward of the Halys.[1]

Darius proposes terms of peace.

On receiving this letter, Alexander summoned a council, before which, it is said, he placed in the name of Darius other proposals[2] more suitable to his wishes; but, however this may have been, the conqueror, in his reply, dwelt upon the former invasions of Greece, the murder of Philip, and the unjust acquisition of the throne by Darius. Not satisfied with these reproaches, Alexander desired that he might be addressed as king of Asia, and lord of all that was once possessed by Darius: on such terms he expressed his readiness to restore to Darius his family, provided he supplicated in person; adding, that he then might ask freely, and nothing would be refused.[3]

Haughty reply of Alexander.

Phœnicia was of vital importance, in order that Alexander might cripple the naval superiority of Persia, and circumstances favoured his desire to obtain possession of it. Jealousy of their prosperous daughter, Tyre, induced the Sidonians to request Alexander to take their state under his protection, and the request was readily granted. The town of Byblus capitulated on his approach; and as he advanced, even the Tyrians sent Azelmic, the son of their king, to tender their submission. Doubting their sincerity in desiring to transfer their allegiance from Persia, Alexander announced his intention of visiting the city, that he might offer sacrifices to the Tyrian Hercules. Suspecting his purpose, the Tyrians replied, that in all other matters they were ready to obey, but declined admitting either Persians or Macedonians within their walls; adding, that it

The Tyrians refuse to open their gates to Alexander.

[1] Compare Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vi., with Quint. Curt. lib. IV., cap. i., and Arrian, lib. II., cap. xiv.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vi.

[3] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xiv., and Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. i.

was unnecessary to do so in this case, since the original temple was still standing in Old Tyre.[1]

Determination to besiege Tyre.

This reply being submitted to a council of war, agreeably to the Macedonian custom, it was determined to reduce Tyre, which was then the bulwark of Phœnicia, previously to prosecuting the contemplated invasion of Egypt.[2] The natural strength of an insular situation, fortified with prodigious care, and the possession of a superior fleet, induced the wealthy Tyrians to brave the contemplated attack, considering their city to be impregnable. Palætyrus was the most ancient city,[3] but if not previously, we know that as far back as the time of Hiram there was a temple dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter on the island, with which there was a communication by means of a kind of bank or dike.[4] Ithobal the Second appears to have been on the throne during the memorable siege of thirteen years by Nebuchadnezzar;[5] when the inhabitants retired to the island, and having cut off the communication by destroying the dike, the disappointed conqueror was obliged to abandon the enterprise.[6] Subsequently the city was confined to the island, which is at the distance of about 800 yards from the coast, and was probably much larger at that time than previously.[7]

Alexander endeavours to restore the ancient mole.

Stimulated rather than deterred by the additional difficulty of being deprived of a fleet, Alexander determined to restore the ancient communication, and after some little hesitation the troops commenced the gigantic undertaking of carrying out a mole from the mainland, using for this purpose the neighbouring forests, and the remains of the ancient city. A stiff clay bottom made the work at first comparatively easy, but as the water deepened, the difficulties were greatly increased, and the workmen being exposed to attacks from the vessels, in addition

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xvi., and Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xi.

[2] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xvii.

[3] Vol. I., pp. 480, 481.

[4] Hiram, the son of Abibalus, raised a bank to join the temple of Jupiter on the island to the city.—Jos. Ant., lib. VIII., cap. ii., sec. vii.; and cap. v., sec. iii.

[5] Jos. Ant., lib. X., chap. xi., and lib. I. Contra Apion.

[6] Ezek., chap. XXIX., v. 18.

[7] See above, vol. I., p. 481.

to those from the walls, Alexander erected as a protection, two wooden towers at the extremity of the dike to contain his engines; and covered them with leather and raw hides to prevent their being easily burnt.[1] But the intrepidity and vast resources of the enemy triumphed; and a bold effort enabled the besieged to burn these structures by means of a hulk filled with liquid bitumen and other combustible materials, which they ignited as she was placed against the towers. Part of the dike was destroyed also,[2] and a sudden storm afterwards completed the destruction of the work.[3] Alexander was so much discouraged, particularly by the latter circumstance, that he was on the point of abandoning the siege, and of marching to Egypt;[4] but being opportunely reinforced by vessels from Rhodes, Cilicia, and the ports of Phœnicia, he determined to renew the attempt by sea and land, depending chiefly on the former, since he had now the superiority on that element. Difficulties of the siege, and

A hasty attempt to storm through an imperfect breach having failed, Alexander took advantage of a calm day to make a general assault, by approaching the walls, and making simultaneous attacks on different points with his battering engines. After some progress was made with these machines, ships with ladders were advanced to replace the others, and at length Alexander stormed at the head of the main body. Thus, after a protracted and determined resistance of nearly eight months, the proud city of Tyre was carried, having sustained the loss of 6,000 men; 2,000 were afterwards nailed to gibbets, and 30,000 of the inhabitants were sold for slaves: the Macedonians were not only greatly enraged by the obstinacy of the defence, but also by the cruelty of the Tyrians in putting to death some Macedonians who had been taken on the passage from Sidon.[5] final success of Alexander.

During this operation, Alexander's lieutenants were successful in Paphlagonia, Lycaonia, Tenedos, Chio, &c., being unop-

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xviii.

[2] Ibid., cap. xix., and Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. iii.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. iii.

[4] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vii.

[5] Compare Arrian, lib. II., cap. xxiv., and Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. iv., and Justin, lib. VIII., cap. iii., and lib. XI., cap. x.

Fresh offers of peace.

posed by Darius, who instead of exerting himself to preserve Tyre, appears to have trusted entirely to negotiation. The generosity experienced by his beloved queen made a strong impression on him. Darius is said to have prayed that, next to himself, his noble enemy should be the sovereign of Asia. It was with these warm feelings that messengers were despatched with fresh proposals, which reached Alexander towards the close of the siege of Tyre. Ten thousand talents were offered as a ransom for his family by Darius, and a peaceful alliance to be cemented by a marriage with his daughter; with whom, as her dower, Alexander was to have the countries lying between the river Euphrates and the Mediterranean sea.

Alexander again refuses to make peace.

To this Alexander haughtily and briefly replied, that he did not want the money, and need not ask Darius's leave to marry his daughter; adding, that he would not accept part of an empire which he considered to be wholly his own.

All hope of peace being thus ended, Darius reluctantly prepared for another struggle, and the Bactrians under Bessus, with other distant levies which had been too late for the recent campaign, were ordered to assemble at Babylon; but these preparations did not cause any change in the plans of his enemy.[1]

B. C. 332.

He marches to Jerusalem.

On the fall of Tyre, Alexander marched towards Jerusalem, being bent on punishing the Jews for refusing supplies during the late siege, which they had done on the broad ground that they were bound to Darius as long as he lived. This imminent danger was, however, averted by a vision, agreeably to which, the high-priest Jaddua, accompanied by the priests in their various-coloured robes of fine linen, went forth attended by a multitude of citizens clad in white, and met the conqueror a little way from the city. On perceiving this sacred procession, it is said that Alexander advanced alone, and having prostrated himself before the holy name of God inscribed on the diadem of the leader, he took the high-priest by the hand, and entering the city as a peaceable visiter, he offered sacrifices in the temple. Here it was shown him in the book of Daniel that he was prefigured as the Greek destined to overthrow the Persian

[1] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xxv.

WEST ENTRANCE OF CAIRO.

empire; with which he was so much delighted that he readily granted to the Jews the boon of retaining the laws of their forefathers; he granted them also immunity from taxes every seventh year, when they neither sow nor reap.[1] Certain privileges granted to the Jews.

The animated and highly-wrought picture of the Jewish historian has been doubted, but Alexander was unlikely to leave such an important city unnoticed in his rear; and from his subsequent relations with the Jews, it may be inferred that some understanding with them was established, either personally or by one of his officers.

The only place southward of Jerusalem which could impede future operations was Gaza, a city commanding the high road to Egypt, and then governed by Batis. Notwithstanding the successes of Alexander, to which all other rulers seemed ready to succumb, this faithful eunuch, with the assistance of a body of Arabs whom he had engaged for this service, determined to defend his post for Darius. A fortress situated between Phœnicia and Egypt, and having a small port on the coast, at the distance of a short league, was of vital consequence to Alexander; but the difficulties to be overcome required all the energies of this great commander. He had not to contend, as recently, with an arm of the sea, and a powerful fleet, but the extent of the city, and the unusual height of its walls, which were raised on the crest of ground about sixty feet above the plain,[2] gave considerable strength to the place, independently of its position; which, though not in the ocean, was in other respects effectively an island. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the engineers considered it impracticable to master such walls by force; but Alexander observed that the difficulties were small compared with the importance of the undertaking;[3] and he proceeded to give orders to commence what proved almost the greatest achievement which he was ever destined to accomplish. Advance to Gaza. Its peculiar position.

On the southern side of the city a prodigious mound was commenced, and as the surrounding desert denied the ordinary

[1] Joseph. Ant., lib. XI., cap. iv., v., viii.

[2] Biblical Researches, &c., by E. Robinson, D.D., vol. II., pp. 374, 375.

[3] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xxvi.

resources, earth and timber, probably olive and date trees, which abound,[1] were brought from a distance over the sand with great labour; the people of the adjacent country being employed for this purpose.

Protracted defence of the city.

Owing to these difficulties, added to those caused by the determined defence and constant sallies of the besieged, the rampart and the mines progressed but slowly; especially the latter, which as the sand required to be everywhere supported, were, even with this assistance, maintained with the greatest difficulty, more particularly as the work was exposed at the same time to constant attacks in every stage.

The battering machines, including those which had been used at Tyre, having at length been brought to play with advantage on a level with the walls, and a partially practicable breach effected, the assault took place forthwith.[2] Notwithstanding a severe loss, the Arabs thrice held their ground against the shock of the Macedonians; but in a fourth, the example and unshaken valour of their leader, who before, in repelling one of the sallies, had been severely wounded in the shoulder by an arrow discharged from a catapult,[3] enabled some of the Macedonians to get within the walls, and the gates being forced open one after another, the main body of the army

Capture of the city by storm.

entered the city. The Arabs, however, maintained their character, continuing a brave but ineffectual resistance till the last, every one losing his life where he stood; except indeed Batis himself, who fell into the hands of the enemy covered with wounds, but still alive.[4] Six thousand men perished according to one account, that of Hegesias; and 10,000 Arabs and Persians according to another,[5] in addition to the wives and children of the inhabitants, who were sold for slaves by order of Alexander.[6] This commercial emporium contained great stores of frankincense, myrrh, and other booty; and a remarkable proof of this, and of the connexion of this place with the East, is given by Plutarch, who says that Alexander sent his tutor, Leonidas, a

[1] Biblical Researches, &c., by E. Robinson, D.D., vol. II., pp. 372–376.
[2] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xxvii., and Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vii.
[3] Diod. Sic., lib. IV., cap. vi.
[4] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xxvii.
[5] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. vi.
[6] Arrian, lib. II., cap. xxvii.

present of five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and a hundred of myrrh, in recollection of the hopes he had entertained and the reproof he had received when a boy. It seems that Leonidas one day had observed Alexander, at a sacrifice, throwing incense into the fire by handsful, and said, "Alexander, when you have conquered the country where spices grow, you may be thus liberal of your incense; but, in the meantime, use what you have more sparingly." Alexander therefore wrote thus: "I have sent you frankincense and myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl to the gods."[1]

The sale of captives was the custom of the time; but for the honour of Alexander it is to be hoped the statement is not correct of his having, as Achilles is said to have treated Hector, caused the dying Batis to be dragged round the town at the heels of a chariot.[2]

March to Pelusium, and

Circumstances favoured the next enterprise; for on arriving before Pelusium with his army and fleet, the Egyptians being dissatisfied with the satrap Mazaces, were ready to welcome Alexander. Having thus acquired the fertile territory of the Nile without a blow, the excitement of warlike objects gave place for a time to those of peace: and having examined the course of the Nile from Memphis to Heliopolis, Alexander strove to unite his new and old subjects by amusements and religious ceremonies, himself assisting in the sacrifices to Apis, instead of outraging the feelings of the Egyptians by showing contempt and scorn for the objects of their worship. An examination of the coast succeeded, and in order to replace the defective ports at Pelusium and the Canopus, the city bearing his name was projected on a scale of magnificence which its ruins still indicate, with a view of facilitating the commerce of the west, also of commanding that which was expected to spring from his intended conquest of the east. For this invasion Alexander was now preparing, by raising troops in Greece to strengthen and consolidate his Asiatic levies; and it was during the interval thus employed that his visit to the remarkable temple of Ham or Ammon, in the oasis of the latter name,

Alexander consolidates the government of Egypt.

[1] Alexander, in Plutarch, Langhorne's ed., p. 356.

[2] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. vii.

took place; probably to give Alexander's enterprise the sanction of the oracle.

Accompanied by a considerable body of horse and foot, he arrived at the temple; and, in the return, the greater part of the troops took the longer route by the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, whilst Alexander with the remainder boldly crossed the desert in a direct line to Memphis.

The ancient laws preserved.

The arrangements for the government of Egypt were now completed, the basis of which was the maintenance of the ancient laws under the executive government of local chiefs, some of whom were Egyptians, and others Macedonians, and the whole were placed under the general supervision of a viceroy or Deloaspis;[1] the post next in rank, with the chief military command, being naturally entrusted to a Macedonian.

Having completed these arrangements, by issuing public orders for all to respect and execute the ancient laws and institutions, Alexander determined, by assuming the offensive, to anticipate the march of Darius towards Syria and Egypt.

Alexander marches towards Asia.

Being reinforced by 400 Grecian infantry, and 500 Thracian horse, in the spring of the year 331 B.C. he put the army in motion towards Tyre;[2] his force amounting apparently to 7,000 horse, and about 40,000 foot, besides the Asiatic levies, whose number has not been given by historians.

At Tyre, the appointed rendezvous of his fleet and army, Alexander found deputies from Athens and several other republics, soliciting his return to defend them against the Lacedæmonians; but past successes had only inflamed the desire of encountering more dangers, and making other conquests. Alexander therefore sent some money to Antipater, and having despatched a fleet to the Peloponnesus, the march was continued, after celebrating a public sacrifice to Hercules, in which the whole army joined.

Probably through Phœnicia.

Although the route onward from Tyre is not mentioned, the facility of obtaining supplies, as well as the circumstance of the Phœnicians and Cyprians being ordered to furnish vessels[3] for crossing the Euphrates, clearly indicate that it was through

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. v.
[2] Ibid., cap. vi.
[3] Ibid.

Phœnicia, most likely by keeping along the Upper Orontes to the neighbourhood of Antioch, at a moderate distance from which place there were four crossing places over the Euphrates, namely, the Zeugmas of Sumeïsát, Rúm Kal'ah, Bír, and Thapsacus.

Darius assembles a numerous army beyond the Tigris.

Alexander directed his march on the last, which was the crossing place of Cyrus,[1] whose steps he was following. Preparations to meet the invaders were by this time far advanced, and the Scythians, Parthians, Indians, and other levies, with 200 scythed chariots, being assembled in Babylonia, and the troops newly armed with swords and spears of a longer and better description, Darius found himself at the head of a more numerous army than that which had been destroyed at the Issus.[2]

On reaching Upper Mesopotamia, Mazæus was posted in advance to dispute the passage at Thapsacus, but he abandoned this position without offering any obstruction, except that of breaking down the bridge on the approach of the enemy; and Alexander, instead of resorting to the tedious operation of using his boats, repaired the bridge, and passed the great river without the slightest opposition.[3]

Nicephorium built.

Local tradition has transmitted the fact of the passage of Iskender Acbár; and there is the additional fact that, tempted by the advantages of the situation, he ordered the city of Nicephorium, now Rakkah, to be built.[4]

The position of Darius near the Tigris, and the circumstances of the country along the direct line having been wasted by Mazæus, determined Alexander to proceed to Babylon by the circuitous route along the Tigris, which, in addition to affording more supplies, would be less exposed to excessive heats.[5]

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. vii.

[2] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. ix.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vii., says 800,000 foot and 200,000 horse.

[3] Compare Arrian, lib. III., chap. viii., with Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. ix.

[4] Plin., lib. VI., cap. xxvi.; lib. V., cap. xxiv.; and above, vol. I., pp. 48, 114.

[5] Arrian, lib. III., cap. vii.

Route from Thapsacus to the Tigris.

It is a proof of the accuracy of the historian, that, conformably to his description, in proceeding northward along what was subsequently one of the royal roads (which is still to be traced by the pavement) to Carræ and to Amida, now Diyár Bekr, the river Euphrates, and subsequently the mountains of Armenia, would be on the left hand.[1]

Whilst crossing Upper Mesopotamia, it was ascertained from some of his scouts who had been taken, that Darius was encamped with a numerous army in a position where he intended to dispute the passage of the Tigris.[2] On receiving this intelligence, Alexander directed his march towards the spot that had been indicated; but on arriving there, he neither found Darius nor any of his troops, therefore he only experienced the difficulty of fording a stream which, owing to its depth and rapidity, is all but impracticable for an army.

The passage is supposed to have taken place in the vicinity of Eskí Mósul, which point would have been speedily reached if, as is probable, Alexander took a more easterly direction when he reached the vicinity of either Márdín or Nisíbín. It appears

Retreat of Darius across the Tigris and Záb.

that Darius on reaching Upper Mesopotamia, suddenly turned to the right, and crossed first the Tigris and then the Caprus or Lesser Záb, and halted at Arbela, now Arbíl, a small town with a ruined castle, situated on an artificial mound 742 feet above the sea. It is not stated why Darius quitted the favourable ground in Mesopotamia, where there was scope for the whole of his forces, including the chariots, but it may be inferred from his attempts to negotiate,[3] that a peaceable reunion with his family, and not a battle, had been his object; and thus he lost the opportunity of crippling, if not destroying, Alexander's army, first when crossing at Thapsacus, and again at Eskí Mósul.

But having at length resolved to meet his enemy, Darius left the greater part of his baggage, provisions, &c., at Arbela,

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. vii. See also the route from Thapsacus towards the interior of Mesopotamia, in a north by easterly direction, to Háran, and from thence, by Márdín, to the river Tigris, at Eskí Mósul. Map No. 2 and Index Map.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xi.

crossed the Lycus, or Great Záb, and encamped on the river Bumadus, at a village called Guagamela, which is about 600 stadia from Arbela.[1] In the meanwhile, Alexander, with his usual tact, quieted an alarm, which the occurrence of a total eclipse of the moon at the moment of passing the Tigris had caused in the camp, by directing Aristander, the soothsayer, to assure the soldiers that the eclipse portended evil to Persia, and not to Macedonia. Being ignorant of the position of Darius, he followed the course of the Tigris into Assyria, having the Gordyæan mountains on his left; but during his fourth march, his uncertainty was relieved, by learning from some prisoners that Darius occupied a strong camp at no great distance; and he halted, in consequence, to prepare for battle.

Alexander crosses and advances along the Tigris.

Darius appears to have taken this opportunity to make his third and final proposals for peace, to which he was alike inclined by a quiet disposition, and personal esteem for Alexander; whose greatness of mind in the first instance towards Statira, and particularly his feeling conduct at the time of the queen's death, had inspired an affectionate husband with the warmest gratitude and the greatest admiration. With tears in his eyes, and his hands raised towards heaven, Darius prayed that God, who disposes of all things, would preserve to him the empire of the Persians and Medes as it had been received; but he added, as the recollections of the husband overcame the pride of the monarch, "if it be otherwise decided, and the glory of the Persians must fall, may none but Alexander sit upon the throne of Cyrus."[2]

The princely offer of 30,000 talents of gold and all the territory lying between the Hellespont and Euphrates, as a dower with his second daughter, having been made by the ambassadors, couched in language which enhanced the value, (for Darius was ready to divide the empire itself,) it was as a matter of form referred to the council. But the peaceable course advised by Parmenio, with the silent sanction of his colleagues, not being palatable, Alexander told the deputies that with the exception of the money, which he did not want,

He again refuses peace on liberal terms.

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. viii.
[2] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xi.

the rest was already in his possession; and attributing to Darius the design of endeavouring to corrupt his friends, and bribe his soldiers to kill their prince, he added, that he would pursue him to the last extremity, not as an open enemy, but as an assassin and a poisoner.[1] To these reproaches they simply replied, that since Alexander was resolved to continue to make war, his frankness was praiseworthy, and it was time they should hasten to apprise Darius of the necessity of being prepared for an immediate battle. Accordingly, Darius took something like a decided step by detaching 3,000 horse under Mazæus to endeavour to obstruct the enemy, who by this time had almost reached the Persian camp.

Darius makes some preparations.

It has been seen that the hope of peace, and the prospect of recovering his family, had caused Darius to commit the unpardonable oversight of allowing the invaders to cross two mighty rivers, and without interruption to traverse extensive plains, where the Persian cavalry might have watched their movements at some distance; leaving them only a desert as they advanced. But instead of being thus harassed, Alexander's forces, numbering about 40,000 European infantry and 7,000 cavalry,[2] independently of the Asiatic levies, entered Assyria in the most efficient state, advancing with the infantry forming two columns in the centre, the cavalry on the flanks, and the baggage in the rear.[3] After advancing about 30 stadia, the cavalry under Mazæus was seen retiring from some hillocks, which being immediately occupied, the Persian army was indistinctly visible through the fog.[4] The long-wished-for opportunity of meeting his adversary for the moment perplexed rather than encouraged Alexander, who instead of closing with the enemy as usual, determined by the advice of Parmenio to delay the attack. Taking the light horse and the royal cohort, Alexander examined the camp of Darius, and having made himself well acquainted with the position of the enemy, and strengthened his own, by means of a palisade, a council of war was summoned to deliberate. Parmenio and some others

His neglect.

Alexander reconnoitres the camp of Darius.

[1] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xi.
[2] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xi.
[3] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xii.
[4] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xii., with Arrian, lib. III., cap. xi.

recommended a night attack as being likely to be unexpected, and therefore terrible as well as destructive. To this, the uncertainty of attacks in the dark, the superior knowledge possessed of the country by the enemy, and the difficulties of a retreat were opposed; and the meeting was reminded that it was incumbent on Alexander to conquer openly. Orders were now issued to take some repose preparatory to a regular battle, and the different commanders were desired to make known. to the soldiers that the contest was not for a petty province such as Phœnicia, Syria, or even Egypt, but for the empire of Asia; and that success would depend upon the courage and united exertions of every individual.[1]

Alexander encourages his soldiers.

Although a feeling of anxiety, if not of alarm, was manifested about the result of the contemplated struggle, the address of Darius was powerful. Not long ago, he observed to his army, they had marched against Greece, but the inconstancy of fortune at the Granicus, and again at the Issus, had removed the barrier of two great rivers, and placed the Persians on the defensive, in the heart of the kingdom. But his duty had been performed by assembling a force which this vast plain could scarcely contain; he had likewise furnished the necessary arms, equipments, and provisions, with suitable battle-ground for this multitude: the rest, he added, depended upon themselves. "It is," observed the king to the soldiers, "become a contest for existence, and, what is dearer still, the liberty of your wives and children, who must fall into the hands of the enemy, unless your bodies become a rampart to save them from captivity." Darius added, that his own mother and his children were still in that prison where Statira had lately perished, and now appealed to their compassion and fidelity for deliverance from a prolonged captivity. His eloquent address concluded with this remarkable peroration:—"The enemy," said the king, "is at hand; and as this contest must either overturn or establish the greatest empire in the world, I conjure you by the splendour of the sun, by the fires on our altars, which represent this luminary, and by the immortal memory of Cyrus, the great founder of the empire, to maintain the glory of the nation unsullied."[2]

Animating address of Darius to his followers.

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. ix.

[2] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xv.

The Persian order of battle,

Darius now proceeded to make the following arrangements. On the left, the principal line consisted of Dahians, Arachosians, horse and foot intermingled; in front were the Bactrian and Scythian horse, with 100 two-wheeled chariots; and in rear, forming a third line, were the Cadusians and a mixed body of Persian horse.[1] The right was also formed in three lines, the principal of which was composed of Cælo-Syrians, Mesopotamians, Medes, Parthians, and Sacæ, in addition to Tapurians and Hyrcanians, supported by another line composed of Albanians and Sacesinæ; with a third in front, of chariots and cavalry, namely, the Armenian and Cappadocian horse. In the centre under Darius himself were the royal kinsmen, the Persian Melophori, who were distinguished by grenades of gold,[2] the Indians, the Carian exiles, and Mardian archers; with the Greek mercenaries on each side. In front were 50 chariots and 15 elephants, and in the third or supporting line, were the Uxians, the Babylonians, the Sitaceni, and the people bordering upon the Erythrean Sea.[3]

ascertained by Alexander.

A document containing the preceding plan of Darius having been intercepted on the eve of the battle, Alexander was not only informed of the whole of the details, but he appears likewise to have known that Darius meant to keep his forces under arms, expecting a night attack.[4]

The Macedonians passed the night in a state of anxiety, in which, contrary to his wont, Alexander largely shared.[5] The soothsayer Aristander was summoned, and after endeavouring to propitiate Jupiter, Minerva, and Victory, by prayers and sacrifices, Alexander retired, but not to sleep. Absorbed with anxiety about the result of the coming battle against such fearful odds, at one time he planned a general attack with his whole force on the Persian right, at another a general attack in front was contemplated, and this again gave place to a meditated attack on the left wing; and in this unsettled state the great captain continued till at length his bodily frame being com-

Various plans of attack contemplated.

[1] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xiii., with Arrian, lib. III., cap. xi.
[2] Herod., lib. VII., cap. xli.
[3] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xiii., with Arrian, lib. III., cap. xi.
[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. Quint. Curt.

pletely exhausted, he found relief from the all-absorbing anxieties of the mind, and a deep sleep was the consequence, which continued till long after daylight. On being awoke with some difficulty by Parmenio, Alexander briefly directed the commanders to take post and await his orders.[1] He speedily appeared in the unusual equipment of armour, displaying a cheerful countenance, from which the army confidently augured victory; and the palisade being overturned to give space, the troops were immediately formed, nominally in two wings with the cavalry in front, but actually in a grand hollow square, in order to resist the general attack intended to be simultaneously made on the front, flanks, and rear by the enemy's forces, which greatly outflanked the Macedonians. Preparations to resist an attack.

The latter were thus detailed: the right wing comprised the auxiliary horse called Agema, and was supported by the squadrons of Philotas and Meleagre, &c. To these succeeded the phalanx and the Argyraspides, strengthened by the corps of Cænus, the Orestæ, and Lyncestæ, who were followed by the foreign levies under Amyntas with the Phrygians, who completed this wing.[2] The formation of the left wing was nearly similar, having the Peloponnesian and other cavalry in front, the Thessalian horse, with the phalanx and infantry, in the rear. A moveable phalanx was ready to support any part of each wing, prepared to contract or dilate its front as occasion required; and auxiliary corps were placed ready for action towards the flanks and rear, both of which were as well protected as the front itself;[3] and in order to avoid the most formidable arm of the enemy, Alexander desired a passage to be opened for the chariots and the horses, with a view to the latter being speared as they passed.[4] Parmenio commanded the left wing, and as usual the king led the right, which was advancing, when Bion a deserter came at full speed to indicate the position of the caltrops: the cavalry avoided them in consequence, by taking an oblique direction. Order of battle.

[1] Compare Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. viii., with Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xiii.

[2] Diod. Sic. ibid.; Quint. Curt. ibid; Arrian, lib. III., cap. xi.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xiii.; Arrian, lib. III., cap. xii., xiii.

[4] Ibid. Arrian, and Quint. Curt.

The Persian attack commences successfully.

But Darius commenced the battle at this moment, by making a signal for his chariots to advance, and Bessus to charge Alexander's left flank simultaneously with the Massagetian cavalry. The former caused considerable loss and disorder as they broke through the first line of the Macedonians at full speed, and the danger was increased by Mazæus having got into the rear of the Macedonian left; at the head of 1,000 horse he reached the baggage, and not only released many of the captives, who were slightly guarded, but he was at the point of also rescuing the family of his master.[1]

Parmenio being alarmed, sent Polydamus for orders; when Alexander replied, that victory will not only recover what is lost, but obtain what belongs to the enemy also; "Let him not, therefore," said the king, "weaken the order of battle or be influenced by the loss of baggage, but continue to fight in a manner worthy of Philip and Alexander."

Amyntas, however, with some squadrons, made an attempt to rescue the baggage, and on being repulsed by the Cadusians and Scythians, he retreated towards the king, who was so uneasy lest the soldiers might quit their ranks to save their effects, that he despatched Aretas with his lancers to attack the latter.[2]

For some time the battle continues doubtful.

By this time the chariots had penetrated the phalanx, and the flanks of the horses being pierced right and left, they became unmanageable; a frightful carnage ensued of horses and men, and there was a general discomfiture; some carriages, however, penetrated to the rear, mangling and killing the unfortunate beings whom they happened to meet. In the meanwhile Aretas killed the chief of the Scythians whilst p &c.,ng, and pursued his people; but the Bactrians having recov to the e lost ground, the Macedonians sought safety by flying to to c Alexander.[3] Uttering the cry of victory, the Persians fell w ugi ury upon the enemy as if he had been everywhere de repres which, in fact, must have been the result, had not the intrepid leader maintained the contest almost single handed. Having at length by his animating example, reproaching and exciting alternately,

[1] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xiii., xv.

[2] Ibid., cap. xv.

[3] Ibid.

renewed the courage of his soldiers, and a successful charge being made at their head, it was followed up by an attack on the Persians; but being taken in reverse as he advanced by the left wing of the enemy, Alexander would have been destroyed, if the Agrian cavalry had not attacked the latter in rear, and obliged them to face about to defend themselves.[1]

This caused an extraordinary, if not an unprecedented state of things. Alexander was engaged at the same time with an enemy in his front and another in the rear. The latter were attacked by the Agrians, and these in turn by the Bactrians, who had returned with their pillage, and being unable to resume their ranks, fought according to chance in a desultory manner.

Alexander scarcely maintains his ground.

A succession of hostile bodies encircling one another in deadly strife, must ere long have been fatal to one of the armies, and owing to what was of itself an accidental circumstance this melée ended by the total overthrow of the Persians. Darius was in a chariot, Alexander on horseback, and each surrounded by followers ready either to conquer his rival, or fall under the eye of their prince, when the death of his charioteer, who was killed by a dart thrown by Alexander himself, gave rise to the belief in both armies, that Darius himself had fallen.[2]

State of the conflict later in the day.

Previously the battle had been stoutly and successfully contested. The baggage and spoil of Alexander's army had been plundered by Mazæus, his right wing was taken in reverse, his left was worsted by the Massagetian horse,[3] and even in the [illegible] of the battle, after their chief dependence, the chariots, had [illegible] overthrown, the Persians maintained their ground during [illegible] carnage, [illegible] ey thought they saw their sovereign fall.[3] From this [illegible] there was a complete panic, the centre and left flyi[illegible]st indescribable and irremediable confusion; an[illegible] hurried along in a cloud of dust, so dense, that it is sa[illegible] the whips urging the horses was the only guide by which Alexan[illegible]der pursued the fugitive monarch.[4]

Panic and flight of the Persians.

[1] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., c[illegible]p. xv.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., c[illegible]p. viii.; Arrian does not mention this circumstance.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap[illegible] xv.

[4] Ibid.

Total rout of the Persians.

historian, who appears to have been most familiar with the details of this momentous battle,[1] observes, that the calamities of a whole century seemed to be comprised within the short space of that fatal day. Some of the fugitives strove to save themselves at all risks by taking the shortest road, others directed their steps towards difficult defiles, or paths unknown to their pursuers. Horse and foot, armed and unarmed, the healthy, the sick, and the wounded, without order, and without a chief, hastened onward in a frightful state of confusion, which was increased if possible by efforts to find the means of alleviating their thirst. Regardless of all other considerations, they drank to such excess on reaching the river Lycus, that they were unable to continue their flight, and the bridge which, in consideration of the fugitives rather than himself, Darius had purposely left, being soon overcrowded and choked, numbers were driven into the stream.[2] Alexander, however, did not continue the pursuit, alleging that his troops were exhausted, their weapons blunted, and that the day had closed; but, in reality, he halted with vexation and rage because he was aware that the retrograde movement, which he was about to make to relieve Parmenio from his critical situation, must permit the enemy to escape. But he had not proceeded far, when he met the Persian and Parthian cavalry in full retreat. The intelligence of the fall of Darius had caused Mazæus to relax in his efforts, and ultimately to retreat, taking a circuitous route with the remainder of Darius' forces to Babylon.[3] No longer obstructed, Parmenio made an onward movement with the left wing, seizing the enemy's tents as he proceeded, he subsequ[illegible] captured their baggage, camels, elephants, [illegible] and conti[illegible] to advance, till Alexander himself returned [illegible] Lycus; and after a short rest resumed the pursuit, hoping [illegible]lete the wonderful success of the day, by capturing the f[illegible]

Pursuit of the fugitives by Alexander.

Niebuhr[5] supposed Guagamela to b[illegible] by the village of Karmelis, which is situated [illegible]n the Khazir stream,

[1] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xvi.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xvi., with Arrian, lib. III., cap. xv.
[4] Arrian, ibid.
[5] Travels, vol. II., p. 342, Copenhagen edition.

about sixteen miles eastward of Mósul, but it does not appear that there is any local tradition regarding this most important battle ground mentioned in Asiatic history, excepting Beït Germá, or house of bones, which possibly may be connected therewith;[1] and the circumstance that Arbela was built by Darius.[2] In all likelihood the battle took place between 'Aïn-el-Bertha (Mons Nicator) and the great Záb, probably on that part of the plain which is watered by the Khazír-sú or Bumadus.[3] Probable site of the battle.

Beyond a hollow square to protect the flanks and rear, there was nothing remarkable in the order of the battle of Arbela, which was only a fierce protracted melée, and Alexander, who was most indebted to his personal bravery, and the steady discipline of his troops, particularly in sustaining the shock of the chariots, at length gained the victory.

By one account[4] the loss of the Persians during this fearful struggle for the empire, was 40,000 men, and by another, more than double this number;[5] but even the former seems to be an over estimate, and out of all proportion to the 100 Macedonians stated to have fallen on the other side.[6] The flight of Darius naturally continued till he reached the baggage and reserve of his army at Arbela, where he assembled several of his principal officers, some of whom had likewise arrived from the battle. Expressing his belief that Alexander would endeavour to seize the two capitals, Darius announced his intention of proceeding to Ecbatana to raise another army, hoping to have his revenge after Alexander's warriors were absorbed in the enervating luxuries of Babylon and Susa;[7] adding expressively, that in difficult circumstances, things that are necessary, not those which are great, must be first thought of; and that his predecessors had been enabled to recover previous losses by the use of iron rather than gold.[8] Having abandoned the idea of defending Mesopotamia and Susiana, Darius, accompanied by the Loss of the Persians. Darius proceeds to Ecbatana.

[1] Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia, by W. F. Ainsworth, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., vol. II., pp. 135, 136.
[2] Rich's Kurdistán, vol. II., p. 18.
[3] Ainsworth's Travels, &c., vol. ii., pp. 135, 136.
[4] Quint. Curt., lib. IV., cap. xvi.
[5] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. viii.
[6] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xv.
[7] Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. i.
[8] Ibid.

Alexander arrives at Arbela.

Bactrians, some Persians, his kindred, a few Melophori, and about 2,000 foreign mercenaries,[1] proceeded to the Atropatenian Ecbatana, probably by Rowándiz, from whence traversing the Zagros at the pass of the Keli-shín, he finally arrived at the Median Ecbatana.[2] Alexander reached Arbela too late to get possession of Darius, but the royal furniture and rich stuffs, together with 4,000 talents, fell into his hands.[3]

As Darius had foreseen, the route of Babylon was taken, and in four days Alexander reached the city of Memnis, evidently Kerkúk, from the distance, as well as from the particulars given of a fountain in a cavern, with such an abundance of bitumen that it supplied cement for a great part of the walls of the capital.[4]

Alexander continues his march to Babylon

On approaching the Queen of the East, Mazæus came with his family to offer the city and his services, to which the conqueror was entitled agreeably to eastern custom; and thus a very formidable siege became unnecessary. The inhabitants perfumed the streets with incense and spices, and the Magi, the Chaldeans, the soothsayers, and the musicians having attended the triumphal march of Alexander, he sacrificed to Belus, and gave directions for the restoration of the celebrated temple devoted to this deity.[5]

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xvi.

[2] Major Rawlinson, Vol. X., Roy. Geog. Journ., pp. 21, 149.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. i., but Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., p. 538, says 3,000 silver talents.

[4] Quint. Curt., ibid.

[5] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xvi.

CHAPTER X.

CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER IN SOUTHERN, NORTHERN, AND EASTERN PERSIA, ALSO IN BACTRIANA, SOGDIANA, AND EASTWARD OF THE RIVER INDUS.

March to Susa, the Persian Gates, and Persepolis.—Advance to Ecbatana.—Treasure found in those Cities.—Advance to the Caspian Gates.—Pursuit and Death of Darius.—Invasion of Hyrcania.—Campaigns in Khorásán and Drangiana.—Alexandria ad Caucasum built.—Invasion of Bactria.—Passage of the Oxus.—March to Maracanda and the Jaxartes.—Siege of Cyropolis.—Activity of Spitamenes.—Warlike People north of the Paropamisus.—Capture of the Fort of Oxyartes.—Alexander's Marriage to Roxana.—Expedition into Margiana.—Hill Fort of the Parætacæ taken.—Winter at Zariaspa, and Death of Clitus.—Return across the Paropamisus, and March to the Indus.—Siege of Aornas.—Visit to Nysa.—Alexander passes the Indus and defeats Porus.—Sakala taken.—The Army refuses to cross the River Hyphasis.

To the wealth of Babylon the army had looked forward as the reward of their past labours and dangers, as well as of those to be encountered in overcoming the vast preparations which had been made to defend the seat of empire.[1] But the leading object of the growing ambition of Alexander had now been obtained without resistance; for the mighty struggle in approaching Arbela not only had placed the Queen of the East at the feet of the conqueror, but also had paralysed everything like an organized defence of the neighbouring territory; and the second city of the empire, with its strong castle and prodigious wealth, awaited the conqueror.

Alexander regulates the government of Babylon.

The unprotected treasures of Susa being the next object, Alexander hastened to complete his arrangements for the government of Babylonia, which with Susiana became the base of still greater and more distant operations.

The satrapy of Armenia was bestowed upon Methrines, that

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. vi., p. 518.

of Babylon was continued to Mazæus:[1] Apollodorus raised numerous recruits in Asia; and others having arrived from Macedonia,[2] Alexander, after halting thirty-four days and distributing ample rewards, proceeded towards Susa, the more central capital, and the winter residence of the Court.[3]

He marches towards Susa.

As Alexander approached, the son of Abulites came to offer to surrender the city, and on reaching the Choaspes, now the Kerah or Kerkhah, the offer was repeated by the satrap in person; whose respect was further manifested by having a procession of elephants and swift dromedaries, bearing presents of regal magnificence.[4] Besides which the conqueror found in the royal treasury of Susa 50,000[5] unwrought ingots, or about 9,365,000*l.*, which had been collected by different sovereigns for their children and descendants; but had now passed to a stranger as the result of a single battle.

He is received with regal honours.

Whilst in this city, reinforcements joined from the Asian Greek cities,[6] which enabled Alexander to complete his preparations for another campaign. Having restored the satrapy of Susiana to Abulites, and entrusted the government of Susa itself, with the care of the royal captives, to Archelaus, he resumed his march towards Persis. Making, as has been presumed, a detour[7] to avoid the river Coprates, or river of Dizfúl, on the fourth day the army crossed the Pasitigris, probably above Ahwáz,[8] and invaded the territory of the Uxii. The people of the plains

Preparations for another campaign.

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xvi.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xii.; Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. ii.

[3] A direct line in an E.S.E. direction, through Lower Mesopotamia, would touch the river Tigris about the commencement of the Shaṭṭ-el-Ḥáï at Kút-el-'Amárah, which is 70 miles from Babylon; and 55 miles farther is the ancient crossing place of that river, called El Kantarah, which is a little below Imám Gharbí. The remaining distance to Sús is about 100 miles, or nearly 230 miles in all, over a level country; and the march occupied 20 days, according to Arrian (lib. III., cap. xvi.), including the passage of the Ḥáï Canal and the rivers Tigris and Choaspes.

[4] Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. ii.

[5] Forty thousand only, according to Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xiv.

[6] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xvi.

[7] See above, vol. I., p. 205.

[8] Following a part of the river Shápúr, the distance would be from 42 to 45 miles.

submitted, but a considerable body of mountaineers under Madates opposed him, and the pass which they occupied was too strong to be carried by a direct attack.[1] Alexander having, however, ascertained that the fortress might be taken in reverse, detached 1,500 light troops and 1,000 Agrians under Tauron[2] at sunset; and moving himself north-eastward at the third watch to give time, he passed the straits by daybreak,[3] being provided with materials to make screens to protect his men during the delicate operation of placing the towers against the walls.

Plan of attack.

The flinty and precipitous nature of the ground, however, caused a serious loss notwithstanding; and perceiving some hesitation among his men, Alexander asked the soldiers if they were not ashamed to make difficulties before such a paltry place, after having taken so many splendid cities. A tortoise was now formed with their bucklers as a protection, just as the corps under Tauron appeared above the citadel, and the enemy being thus closely pressed on both sides, the town presently surrendered. Some of the inhabitants fled, and others retired into the citadel, which afterwards surrendered, under favourable terms, obtained at the earnest intercession of Sisygambis.

Rock fortress taken.

Some ruins near the caves of Shikoftehí-Suleïmán, on the plain of Mál-Amír, appear to be those of the Uxian city; and the narrow pass, connecting the plains of Halegún and Mál-Amír, answers to the straits passed by Alexander before daylight.[4]

The rest of the Uxian territory being added to the satrapy of Susiana, Alexander despatched the main body under Parmenio along the plain, and leading the light troops by the mountain road on the left flank, he joined them, on the fifth day, near the Susiad rocks[5] which separate Susiana from Persis or Fárs. The difficult defile at the foot of Kal'eh Sefíd, about

Alexander continues to advance.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xv.

[2] Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. iii; but Arrian, lib. III., cap. xvii., calls the commander Craterus.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. iii.

[4] Baron de Bode's Notice in Royal Geographical Journal, vol. XIII., pp. 108–112.

[5] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xv., p. 541; Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. iv.

four miles eastward of Faïlioun, no doubt represents the Uxian narrow, and the Persian Gates, whose great natural strength had been increased by art; and moreover they were occupied by a strong force under the Satrap Ariobarzanes.[1]

He experiences a check from the Uxii.

A determined attack was made on these defences next morning; but as the assailants were exposed to bowmen, darters, and machines, placed on the heights commanding each side of this narrow defile, and being at the same time vigorously opposed in front, Alexander was at length forced to retire. Success, however, was only delayed; for, on learning that some difficult paths led through the mountains, one of those plans of attack was speedily formed which so often lead to successful results.[2]

Taking the most laborious and difficult part of the enterprise, Alexander proceeded that very night at the head of a chosen body of light troops, and having, by extraordinary rapidity in passing over the most difficult ground, surprised three outposts in succession, he finally succeeded in getting round to the rear of the Persian camp about daybreak; and on the trumpets announcing this success to the rest of the army, Craterus, as had been concerted, simultaneously attacked the opposite extremity of the pass. The enemy being now completely surprised by Alexander's manœuvre, effectual resistance was in vain; some fled from Alexander to Craterus, whilst others

Capture of the Persian Gates.

attempted to escape from Craterus towards Alexander, and in this helpless situation a large proportion of the defenders were cut to pieces; but Ariobarzanes, with great intrepidity, made his way towards Persepolis at the head of a few horse.[3] Fresh exertions being necessary in consequence, Alexander continued the march without giving his troops a moment's repose, and finding that Philotas, who with admirable forethought, and knowledge of the country, had been previously detached for this purpose, had already prepared a flying bridge, the Araxes,

[1] Forty thousand foot and 700 horse, Arrian, lib. III., cap. xviii.; but only 25,000 foot and 300 horse, according to Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xv., p. 541.

[2] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xviii.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xv.; and Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. iv.

[3] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. iv., with Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xv., p. 542, and Arrian, lib. III., cap. xviii.

now the Band-emír, was crossed; and, hurrying onward with the cavalry, Alexander reached Persepolis in time to anticipate the plunder of the royal treasury, which he privately knew from Tiridates, the governor, was intended by the Persians. March to Persepolis.

The city was devastated in the most remorseless manner, with the exception of the palace and citadel. The former was occupied by Alexander himself, and in the latter he found the prodigious amount of 120,000 talents,[1] near 27,120,000*l.* sterling.

The scarped rock immediately behind the grand plateau is evidently the remains of the acropolis,[2] and the position of its sepulchral excavations, at some distance above the ground, without a regular entrance, agrees with that of the tombs of the kings in the royal mountain, in which the bodies were placed, probably by machines, and in which there were excavations suited for the treasure.[3] The ruins on the adjoining plain seem to have been those of Pasargada, but probably the second city of this name. From the other Pasargada, which was founded by Cyrus, and now surrendered by Gobares with 6,000 talents,[4] being separately mentioned, it may be inferred that it was at some distance from the existing capital, and therefore, possibly, it coincides with the Persagadis (*Qu.* Farsá-Gerd?) and the tomb of Cyrus, now the Mesjíd-í-Madreh Suleïmán on the plains of Murgh-áb,[5] about twenty-three miles north-eastward of Persepolis, which was opened by Alexander, on his return from India.[6] Ruins of Pasargada.

That knowledge of the countries to be passed, for which Alexander was so remarkable, induced him to halt four months Halt at Persepolis; subjection of the Cossœi, &c.

[1] Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. v.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xviii.; Justin, lib. XI., cap. xiv.

[2] Rex Arcem Persepolis, Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. vi.

[3] See above, vol. I., pp. 73, 210, and Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xvi.

[4] Cyrus Persagadum urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro præfectus ejus Gobares tradidit.—Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. vi.

[5] Since the above was written, the inscription, which is five times repeated on the pilasters at Murgh-áb, viz., Adäm Qurus' k'hs'ayä-piyä Häkhámäni'siyä, has been translated, Ego Cyrus, rex Achæmenius.—Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen, 1844, p. 422.

[6] Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. i.

at Persepolis, in order to escape the severity of a Persian winter. During the earlier part of this inclement season he subjected the Cossœi, Mardi, &c.; but want of active occupation subsequently led to the most unpardonable scenes of revelry and excess, during one of which, at the instigation of Thais, an Athenian courtesan, and whilst in a state of ebriety, he threw the first torch into the splendid palace of Xerxes and his father Darius.[1]

Darius prepares for war.

It appears that, on reaching Ecbatana, Darius commenced preparations for another struggle in Media, Parthia, Bactria, &c., and on the side of Greece also, where the timely employment of 300 talents had induced the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to make war upon the Macedonians, &c.; but as Alexander had succeeded in the main object of providing for the continuation of the war by securing the treasures of Darius,[2] the mass of which was safely deposited in the citadel of Susa, he was not disposed to give his enemy more time to mature his plans. Therefore, leaving the heavy baggage to follow, he commenced his march towards Media before the winter had quite terminated.

On the twelfth day he learnt that the confederate republics had been successful, and that the intelligence of the defeat of the Lacedæmonians had deterred the Cadusians and Scythians from sending assistance; and Darius being in consequence unable to keep the field had quitted Ecbatana, taking with him 3,000 horse, 6,000 foot, and 7,000 talents; and three days later Alexander occupied the summer palace of the luxurious monarchs of Persia. During this halt Alexander's army was reinforced by 5,000 foot and 1,000 Greek horse, with a much larger barbarian force, which the Greeks also raised.

Reinforcements join Alexander at Ecbatana.

Being thus strengthened, and having ample funds, Alexander

[1] The háchís, or grand hall of reception, appears to have been commenced by the latter and finished by the former monarch.—Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. i.; Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord. Copenhagen, 1844, pp. 353, 361, 363, 364.

[2] These, including the remains of the spoils of Lydia, which Cyrus conveyed to Ecbatana, amounted to 445,000 talents, or nearly 90,570,000*l.* sterling (Hales' Analysis of Chronology, &c., vol. I., p. 215); for, as foretold, Dan., chap. XI., v. 2, the fourth king was to be richer than they all: "by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."

was in a condition to realize the hopes given in the outset to his followers; and in so doing he well knew how to increase his influence as a general, and at the same time augment his power as a sovereign. Accordingly he declared that the civic Grecian troops were released from the obligation of further service; giving, as a recompense for their bravery and good conduct, a donation of about 400,000*l.* sterling; but he added it was open to all to continue to share his glory and fortune. These, as might be expected, after such unexampled successes and liberality, were very numerous; the others proceeded to Phœnicia to embark for Eubœa.

The civic Greeks sent home.

With a view to active operations, Harpalus, with the remains of the treasure and 6,000 Macedonian foot, was left at Ecbatana, and Parmenio being directed to lead the mercenary troops through the territory of the Cadusians into Hyrcania, Alexander resumed the pursuit of Darius. Speed being of more consequence than numbers, a select body, consisting of the royal companions, some Agrians, a few bowmen, and mercenary horse, advanced from Ecbatana, probably by the line of the present capital of Teherán, to Rhagæ; accomplishing the distance of about 250 miles with such speed, that many of the infantry who could not support the fatigue were left behind, and numbers of horses died from fatigue.

Pursuit of Darius.

Finding that Darius had abandoned the Caspian Gates (one day's march eastward), Alexander halted to collect his troops, and was joined by some of the army of Darius.

On the sixth day, Alexander marched to the Caspian Gates, where he learnt from Bagistanes, a Babylonian, and other fugitives, that Darius had been the victim of a conspiracy, and was now conducted as a prisoner by the usurper Bessus, and his coadjutors the satraps of Arachosia and Aria.[1] Commiserating, probably for the first time, the unhappy situation of the king, Alexander was soon in pursuit, at the head of some of his light troops, provided with two days' provisions, and followed by the main body with the heavy armed, &c., under Craterus. Long and very rapid marches are amongst the most remarkable circumstances connected with the campaigns of this

Darius carried away captive by his officers.

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxi.

prince of warriors, and none were more extraordinary than the present. It appears to have been continued without interruption during the afternoon and succeeding night; and, after a short repose the following noon, it was continued throughout the next night, when at daybreak Alexander reached the place where Bagistanes had left the satraps. Here he learnt that Bessus was not far in advance, conducting the royal captive in a covered chariot. Although the troops were almost exhausted they made fresh exertions, and about the following noon reached a village which the satraps had only quitted the preceding evening. Another effort, therefore, might crown Alexander's wishes, and on this he determined. In order to secure the services of part of the phalanx, 500 of this body were mounted on cavalry horses, with whom, and the rest of the horse, Alexander hastened onward without allowing any repose. Leaving the dismounted men with the remainder of his troops to follow by the ordinary road, he took a direct line across the desert, and next morning, at daylight, after having marched about 175 miles in rather less than four days, he discovered the enemy escaping in a disorderly manner.[1]

Alexander pursues the conspirators.

Finding that Alexander gained upon them, notwithstanding their efforts to hurry on the chariot, Satibarzanes and Barzæntes fled in company with Bessus, after grievously wounding their prisoner; and before Alexander reached the spot, the unfortunate king had already expired by the road-side, probably somewhere in the plain country near Dhamahan.

Death and character of Darius.

Whether the prodigious efforts made by Alexander were to complete the fall of Darius or display a tardy generosity cannot now be known, but his remains, after being embalmed by order of Alexander, and under the superintendence of the queen-mother, were deposited in the usual place of sepulture of the royal family, with all the pomp and ceremony belonging to the sovereign of Persia.[2] The eventful career of Darius terminated in the fifth year of his reign and the fiftieth of his age. His talents and disposition were admirably suited to adorn private life, and under other circumstances he probably

[1] Compare Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxi., with Quint. Curt., lib. V., cap. xiii.
[2] Quint. Curt., ibid.

would have been equally distinguished as the head of a great empire: even Arrian, who was not very favourable to him, says that he never attempted any invasion upon the rights of his subjects.[1]

Soon after the murder of Darius, Alexander proceeded to the ancient capital of Parthia, Hecatompylos, which appears to have been at no great distance; where, having concentrated his scattered troops, he marched to the borders of Parthia,[2] and after a little time descended from the elevated plateau to invade Hyrcania, now the low marshy tract of Mázanderán. In order to subdue several mountain tribes at the same time, Alexander marched in three divisions: Erigyius led the main force along the royal road towards Zadracarta, the modern Saree;[3] another under Craterus, with the carriages and heavy baggage, made a circuit to the west through the territories of the Tapuri (Taberistán); the third, under the king, crossed by the shortest and most difficult path,[4] and being reunited in the plains of Hyrcania, the whole marched to Zadracarta, where the satrap of Tapuria, and other chiefs, came to transfer their allegiance from Darius to Alexander.

Alexander subdues the Tapuri.

Perhaps no prince better understood the consolidation of his conquests than Alexander; he rewarded the fidelity of the aged Artabazus and his sons to Darius, by places of honour about his own person; the satrapy of the Tapuri was continued to Autophradates, with the addition of the adjoining territory of the Mardians. The rough and mountainous country of this people was now invaded and subjected for the first time, chiefly by means of a troop of darters, raised and organized after the matchless equestrian warriors of Parthia.[5]

Alexander's generosity to the followers of Darius.

Public games, and Alexander's growing inclination to give way to the luxuries of Zadracarta, were interrupted by intelligence from Bactria, that Bessus had formally claimed the sovereignty of Asia, assuming the title of Artaxerxes.

[1] Lib.. III., cap. xxii.

[2] Quint. Curt., lib. VI., cap. iv.

[3] From the position of the Tapuri, and the other routes taken, the junction of the three corps would have been in this neighbourhood.

[4] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxiii.

[5] Compare Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxiii., xxiv., with Quint. Curt., lib. VI., cap. iv., v., and Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xix., xx.

Being resolved to prevent the murderer of Darius from obtaining his throne, Alexander immediately marched by the shorter route along the southern slopes of the Elburz chain, passed the confines of Parthia, and reached Susia,[1] a city of Aria, about 550[2] miles from Zadracarta. Although one of the murderers of Darius, Satibarzanes was pardoned on his submission; and Alexander having sent him back with distinction to the seat of his government,[3] hastened his march towards Bactria, in order to anticipate the auxiliaries expected from Scythia.

Flank march to Artacoana.

Shortly afterwards, Alexander having learnt that the Macedonian guard of honour had been put to death, and that Satibarzanes was raising troops to support the pretensions of Bessus, his former accomplice, made a retrogade, or rather a flank movement; and taking with him a light division, he marched seventy-five miles[4] in two days to Artacoana, but the satrap had already fled from his capital, having been deserted by most of his followers. The position of this city, afterwards Alexandria, which was near, or at Herat in Aria, opened another and more convenient route into Bactriana, but the hostile disposition manifested elsewhere, obliged Alexander to remain on the southern side of the Paropamisus; and he marched against Barzæntes, the satrap of Drangiana. Like his coadjutor Satibarzanes, he fled towards the borders of India; but being arrested and sent back, Alexander caused him to be executed for the murder of his sovereign.[5]

Execution of Barzæntes.

The route taken towards the Drangæ, or more properly Zarangæi, meaning the inhabitants of the country round the lake of that name, was nearly southwards to Furrah, probably representing Phra, and it is a distance of 199 miles[6] to Prophthasia,[7] now supposed to be Peshawarun, which is situated on

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxv.

[2] By the longer route, or the northern side of the Elburz chain, it is about 665 miles from Saree to Fyzabad, near the presumed site of Susia.

[3] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxv.

[4] Six hundred stadia.—Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xvii.

[7] Vol. I., p. 168.

the northern side of lake Zerrah.[1] The halt at this place became memorable in consequence of the execution of Philotas,[2] who was prosecuted by the king himself; and sentence being passed by a jury of Macedonians, he was executed on the spot. The acquittal of Amyntas on this occasion favours the belief that the guilt of Alexander's most intimate and favoured friend was established: it is not so clear that Parmenio, who was arraigned in his absence, and afterwards executed, deserved his tragical fate.

Death of Parmenio.

After some delay, and with embittered feelings, Alexander followed the lower part of the Etymander or Hélmand river, and he reached the district of the Ariaspæ (breeders of horses),[3] a quiet agricultural people of limited number; on whom, in return for supplies opportunely furnished to his army, Cyrus had bestowed the honourable appellation of Evergetæ, bountiful or benefactors.[4]

The Ariaspæ or Evergetæ.

Being pleased with a state of civilization, which this people had preserved, owing to their isolated and almost insular situation, which was formed by the lake Zerrah and two rivers, Alexander declared them free, offering them an increase of territory, of which however they only availed themselves to a limited extent.[5]

Resuming his march he received the submission of the Gedrosi and the Arachosi. The capital of the latter territory[6] is supposed to have been in the Ghilziyeh country, not far to the south-eastward of Ḳandahár, or Alexandropolis, and at a place now named U'lán Robát,[7] or Shahri-Zohák.[8] The distance

Submission of the Gedrosi and Arachosi.

[1] Ariana Antiqua, by H. H. Wilson, M.A. F.R.S. p. 154.

[2] Compare Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxvi., Quint. Curt., lib. VI., cap. vii., viii., with Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xxiv.

[3] Supposed to be derived from the Indian word 'Aryáswa.—Ariana Antiqua, by H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., London, 1841.

[4] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxvii.; Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. iii.; and Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xxiv.

[5] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxvii.

[6] Arachosiorum Oppidum.—Plin., lib. VI., cap. xvii.

[7] Not Deh Zangee, the Huzarah capital, as stated, by mistake, p. 169, vol. I.

[8] Major Rawlinson's Letter from Kandahár, vol. XII., pp. 112, 113, of Royal Geographical Journal.

thither from Peshawarun, in a direct line, approaches 300 miles; but including the circuit made to the territory of the Gedrosians, it probably would be about 460 miles, which would coincide with the 4,600 stadia given by Eratosthenes,[1] and approaches the 515 Roman miles of Pliny.[2]

Comparative distances.

The adjacent territory of the Indi who had sent back Barzæntes, next engaged the attention of Alexander, notwithstanding the mountainous nature of the country and the deep snows of this tract, which corresponds with the rugged district around Ghízní or Ghazneïn.[3] Intelligence having been brought of the irruption of Satibarzanes at the head of some Bactrian cavalry, and, at the same time, of another revolt of the Arians, for once an important service was entrusted to others, namely, two Persians and two Macedonians, who, being despatched with an adequate force, succeeded, after a well-contested battle, in which Satibarzanes was killed, in dispersing the Arians; and the great barrier of the Paropamisus was now almost the only protection left to Bessus.

Death of Satibarzanes.

The grand object of Alexander being thus accomplished, of securing his rear by subjecting the tribes southward of the great chain, he prepared, notwithstanding the physical difficulties of the country, to pursue Bessus with nearly the whole of his forces, which had just been augmented by the troops lately commanded by Parmenio; as well as reinforcements from Greece, and 30,000 eastern youths, who were to be trained to arms in the Macedonian manner.[4]

Pursuit of Bessus.

The army marched 2,000 stadia[5] to Karura, or Kabura, the Ortospana of Strabo,[6] and onward from thence till they halted at the root of the vast chain, here called the Paropamisus,[7] but westward bearing, as has been seen, at different places, the names of the Elburz, the Masula, and the Taurus. It may be

The great chain of the Paropamisus.

[1] P. 175, Ariana Antiqua, by H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., London, 1841.

[2] Lib. VI., cap. xvii.

[3] Ariana Antiqua, p. 178, and above, vol. I., p. 169.

[4] Plut. in vita Alex.

[5] Stated to be 250 Roman miles.—Plin., lib. VI., cap. xvii.

[6] Lib. XI., p. 514, and vol. XII., p. 113, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[7] Vol. I., pp. 161, 172.

followed for a distance of 1,950 geographical miles, namely, from the shores of the Propontis, through lesser and greater Asia; till, under the names of the Hindú Kush and Himálaya,[1] it forms the water-shed between India and Chinese Tartary. Bearing the name of the Yun Ling mountains, it runs north-eastward through China Proper, and finally, as the Kinghan or Sioïki chain, it traverses Mongolia in the same direction, till it unites with the stupendous Altai, in about fifty degrees north latitude, and before the latter terminates on the shores of the Northern Pacific.

Alexander's previous knowledge of the East.

As the inquiring mind of the great conqueror is not likely to have neglected the sources of information at his command, there is every reason to conclude that Alexander was not only aware of the vast length of the great chain at which he had now arrived, but that he had also a general knowledge of the extensive regions by which it is traversed. Whilst in Phœnicia, Alexander had a full opportunity of ascertaining particulars regarding the Indian trade. Indeed, his letter sent with a present of frankincense and myrrh to his former tutor, of itself establishes this fact;[2] while the construction of the Syrian, and afterwards of the Egyptian Alexandria, may be taken as a further proof how much his attention had long been turned to this subject. Thus the products of the East afforded the means of carrying out, or rather of renewing the lucrative trade of the Phœnicians, which, as has been seen,[3] extended to the most distant parts of the world.

Caravan routes through Persia, &c.

The plains northward of the great Asiatic chain were traversed by the two eastern caravan routes; both, as will be more fully described in the XVIIIth Chapter, converging upon Bálkh, from whence another double line conveyed the goods westward. Part rounded the Caspian, and the remainder traversed Persia, towards the Mediterranean Sea. The latter line was more particularly connected with Phœnicia, to which territory the sea-trade between China and the Persian Gulf

[1] Vol. I., pp. 72, 73, 74, and 284 to 294.
[2] See above, p. 282.
[3] Ibid., p. 128, et seq.

was also directed. This, as has been seen, passed through Arabia.[1]

The earlier intercourse between Europe and the East was not, however, by any means, confined to the passage of merchants and their followers from one region to another. Philosophy and letters were, from the remotest times, diligently cultivated in Egypt and the East; and between the eighth and third centuries before Christ, learned men, Pittacus, Thales, Herodotus, and others from the West, frequently sought instruction on the banks of the Nile, as well as in the more distant region of I'rán. From the writings of Herodotus, the voyage of Scylax must have been well known to Alexander.

Thales and others seek instruction in the East.

The central situation of I'rán connected that region on the one hand with India and China, and with the western countries on the other. At a very remote period, woven silk, furs, and the best kind of iron, reached the latter by the route of Persia.[2] A political connection also existed between the Persians and Indians, and a portion of the territory of the latter people was subjected by Cyrus.[3] The use of maps and plans of seas and harbours in their wars against the Greeks, and particularly a map on copper,[4] attest the knowledge of geography which had been attained by this people. The writings of Ctesias therefore, and still more the archives of his adopted country, must have opened a wide field to the inquiring mind of the youthful monarch. With such materials at command, the intervals of repose between his brilliant campaigns were not likely to be spent in idleness; indeed, the successive movements demonstrate, in every instance, that Alexander and his engineers were already prepared for every contingency. The barriers which had been raised by the peculiarities and exclusiveness of an eastern government, were now succeeded by a complete amalgamation of races, and from this period dates the fusion of the eastern with the western countries. Persia, hitherto the greatest kingdom of the world, was now at the feet of the

Early use of maps.

Amalmagation of eastern and western nations.

[1] Vol. I., p. 124.
[2] Plin., lib. XXXIV., cap. xiv.
[3] Xen. Cyropæd., lib. VIII., p. 510.
[4] See above, lib. V., cap. xlix.

conqueror, and furnished, not only the means of extending his conquests, but at the same time the knowledge how they could best be carried out.

The formidable barrier at which Alexander had now arrived being as yet impracticable for an army, the troops, in order to avoid the dangers of inaction and idleness, were employed in building Alexandria ad Caucasum, which is stated to be fifty Roman miles from Ortospana; but as it is at the same time added that accounts vary,[1] it may be inferred that the site in question was at or near Beghram, the Beïhrám of the East.[2] Alexandria ad Caucasum built.

Before the snow was off the ground, Alexander entered the mountains by the pass of Koushan, which is a little way north-west of that place, and understood to be practicable most of the year. After fifteen days of great suffering from cold, hunger, and fatigue, the army reached the plains and more congenial climate of Bactria, without opposition; for Bessus, being unable or unwilling to meet the invaders, had retired into Sogdiana, and was followed by some of his allies under Spitamenes, who burnt their boats after crossing the Oxus. The Bactrians being dispersed, the campaign terminated with the capture of Aorni and Bactra, the two principal cities of the province, and here Alexander permitted those soldiers who were wounded or otherwise disqualified to return to Europe; he then resumed the pursuit of the fugitive Bessus. The great and rapid river Oxus was crossed by means of tent skins, stuffed with light materials, and made impermeable to water; on which, partly as rafts and partly as separate floats, the whole army, not being opposed, was transported across in the short space of five days.[3] Alexander passes the Oxus.

This bold manœuvre decided the campaign, the daring manner of effecting the passage producing a greater impression than the most brilliant victory; for Spitamenes the satrap of Sogdiana, and Dataphernes the satrap of the Daæ,[4] offered to deliver Bessus, now their prisoner, to one of Alexander's

[1] Plin., lib. VI., cap. xvii.

[2] Vol. I., p. 172, and vol. XII., p. 113, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[3] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxix; or six days, according to Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. v.

[4] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxix.

officers; and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, being despatched at the head of the taxis of Philotas (100 men according to Xenophon), and a select force, made a distance equal to ten ordinary marches in four days, and returned with the captive. On being brought into his presence, naked, and led by a halter, Alexander subjected him to the further ignominy of being scourged, and then conducted to Bactra,[1] or Zariaspa, to await his doom. Alexander halted at Maracanda, the capital of Sogdiana, now Samarḳand, to replace the horses lost in crossing the Caucasus, as well as to receive supplies from the rich valley of Al Sogd, and the rest of the province; since designated the Múḥammedan paradise of Má-werá-l-nahr.[2]

Bessus is captured and treated with ignominy.

All this territory, the ancient Transoxiana, had acknowledged the authority of the conqueror; but in marching onward, and as he approached the northern frontier, hostilities were renewed. In the vicinity of this river, mistaken for the Tanais, and variously called the Araxes of Cyrus, the Orxantes,[3] Jaxartes, and Silys,[4] some of the Macedonian horse, when foraging at a distance, were surprised and slain by some of the barbarians, about 20,000 of whom returned to their mountainous country; which in the absence of precise details, may be presumed to be southward of the Jaxartes, and towards the border of the Fergánah district. Alexander lost no time in pursuing them thither, where he was bravely opposed by slings and arrows; when, after several determined attacks and severe losses, besides receiving a dangerous wound, he succeeded in dislodging and dispersing the enemy.[5]

Alexander wounded and carried in a litter.

Having been shot through the leg, and the lesser bone broken by an arrow, the necessary repose required for the limb, compelled the active-minded prince to endure the slow motion of a litter; and a warm contest was settled by deciding that the infantry and cavalry should alternately have the honour of carrying their general.

[1] Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxx.

[2] Ibn Ḥauḳal; Ouseley's translation, p. 233, ed. 1800.

[3] Plin., lib. VI., cap. xvi.

[4] Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. vi., places the capital, Maracanda, beyond the Orxantes, or Jaxartes.

[5] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. v., with Arrian, lib. III., cap. xxx.

An embassy arrived at this period from the Scythians of Europe, and another from those of Asia, namely, the Abii, who are distinguished as being the most just nation upon earth.[1] Both were favourably received, without however entering into any kind of treaty; but with a view to the consolidation of his conquests southward of the river Jaxartes, Alexander summoned the Sogdian chiefs to meet and deliberate on this matter.[2]

Embassy sent by the Scythians to Alexander.

But instead of conciliating, this step only excited the jealousy of his new subjects; and Alexander's intention of constructing a city on the Jaxartes being viewed with suspicion, gave the partisans of Bessus, the Sogdians, together with many of the Bactrians, and all the Scythians within the river in question, an opportunity of engaging in a fresh revolt. The Scythians took the initiative by putting to death the Macedonian troops who were stationed within their territory; and the whole withdrew to certain strong places southward, probably in the district of Fergánah. Six of these were built of that particular material called tapia, a kind of conglomerate;[3] but the seventh, Cyropolis, now Khojend, had stone walls and a citadel, with a garrison proportionate to its great importance.

Revolt of the Sogdians, Scythians, &c.

Perceiving how the mistake of the enemy in abandoning a desultory warfare might be turned to good account, Alexander sent Craterus to establish a complete blockade by lines of contravallation at Cyropolis.[4] Beginning with Gaza,[5] whose garrison was put to the sword, four other towns were successively taken, and the siege of Cyropolis was then carried on with great vigour. During the tedious operation of preparing the battering and other machines, Alexander, availing himself of an unexpected opportunity, led a small party one by one into the town, along the narrow bed of a mountain torrent which had been neglected. The party entering in this manner, opened the nearest gate, which admitted a sufficient force to

Blockade of Cyropolis.

[1] Iliad, lib. XIII., v. 6; and Arrian, lib. IV., cap. i.
[2] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. i.
[3] See above, vol. I., p. 667.
[4] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. ii.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xxx.
[5] Probably Ghaz, at the western extremity of Fergánah.

Capture of the town and citadel.

carry the town. It was taken after a fierce struggle, the garrison consisting of 18,000 men; 8,000 of these were killed, and the rest retired to the citadel, which, for want of water, surrendered within two days.[1] The fall of this city completed the conquest of the country; but unfortunately the brilliancy of Alexander's exploits was stained by his cruelty in razing most of the towns and destroying their inhabitants.

The speed and energy of these operations disconcerted the northern Scythians, who had arrived to co-operate just as Cyropolis had fallen; but, thinking they were safe, they remained on the further side of the Jaxartes, taunting and insulting the victors.

Alexander crosses the Jaxartes, and

Exasperated by their conduct, and the interruptions they caused in building the city, afterwards called Eschata or Extreme,[2] Alexander determined to punish them. The bold and delicate operation of crossing a large river for this purpose, immediately in the face of a numerous and determined enemy, was effected by means of inflated skins for the light armed, and large rafts for the cavalry and phalanges; the operation being covered by darts thrown from machines on the left bank, the soldiers kneeling behind their bucklers, with archers, slingers, &c., in advance, to clear the bank as they approached, the troops being animated by peals of trumpets.

defeats the Scythians.

Owing to these masterly arrangements, the Scythians were unable to maintain their position on the right bank; and the landing being effected, the subsequent defeat of the Scythians in a severe struggle, forced them to sue for peace, and express their readiness to submit to the conqueror.[3] This opportune event left Alexander free to proceed against the satrap of Sogdia, Spitamenes, who in one inroad had destroyed a considerable body of Macedonians on the river Polytimetus, and he was now about to make another to renew the siege of Maracanda.

[1] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. i.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xxx.

[2] Probably the modern Aderkand or Uzkend, on the Jaxartes, near the eastern end of Fergánah district.—Edrisi, vol. VI., pp. 205, 210, 211; Recueil de Voyages et Mémoires, &c., Société de Géo., ed. Jaubert.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. viii., ix.; Arrian, lib. IV., cap. iv., v.

A rapid march of about 1,500 stadia made in three days,[1] anticipated the latter operation; Spitamenes retreated, and Alexander, after causing the country near the banks of the Polytimetus or Kohik river[2] to be devastated, and leaving some of the Sogdians still in arms, took up his winter quarters in Zariaspa or Bactra.[3]

Alexander's cruelty to Bessus.

While in this city, Alexander ordered Bessus to be mutilated previously to being sent to Ecbatana; where, agreeably to the laws of the Medes and Persians, he was made to suffer a cruel death.[4] Here also 20,000 men joined the army from Greece, but this number scarcely replaced the losses sustained during the preceding difficult marches; and they were urgently needed in order to maintain the conquests already made north of the Paropamisus.

State of the country and people.

After crossing this great chain, Alexander found himself in different circumstances from those in which he had previously been. Southward, where a portion of the people defended the peaceable artizans and manufacturers who composed the mass of the inhabitants, the submission of the whole country naturally followed the loss of one or two battles. But northward, where, as herdsmen and husbandmen, all the inhabitants of a country were necessarily warriors, one defeat only led the way to another attempt to regain their cherished liberty. It is not therefore surprising, that whilst Alexander was preparing for his ulterior operations, the Sogdians, who occupied different strongholds,[5] again rose against Peucolaüs, the satrap whom he had appointed.

Revolt of the Sogdians.

As this circumstance interfered with the execution of his plans, Alexander, to avoid the delay which must be the consequence of besieging several places successively, determined to employ at once the whole of his army on this service; with the exception of a small force which was left to watch the Bactrians, who had also manifested a disposition to rebel.

Detached services of the army.

Alexander himself marched towards Maracanda, whilst four

[1] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. vi.; Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. x., says, having made a great distance in four days.

[2] Which passes near Samarkand.

[3] Pliny, lib. V., cap. xviii.

[4] Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. x.

[5] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xv., xvii.

other divisions under Hephæstion, Ptolemy son of Lagus, Perdiccas, and Cœnus were successful elsewhere;[1] all having had the easy task of reducing cities, instead of being obliged to overcome the ordinary but more formidable desultory warfare of the Sogdians. Alexander took up his winter quarters at Nautaka,[2] in Sogdiana, now Karshi and the first city beyond the Oxus; but that period did not pass in total inactivity. The ever-active Spitamenes seized this opportunity to make an inroad at the head of some Sogdians and Massagetæ towards Bactria, where he revenged himself by killing several of the corps called companions, and a good many mercenary horse, before he was expelled by Alexander in person.

Alexander winters at Nautaka.

B. C. 329 to 328.

Second revolt of Spitamenes.

He made a fresh attempt afterwards, by attacking Gabæ, or Bagæ, on the river Oxus; where he was defeated by Cœnus the satrap, with consequences which are characteristic of the state of the country at that time; for his Bactrian and Scythian followers seized this opportunity to make their peace, by sending the head of Spitamenes as a peace offering to Alexander.[3]

With this chief terminated the long-continued warfare in the plains of Bactria and Sogdiana; but in the remoter parts of the latter territory, and also in the adjoining province of Parætacene, some strongholds were still occupied, one of which in the sequel proved to be peculiarly difficult to Alexander himself. Oxyartes, the Bactrian chief, whilst keeping the field, had placed his family with some of his own people and a party of Sogdians, on a rock-girt fort in the Sogdian mountains; which, being amply provisioned and almost inaccessible, was deemed altogether impregnable. Invited, and as usual stimulated by its difficulties, Alexander reached, and summoned the place whilst it was still deeply covered with snow; and the scoffing reply that they only feared winged soldiers, gave additional interest to the enterprise. A daring plan being speedily formed to attempt what appeared to be impossible, Alexander promised ten talents to the first who should reach the summit of the rock, nine talents to the second, and smaller sums, ending with 300 darics, to the last; 300 of the most

Surprise and capture of Oxyarta.

[1] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xv.; and Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xxxiii.
[2] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xviii.
[3] Ibid.

expert in clambering rocks were selected to make an attempt on one particular side, which was so high and so precipitous, that, as Alexander probably was aware, it was considered unnecessary to keep watch there. By aiding one another, and by the assistance of short ropes with iron wedge-pins driven into the ice and crevices of the rocks, the men finally reached the summit before daybreak, after prodigious exertions and the loss of thirty or thirty-two of their number, who slipped and were killed during the perilous undertaking.

Manner of ascending the rock.

Assured of their success by seeing the concerted signal of long pieces of linen waving from the summit, to imitate the motion of wings, Alexander, preparatory to an assault against the less precipitous part of the position, sent another summons, announcing that his winged soldiers had gained the summit of the rock; and the surprise and consternation were so great in consequence, that the garrison immediately surrendered. This singular post, which is called by Quintius Curtius the rock of Arimazes,[1] and Sysimithres by Strabo, is supposed to be represented by Kurghan-Tippa on the Oxus.[2] Amongst the captives were the family of Oxyartes; one of whom was, by this accident, destined to become the bride of the conqueror. Next to the queen of Darius, the celebrated Roxana was considered to be the loveliest woman in the East; and as she made a deep impression on Alexander,[3] an alliance so likely to further his ambitious projects was speedily completed. As might have been expected, it was followed by the submission of Oxyartes himself; and, as will presently be seen, it led to that of another formidable chieftain.

Alexander marries Roxana.

The expedition into Margiana appears to have followed this success, the conqueror directing his march south-westward from the Oxus towards the fertile district in question, in which he afterwards built the city of Alexandria, subsequently called Seleucia, afterwards Antiochia Margiana,[5] and now the consider-

Expedition into Margiana.

[1] Lib. VII., cap. xi.

[2] Ariana Antiqua, by Professor Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., p. 167, London, 1841.

[3] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xix. [4] Ibid., cap. xx.

[5] Vol. I., p. 173, and Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. x.

able town of Merw-el-Rud on the river Murgh-áb.[1] He marched to the Ochus or Tedjen, and crossed into the territory of the Parætacæ; in which was the rock of Chorienes,[2] a still more formidable hill fort than that of Oxyartes. The circumference at the bottom was about two miles; there was only one ascent, by a narrow and difficult winding approach of more than a mile long, and a deep and difficult ravine separated the rock from the only rising ground from whence it might be assailed with any prospect of success. Alexander determined to avail himself of the latter, and to effect a communication with the fort. In order to shorten the period of the siege by multiplying the hours of employment on the proposed gigantic undertaking, the army was divided, one-half working by day, and the other half in three watches by night; the troops erecting, under Alexander's personal superintendence, covered galleries one above another, with the protection of wooden towers. At first the attempt was ridiculed, but when its gradual approach brought the besieged within reach of the Macedonian darts on the same level, Chorienes requested to see Oxyartes.[3] The latter entered the place accordingly, and by dwelling upon the resistless power and matchless generosity of Alexander, Chorienes was induced to send his submission before any serious impression had been made. As Alexander had previously crossed the Tedjen,[4] this place was probably situated a little way from the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea.

Rock of Chorienes besieged.

Capitulation of the fort.

The cold season being now at hand, Alexander, most unfortunately for his character and peace of mind, determined to winter at Zariaspa, where, at one of the revels to which he was now unhappily addicted, he murdered Clitus. The grief caused by the fatal result of his ungovernable rage on this occasion, required to be dissipated by new conquests, which were destined to open the little known but wealthy regions of India, for the benefit of mankind.

Murder of Clitus.

B. C. 327. Leaving 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse under Amyntas,[5] to

[1] Within a bow-shot.—Recueil de Géographie, &c., tome V., p. 466, Paris, 1836, Edrisi, ed. Jaubert.

[2] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxi.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. x.

[5] Ibid., cap. xxii.

protect the territory northward of the Caucasus, Alexander marched with an army of about 120,000 men; and, in ten days from Drepsa or Drapsaca, probably Anderab or Inderab,[1] he reached Alexandria ad Caucasum, and proceeded to Ortospana, in order to resume the more direct, and easier route towards Central India, along the southern slopes of the Paropamisus, from which he had diverged in pursuit of Bessus. Having entrusted the Paropamisan satrapy to Tyriaspes, he marched on Nikæa and the Kophen. This appears to have been the Kábul river, or rather its northern branch, which directly crossed Alexander's line of march, and is formed by the junction of the Tagao and Punjshir affluents. At the crossing place of the Kophen, previously to its junction with the southern branch and flowing eastward, Taxiles, and other Indian princes, brought presents to Alexander, offering to him the use of their elephants. Hephæstion and Perdiccas proceeded from hence by the direct route, and having, after a siege of thirty days, taken the capital of the refractory king of the Peukelaotis[2] (possibly Péshâwur), their march was continued, in order that they might prepare a bridge of boats for the passage of the Indus by the main body.[3]

Alexander marches towards the Indus.

Alexander conducted the latter by a more northern route over difficult mountain paths towards the river Khoes,[4] beyond which he was advancing against the Aspii, the Thryæi, and the Arsæi,[5] at the head of some cavalry and 800 heavy-armed infantry (mounted). He was moving with his usual over-confident daring, when the inhabitants of one of the towns, probably the Aspics, were tempted by his small force to meet him in the field; but by a vigorous attack in which Alexander was wounded, they were driven within their twofold walls, which being carried, the Macedonians, to revenge the wound received by the king, and their brave resistance, gave no

Alexander is wounded.

[1] The position given by Edrisi of Anderab or Inderab, with respect to Bamian and other places near the Paropamisus, seems to coincide with Drapsaca. —Pp. 475, 477, tome V., Recueil de Voyages et Mémoires, &c., ed. Jaubert.

[2] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxii.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xli.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. ix.

[4] Probably the Kama or Kooner river. —Memoir on the Marches of Alexander, by M. Court, Journal of As. Soc., Bom., vol. VIII., p. 306.

[5] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxiii.

quarter to the flying inhabitants, and Alexander completed this atrocity by destroying the town.[1]

Intimidated by its fate, Andaka,[2] the next place, surrendered on the approach of Alexander, who continuing his march towards the Euaspla river, the inhabitants of the capital of the Aspii burnt their city, and fled to the mountains. Here a battle followed, in which the Indian chief was killed, and Alexander continued his march over the rest of the mountains to Arigæum, which had likewise been burnt and deserted by the inhabitants. Alexander appointed Craterus to rebuild the place, and encourage the inhabitants to return and form a settlement;[3] but as the spirit of the people had survived their capital, it was necessary to reduce a strong fort in the mountains to which they had removed with their cattle. Against this, therefore, Alexander marched his forces. Ptolemy and Leonatus commanded two divisions, the third and smallest was conducted by the king towards the principal body of the enemy. This circumstance led to the victory; for the Indians despising his limited force came down to meet him in the plain, where skill and science speedily overcame an irregular mass, and about 40,000 souls, with a prodigious quantity of cattle, were the fruits of the victory.[4] Finding the cattle of extraordinary strength, activity, and endurance, with the advantage of being easily fattened, Alexander, notwithstanding the difficulty of transporting these animals not less than 2,600 miles by land, ordered a selection to be sent to Macedonia to improve the European breed, and the hump is found on the cattle in Greece to this day.

The Aspii fly to the mountains.

Defeat of the Indians.

Alexander sends cattle into Europe.

Following up the position which he claimed as the successor of Darius, the country of the inoffensive Assakenes was his next object. Perceiving that their boundary, the rapid Guzæus or Euaspla (apparently the Lundye river), with a bottom composed of round stones, offered no impediment, and that the invaders were crossing in regular order, the enemy fled to their towns without attempting to obstruct the passage, and Alexander

[1] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxiv.; Diod. Sic, lib. XVII., cap. xli.
[2] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxiii.; or Alaidera, Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. x.
[3] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxiv. [4] Ibid., cap. xxiv., xxv.

with a small force speedily encamped before the walls of the capital. The inhabitants of Mazaga, assisted by 7,000 Indian mercenaries, and confident in superior numbers, immediately sallied forth to attack Alexander, who, having led his troops away from the town, and being pursued with little order, suddenly faced about and drove them within the walls with loss. Battering engines were then brought against the walls, but, though a practicable breach was made, three determined assaults on different days failed; and in one of these Alexander was wounded in the leg and arm. The result of a fourth attempt was still doubtful, when in consequence of the death of the Indian chief, the mercenaries in his pay sent a proposal to Alexander to capitulate; and having agreed that the town was to be surrendered on condition of passing into his service, the mercenaries marched out and encamped on a hill near the Macedonians. On the alleged ground that they intended to desert from their new engagement during the night, they were surrounded by the Macedonians soon after dark; and besides committing the atrocity of putting all to the sword in cold blood, Alexander took possession of the city with as little scruple, as if there had been no capitulation.[1] Mazaga, or Mazoga, would appear to have been a little way eastward of the Lundye river, or its principal affluent the Suvat; probably the former, as it flows nearly parallel to the Kábul river, which was his line of march.

Defeat of the people of Mazaga.

Cruelty and treachery of Alexander towards the people of Mazaga.

Against Bazira and Ora, two of their towns near the Indus, which had not been intimidated by the fate of the capital, he sent two of his officers. Aldatus speedily took the former;[2] and beginning to despair of being able to defend their position in the latter, although it was stronger, the Bizareans, accompanied by some of the surrounding population, retired to the celebrated rock of Aornos, which was of a pyramidal form, almost inaccessible, and was deemed altogether impregnable. As a bridge had been constructed over the Indus, and the territory westward of that river was now reduced to quiet subjection, Aornos only excepted, Alexander collected magazines for

Capture of Bazira and Ora.

[1] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxvii.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xliii.
[2] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxvii.; Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. x.

Blockade of the rock of Aornos.

a protracted blockade, if he should fail in the assault of that formidable fort; which, according to tradition, had successfully resisted Hercules the son of Jupiter, from whom as we know Alexander claimed descent.[1]

Everywhere favoured by the reputation of his princely generosity, several natives volunteered to lead some active men by an unfrequented path to a part of the mountain which commanded the fort; accordingly a chosen band under Ptolemy, son of Lagus, moved that very night, and, unperceived by the enemy, gained the indicated post by daybreak.[2] This proved to be a detached hill, or rather a kind of shoulder, which though separated by a sort of valley, gave an easier access to the body of the mountain, than could be obtained from the country below. Accordingly an assault was made by Alexander next day, but it was repulsed, notwithstanding the diversion created by Ptolemy's troops. That commander being now menaced in turn, his isolated post, although strengthened, was in a critical state, but it was maintained notwithstanding, till about noon of the following day; when by means of repeated attempts, and persevering struggles, assisted by the feigned attacks made on the fort at the same time by the force under Ptolemy, Alexander's junction with the latter was effected.[3] A general assault made by their united forces soon afterwards having failed, the army next day commenced, under Alexander's personal superintendence, a causeway, which was to cross the intervening hollow. For this purpose each man being allotted 100 palisades, and all being most diligent, a furlong in length was nearly completed before night, and on the fourth day a body of Macedonians passed and occupied a kind of abutment projecting from, and on a level with, the mountain itself. The Indians sent to propose a capitulation, in order to gain time; but Alexander, having notice of their intention to withdraw during the night, attacked and destroyed many of them in their

Repulse of Alexander.

A causeway formed across the valley.

[1] Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. xi.; Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxviii., xxix.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xliv.

[2] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxix.; Quint. Curt. says Mullinus or Eumenes, Alexander's secretary, was employed on this service, lib. VIII., cap. xi.

[3] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxix.

attempt to escape. On the same night he took possession of this remarkable rock.[1]

Supposed position of the fort.

Aornos was probably a general name for a stockaded mountain, such as that already mentioned in Bactria, and most likely Hellenized from the Sanscrit 'Awara, or 'Awarana, an inclosure.[2] As it stood on or near the banks of the Indus,[3] its position should be found on the right bank of that river, at some distance above Attock ;[4] and here there is a spot called Akora. In consequence of a rising which took place during this daring operation, Alexander made a retrograde movement to Dyrta, the capital of the Assakeni, but he found the territory deserted, owing to the news of his late successes. Leaving Nearchus and Antiochus to endeavour to capture some of the inhabitants, so as to ascertain the resources of the country, particularly in elephants, he marched to the thickets bordering upon the Indus, in which he recovered the elephants which had been previously carried off by the Assakeni.[5] From these thickets some vessels were constructed; and whilst part of the troops were conveyed down the river to the bridge which his officers had already prepared,[6] Alexander visited Nysa and its ivy-clad mound, Merus. This took place at the request of the inhabitants, who were the descendants of Dionysus (Bacchus) or Sesostris, from whom they pretended to have derived their regular government, which at their solicitation, was now confirmed.[7] Alexander found two large vessels prepared, each of thirty oars, in addition to many smaller, and a bridge of boats, which had been constructed in the neighbourhood of Attock by Perdiccas and Hephæstion, assisted by Mophis. This prince, who bore the title of Taxiles, had, as it appears, sent an embassy to solicit Alexander's protection,

Alexander's retrograde movement to Dyrta, &c.

Embassy sent by Taxiles, and

[1] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxix., xxx.; Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. xi.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xliv.

[2] P. 192 of Ariana Antiqua, by H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S.

[3] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. VII., cap. xi., with Strabo, lib. XV., and Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xliv.

[4] M. Court's paper on Alexander's Exploits, &c., Journ. As. Soc. B., April, 1839, p. 309.

[5] Arrian, lib. IV., cap. xxx.

[6] Ibid., also lib. V., cap. vii., and Strabo, lib. XV.

[7] Arrian, lib. V., cap. i., ii.; Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. x.

presents offered.

whilst the king was still in Sogdiana.[1] On making this request in person, bringing at the same time regal presents to the amount of 200 silver talents, 3,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, and 30 elephants,[2] Alexander not only acceded, but promised to invade the territory of his rival, Porus; although for this purpose, he must abandon, or at least postpone, his favourite object, the descent of the Indus to examine the shores of the Indian ocean; and for which the necessary flotilla was now prepared at, or in the vicinity of Attock.

Alexander crosses the Indus.

Availing himself of the excuse of his new alliance, Alexander passed the limits which as the conqueror of Darius he had previously claimed, and marched to the city of Taxila; which is supposed to be represented by the modern Manikjala, situated about forty-five miles eastward of Attock.

Here he passed the remainder of the winter, and having augmented the territory of his ally, although as a matter of precaution leaving a garrison in that place, he proceeded to fulfil his new engagements. Accompanied by 5,000 Indians, furnished by Mophis, and taking with him on carriages the vessels used in passing the Indus, which for the convenience of transport Cœnus had brought from that river in two or more parts,[3] he

March to the Hydaspes and Jailum.

marched to the banks of the Hydaspes, the Bidaspes of Ptolemy. This is now represented by the Jailum or Behut, the second stream of the Punjaub, which falls into the Chinâb or Chandrabhâga, the Akesines of Alexander's historians.[4] The Jailum, during the season of floods, carries a considerable volume of water, flowing with great impetuosity over a rocky bed,[5] which is seldom fordable during the south-west monsoon.

Bucephala and Nikæa.

The sites of Bucephala and Nikæa, particularly the former, being determined by Mr. Masson, it may from thence be concluded that Alexander reached the river between Derapoor and Jelalpoor. Here he found a numerous army, consisting of infantry, cavalry, war chariots, and elephants, ready to dispute the passage. Porus, the king, was encamped near the opposite

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xliv.
[2] Arrian, lib. V., cap. iii.
[3] Ibid., cap. viii.
[4] Ibid., cap. xx., and Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. ii.
[5] Ibid., cap. ix. and x.; compared with Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. xiii.

bank, having placed strong posts under chosen captains to defend the river at the ordinary fords, which at this season might be considered impracticable, for being near the summer solstice,[1] the river was almost full of water. There was, besides, a serious difficulty to be overcome, in the line of moveable castles, the artillery of the Indians, which Alexander was about to encounter for the first time. Porus prepares to meet the invaders.

Hitherto rivers of even greater volume had been crossed in the face of an enemy without hesitation, but on the present occasion, though amply provided with boats, rafts, and floats, Alexander was induced to hesitate; and in resorting to other means, he has left us one of the best of the many lessons in military tactics, which have been derived from this great master in the art of war. As it was not considered practicable to force a passage in the face of an equal, if not a superior force, the invaders were compelled to resort to some expedient by which, at least, a considerable part of the army, if not the whole, might have time to form after gaining the left bank; thus, as it is termed, stealing a passage by resorting either to a false attack, or some other expedient, to deceive the enemy. Alexander's stratagem to deceive him.

Keeping the latter object in view, Alexander, for several nights in succession, caused demonstrations to be made of the intention of crossing, which were repeated with unusual din and clamour, till at length Porus was tired of sending his elephants, and making other preparations to repel the expected attempts; and finding that these alarms were not succeeded by any serious attempts to cross, he gradually ceased to harass his troops by such repeated and useless night marches. This feeling of security was increased by the public declaration of Alexander that it was his intention to wait till the low season.[2] The vigilance of Porus being thus lulled, Alexander determined to execute the project which he had formed, by attempting to cross from a rock, under cover of a wooded island in the river, about 150 stadia above the camp.[3] He destined for this service 5,000 cavalry, consisting of the companions, with some Scythians, Bactrians, and mounted Dahian archers, in addition to 6,000 infantry, formed of two brigades of the phalanx, with the Agrians Porus becomes less vigilant.

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. ix., x.
[2] Ibid., cap. x.
[3] Ibid., cap. xi., and Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. xiii.

Preparations of Alexander.

and bowmen. Craterus remained in the camp to make a great noise, and other demonstrations of attempting to pass at a particular time; he was, however, ordered to cross, in case Porus proceeded with the whole, or the greatest part of his force, to meet the king; but to remain quiet if he withdrew only a small part, or none of his troops. A chain of posts kept up the necessary communications, and a demonstration was to be made by the foreign horse and foot under Meleager and Gorgias; who were posted between the camp and the island, with orders to pass over and reinforce Alexander the moment he was perceived to be engaged.[1]

Passage of the Jailum, and defeat of the advance.

A dark stormy night, with peals of thunder, and the usual accompaniments, in that part of the country during the south-west monsoon, of torrents of rain, prevented the enemy hearing anything that was passing on the right bank, and by daybreak as the storm ceased, the transports pushed across and disembarked, as they supposed, on the left bank: it proved, however, to be an island, and another still intervened; to this they passed, and finally they reached the main, by fording, with the water up to the breasts of the infantry.[2]

The scouts had observed the transports and the floats of stuffed hides passing the first island, and the alarm rapidly passed to Porus; who perceiving Alexander's tent still in its place, with the main body apparently undiminished, and making demonstrations, he despatched his son with 2,000 cavalry, and 120 war chariots to deal with what he judged to be a feint, intended to induce him to quit his advantageous position. The Grecian troops had passed the river by the time the young prince approached the landing place, and Alexander, perceiving the smallness of the numbers and the unprotected state of the latter, made an immediate attack; in which 400 horsemen, including the young prince, were slain.[3] Porus, on learning from some of the fugitives the real state of things, and the loss of his son, immediately marched, and took post to give Alexander battle in an open plain. His force consisted of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots, each with six men, namely, two with bucklers, two archers, and two armed

Judicious arrangement of Porus.

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xii.
[2] Ibid., cap. xii., xiii.
[3] Ibid., cap. xv.

drivers; besides which there were 200 elephants bearing huge wooden towers filled with armed men.[1] The last were placed in the centre about 100 feet apart; and a little in the rear was the infantry, so posted as to cover the intervals between the elephants; on the wings, the cavalry were placed with the war chariots in front, aligned with the elephants, and giving to the whole the appearance of a city, of which the elephants seemed to form the bastions, or rather towers.[2]

and skilful plan of Alexander.

The preceding movement, and this skilful order of battle, had anticipated Alexander's intention in hastening onward with a body of horse to attack the camp of Porus, and he was obliged to manœuvre with his cavalry to give time for the phalanx to come up, and also to prepare for a battle in the difficult circumstances in which he was unexpectedly placed. The previous plans required to be instantly changed, and in so doing, Alexander promptly adopted a course, calculated to neutralize the almost irresistible power of the chariots and elephants when brought to bear in a direct attack; this was, to attack by the flanks, a measure which would give scope for his numerically and morally superior cavalry to act, before Porus could have time to change his formation.

Double attack of the cavalry.

Having matured a plan likely to accomplish these objects, the battle commenced by the main body of cavalry, under Alexander, making an oblique attack on the enemy's left wing, which was menaced at the same time by the mounted archers in front: Cœnus with the remainder of the horse was to make a similar movement against the right of the Indian army: the phalanx and the rest of the infantry were commanded to stand fast till they saw that the preceding demonstrations were successful.

Porus, being most apprehensive about the principal and double attack in front, ordered the cavalry to move from the right by the rear, to support his left, which was menaced; and the right wing being weakened in consequence, Cœnus not only turned it, but pursued the Indian cavalry towards the other

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xv., and Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. xiv. According to Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xlv.; 50,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xlvii.

wing. The result of these movements was, that the Indian cavalry, with inferior numbers, had to oppose a double front, namely, one to the cavalry under Cœnus, which had taken them in flank and rear, and another to the rest of this arm led by Alexander, who at this critical moment made a successful charge, and obliged the chief part of the Indian cavalry to take refuge among the elephants; the horses of the latter being accustomed to these formidable creatures, whilst those of Alexander would not dare to approach.[1] As Alexander did not fail to improve this advantage by continuing to make it chiefly a cavalry action, the victory may be said to have been won from this moment; although it was still fiercely contested, and continued doubtful for a length of time.

Successful charge of Alexander.

The Indian cavalry had now sufficiently recovered their wonted courage to assume the offensive; and at the same time the elephants, having changed front, were about to charge the Macedonian cavalry in the rear, when the phalanx of Seleucus advanced and saved the cavalry by following these animals, and in turn attacking them in the rear. The latter movement caused the elephants to face about once more, and penetrating the phalanx caused great confusion in different places in the ranks, which might have been altogether fatal, had it been followed up by a charge of cavalry; but the Indian cavalry were again met and repulsed by Alexander, when on the way to support the elephants,[2] on whose efforts the result of the struggle chiefly depended. Happily for Alexander, the Macedonians were not intimidated by the unprecedented struggle in which they were now engaged. Although this mighty animal was irresistible wherever his steps were directed, his power was at length paralysed. The steady resistance of the unbroken sections of the phalanx, and the effects of the missiles of the archers and Agrians, which were chiefly directed to deprive the animals of their guides, caused them to become frantic in consequence of their wounds: some being quite ungovernable were equally formidable to friends and foes; whilst others as if by consent refused all farther efforts, bellowing in concert as with uplifted trunks they withdrew from the battle.[3]

The elephants break the Macedonian phalanx,

but afterwards become unmanageable.

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xvi., xvii.

[2] Ibid., cap. xvii.

[3] Ibid.

During this period, Cœnus had broken through the enemy, and the whole Macedonian cavalry being united, Alexander made repeated and desperate charges upon the Indian infantry, entirely breaking their ranks wherever he attacked.

Alexander enclosed the confused mass, to which the Indian army was now reduced, by means of his cavalry, which was placed at intervals, and the phalanx, with shield touching shield, and pike protended; and the struggle was brought to a close by the opportune arrival, at this juncture, of Craterus, who, as had been arranged, crossed the river with the main body of the army, probably including the foreign horse and foot. The whole of the chariots and elephants were captured, and 20,000 of the Indian infantry, besides three-fourths of the cavalry, fell in this well-contested battle:[1] 12,000 were killed and 9,000 were made prisoners; the loss of the Macedonians, whose numbers greatly preponderated towards the close of the battle, being only 280 cavalry and 700 infantry.[2]

Craterus comes up and decides the battle.

Porus, who did not mean to survive, fought manfully, till at the repeated request of Alexander, and being at the same time overpowered by thirst and the effects of a wound in the right shoulder, he at length consented to descend from his elephant.[3] Both sovereigns advanced, and the Indian king met his distinguished enemy with that gallant bearing which he had maintained during an obstinate conflict of seven or eight hours; and on being asked how he desired to be treated, he briefly replied "As a king." "That shall be done on my own account," said Alexander; "but do you ask nothing more?" "No," replied Porus, with much dignity; "everything is included in the first request."[4] Alexander was so much struck by the greatness of mind displayed by his defeated, but not fallen enemy, that he treated him with marked honour, and made some amends for his unjust invasion by restoring the kingdom,[5] and giving the whole country between the Hydaspes

Dignified conduct of Porus.

[1] Compare Arrian, lib. V., cap. xviii.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xlv.
[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xlv.
[3] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xviii.; Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. xiv.
[4] Ibid., cap. xix.; Plutarch in Alex.
[5] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. xlvi.

Generosity of Alexander.

and the Akesines (a large accession of territory), to Porus, who afterwards proved himself a faithful and attached vassal of the vast empire of Alexander.[1]

Craterus was ordered to superintend the construction of a city, called Nikæa, to commemorate this remarkable victory, and another close to the landing-place near Jerum, named Bucephala, in honour of his favourite horse, whose life terminated on this occasion from the effects of heat and over exertion,[2] at the age, it is said, of thirty years. Pursuing his aggressive warfare, Alexander continued his march to the river Akesines,[3] the modern Chináb or Chandrabhága, receiving as he advanced the submission of thirty-five considerable cities; also of the other Porus, called the coward, and of Abissares, who, in addition to forty elephants, brought considerable sums of money. Having overcome the difficulties of crossing the wide, rapid, and rocky Akesines, in boats, on stuffed skins, and other rafts, the army advanced to the river Hydraotes, or Hyarotes (the modern Iraotu, or Ravi, of Múḥammedan geographers;[4] the Sanscrit Irávatí and Ravi), which was bordered with a thick forest of trees, unknown elsewhere, and full of wild peacocks.[5] This was passed with less difficulty than the preceding stream, and the march was continued in a direction probably parallel to the Ravi, with a view to punish the Cathæans, the Oxydracæ, the Malli, and two other confederate tribes. Passing the city of Pemprama, on the third day, Alexander approached Sangala, also called Sakala; in whose environs he found the warlike Cathæans, and some of their confederates, encamped within a triple line of waggons on a rising ground close to the city.[6] The cavalry, and afterwards a body of foot led by Alexander, having been repulsed by the missiles of the Cathæans from behind the first line of carriages, the phalanx was brought up; which succeeded with much difficulty in forcing the three barriers, and drove their defenders into the town. The latter was defended by

Loss of Bucephalus.

Passage of the Akesines.

Subjection of the Malli and Cathæans.

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxi., xxiv.

[2] Ibid., cap. xix.; and Plutarch in Alex.

[3] Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. i.

[4] Ariana Antiqua, by H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., p. 195. London, 1841.

[5] Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. i.

[6] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxii.

brick walls, and on one side it had the further protection of a shallow lake. The Cathæans attempted to escape by crossing this piece of water at midnight; but their purpose was anticipated by Ptolemy, who received them with a barrier of their own waggons, and drove them back into the town. Porus arrived at this period with many elephants and a re-enforcement of 5,000 Indians; and the walls being breached, the town was carried by storm, 17,000 of the defenders being slain, and 70,000 made prisoners.[1] The Cathæi, now the Kattias, are a pastoral tribe which, from the circumstance of the name and the particular use of waggons, is probably of Tartar or Scythian origin. They constitute the chief part of the population between the Hydaspes and Delhi;[2] and the ruins of Haripa are supposed to represent the capital, Sakala.[3] Eumenes, the secretary of Alexander, was despatched to offer favourable terms to the allies of the Cathæans, but the news of the fall of that town had caused them to fly in a body,[4] probably towards the mountains near the sources of the Hydraotes. Alexander pursued them for some distance, but being too late, he returned, laid Sangala level with the ground, and gave the country round it to those Indians who had willingly submitted.[5] Tempted by accounts of the rich tracts of Central India, whose inhabitants were said to be wisely governed and highly civilized, and stimulated by the hope of finding amongst this warlike people enemies worthy of being conquered, Alexander determined to proceed against the Gangaridæ and the Prasii, the most powerful of all the Indian nations.

Origin of the Cathæi.

Sangala razed, and meditated conquests.

Thirsting for conquests in eastern India, and desiring afterwards to descend the Ganges to the Indian Ocean, Alexander was approaching the Hyphasis, a rapid and difficult river, seven stadia in width, and six fathoms deep,[6] when circumstances occurred which put a limit to that victorious career, and those

The Greeks reach the Hyphasis.

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxiv.

[2] Burnes' Travels, vol. III., p. 130.

[3] In about 30° 24″: see Notes of a Journey from Lahore to Karáchee, by C. Masson, Journ. of As. Soc. Bom., vol. V., p. 57.

[4] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxiv. [5] Ibid.

[6] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. li.; Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. ii.

conquests, to which no other history offers anything like a parallel.

A spirit of dissatisfaction had led to the conspiracy at the foot of the Paropamisus, as well as to the conspiracies of Philotas, and of the band of pages beyond those mountains; but one much more deeply rooted now manifested itself, for Alexander learnt that discontent pervaded the whole army, including his own friends and favourites. Worn out by fatigue, wounds, and the climate during the rainy season, and seeing no limits to the intended conquests of their prince, in a country whose extent was utterly unknown, frequent meetings had taken place among the followers of Alexander, who stimulated one another to refuse to cross the Hyphasis even if Alexander led the way.[1] The constitution of Macedonia, as has been seen, gave to the army almost the authority of a popular assembly; and the principal commanders, looking earnestly forward to the enjoyment of their wealth and honours at home, learning also that they would have to encounter, near the Ganges, Xandrames, an Indian prince, who had blocked up the passes with 20,000 horse and 200,000 foot, besides 2,000 chariots and 3,000 trained elephants,[2] some of them went so far in their meetings as to declare, that if the king required them to enter into new wars, his command should not be obeyed.[3]

They determine not to cross the river.

Lest this feeling should lead to an open rebellion against his authority, and hoping, as on former occasions, to rouse a better spirit, Alexander summoned a council of the superior officers, and made one of those eloquent appeals, which had succeeded on every previous occasion: "Seeing," said the king, "that you do not follow me with your wonted alacrity, I have summoned this meeting, either to persuade you to advance, or that you may show me the necessity of returning." Seeming thus to make it an open question, he continued: "If you complain either of your own labours or of the conduct of your leader, there is nothing more to be said; but if by these exertions, the river

Alexander summons a council of officers.

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxv.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. li.; Quint. Curt., lib. IX, cap. ii.; Aggrammes, according to Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. ii.

[3] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxv.

Hydraotes has become the limits of our empire, which extends westward to the Ægean sea, and northward to the river Jaxartes, why do you hesitate to pass the Hyphasis, and having added the rest of Asia to our conquests, then descend the Ganges, and sail round Africa to the pillars of Hercules. Life," added the king, "distinguished by deeds of valour, is delightful, and so is death leaving an immortal name; persevere, therefore, O! Macedonians, and I promise to exceed the wishes of every individual, and make him the object of envy."[1]

Result of the conference.

A deep silence followed, which was at length broken by Cœnus, who, in affecting language, described the past dangers encountered, the victories achieved, and the anxious longings of the soldiers to turn homewards their weary steps.[2] His pathetic appeal caused tears to roll down the cheeks of the veterans, and was even too much for Alexander himself, who then abruptly broke up the council. The next day it was re-assembled, when the king angrily declared that he would advance, taking only those who were willing to follow him, adding, that the others might return and tell their families that their leader had been deserted in the midst of his enemies.[3]

Alexander appeals ineffectually to his soldiers, and determines to retire.

A profound melancholy prevailed in the camp during the three next days, while Alexander was secluded even from his most intimate friends; after which, finding that the troops regretted his displeasure, but continued firm to their purpose, Alexander made a virtue of necessity by yielding with a good grace, taking that course which was best calculated to maintain his own dignity with apparent consistency. He sacrificed, and then announced to the army that owing to unfavourable auspices, it was his intention to return without crossing the Hyphasis. Shouts of joy welcomed this intelligence, and the soldiers, weeping aloud, implored countless blessings upon his head, who,

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxvi.

[2] He expatiated on the loyalty of the soldiers, and on their undiminished devotion to the king, adding that they were still ready to expend their blood in order to render his name more celebrated; but he concluded by stating that they considered it reasonable to oppose any further advance, since they had reached the end of the world, and were seeking an India unknown to the Indians themselves.—Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. iii.

[3] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxvii., xxviii.

although invincible to others, had allowed himself to be overcome by the wishes of his followers.[1] Twelve towers were erected, and sacrifices being offered on these altars as testimonies of gratitude to the gods, with the amusements of horse-races and gymnastic exercises, Alexander gave the newly-acquired territory to the faithful Porus, and harmony being perfectly restored, he retraced his steps from the Hyphasis to the Hydraotes, and from thence to the Akesines, where he found the city, which he had left Hephæstion to build, almost finished. Thence he continued his retrograde march to the Hydaspes,[2] where he repaired the injuries caused by the floods to Nikæa and Bucephala. Here he was reinforced from Greece by 6,000 horse and 7,000 infantry under Harpalus;[3] and here an embassy from Abissares brought thirty elephants and other presents. At the same place part of the army had been employed all the summer in constructing vessels or rather boats, 2,000 of which had been built from the neighbouring forests; these were manned by Carians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Cypriots, who understood the equipment of such a flotilla, and were assisted in its management by the people of the country.[4]

Alexander returns to the Hydaspes.

Preparation of a flotilla on the Hydaspes.

Although cruelly disappointed by the persevering opposition of the Macedonians, Alexander appears at once to have turned his powerful mind from warlike to peaceable objects; and the descent was commenced in three divisions, each of which was equal to a modern corps d'armée, being between 40,000 and 50,000 men. One, under Craterus, marched along the right bank; another, the larger, under Hephæstion, moved in a parallel line on the opposite side, with 200 elephants; whilst Alexander followed the stream itself, with a chosen body of horse and foot, ready to support and strengthen either of the others;[5] Philip, the satrap of the territory westward of the Indus, the intended kingdom of Porus, was to follow with the rear guard four days later. At day-break sacrifice was performed, and the troops intended to be conveyed by the river having embarked, libations were offered to this stream, also to

The fleet and army descend the Hydaspes.

[1] Arrian, lib. V., cap. xxix.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. iii.
[4] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. xxiii.
[5] Ibid., cap. ii. and iii.

the Akesines, which it receives, and to the trunk of the whole, the Indus; when the fleet moved at the sound of the trumpet. Nearchus was admiral, Onesicritus the pilot or master; and the whole forest of vessels, having its movements regulated by the voices of the officers, moved majestically down the stream. The war horses, seen through the lattice-work of the sides of the vessels, and the decks covered with warriors, struck the Indians with astonishment and admiration.[1] In eight days the fleet reached the confluence of the Akesines, where, owing to a narrow channel and high banks, rapid and strong eddies are formed, which were attended with some inconvenience on this occasion. Being unaccustomed to such difficulties, the boatmen in alarm suspended their exertions as they approached this narrow part of the river; and before they regained their courage two of the galleys or long vessels fell aboard of one another, and sunk with the greater part of their crews; but the shorter and round vessels were more fortunate.[2]

Difficulties experienced.

When this difficulty was passed, and the eddies were less violent, Alexander brought his fleet to the right bank, and having made an excursion to the westward to punish the Sibæ, the Sivi or Saivas, he recrossed the Akesines, and caused Nearchus, with the greater part of the fleet, to descend to the country of the Malli, keeping three days in advance of the army.[3] The latter having in the meantime been joined by the corps under Craterus, Hephæstion, and Philip, the advance took place as before in three divisions, in order to be prepared for an enemy. That under Hephæstion was five days in advance of Alexander, and the third under Ptolemy brought up the rear at three marches distance to collect the stragglers; the whole were to rendezvous at the confluence of the Hydraotes with the Akesines.[4]

They reach the confluence of the Hydraotes and Akesines.

The exterior as well as the interior sides of the lower parts of these rivers were occupied by the Malli, of whom a trace is supposed to be found in Multan, or, as it is still called, Mallithán, the place of the Malli;[5] and, having learnt that this

[1] Arrian, lib. VI., c. iv.
[2] Ibid., cap. iv. and v.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., cap. v.
[5] Burnes' Travels, vol. iii., p. 114.

people were about to join the Oxydracæ, or Sudrakas, in order to oppose him, Alexander determined to anticipate the junction of these formidable tribes. Accordingly, on approaching the desert on their frontier, which had been considered an effectual barrier, he placed himself at the head of the equestrian archers, with half the auxiliary horse, the targeteers, archers, &c., and making a lengthened march throughout most of that day and the succeeding night, by the direct and unexpected route of the wilderness, he found the Malli so little prepared, that their principal city was easily taken. Two thousand of the Malli who took refuge in the castle were put to the sword;[1] and those belonging to another city in the vicinity having fled, they were pursued during the night; some were overtaken, and killed on the banks of the Hydraotes about daylight next morning;[2] whilst others crossed the river, and took refuge in a strongly fortified town. The latter place, however, was presently carried by assault, and all being either killed or taken, Alexander continued his cruel and exterminating war, by leading his army against a city and castle of Bramins, in which some of the Malli had been encouraged to take refuge; both were stormed, with the loss of 5,000 of the Malli.[3]

Desert march to surprise the Malli.

The next object was the most populous city of the Malli, which was found deserted by the inhabitants, who to the number of 50,000 occupied the opposite bank of the Hydraotes. The river was now fordable, and Alexander was scarcely mid-stream at the head of his cavalry when the Indians retreated before him. But he was on the point of paying the penalty of this rash enterprise, for, on seeing that he was not supported by infantry, the Malli halted, and several vigorous charges made by Alexander having been repulsed, he was forced to practise the Parthian warfare in order to maintain his ground. This gave the necessary time for the infantry to come up and disperse the Malli, who fled into an adjoining strong city. Thither he pursued them with his cavalry, and prevented their escape till the infantry came up, when he regularly formed the siege[4]

[1] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. vi. [2] Ibid., cap. vii. [3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., cap. viii.—A city of the Oxydracæ, according to Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. iv.

of the place; but here the career of the matchless Alexander had almost terminated. Resting for the remainder of the day, the next morning the city was attacked; and this having been carried, some of the army proceeded to undermine and others to scale the walls of the citadel. Alexander's impatience ill brooked delay, and, seizing a ladder, he mounted it, protected by his shield, being closely followed by Peucestas, bearing the sacred buckler, and Leonatus; Abrias, a soldier receiving double pay for merit, mounting nearly at the same time by another ladder. Alexander, having fixed his shield on the crest of the wall, drove some of the defenders headlong from the battlements, and others being slain with his sword, a footing was gained on the wall, which Leonatus and the two others, by great efforts, also succeeded in obtaining, just as the overloaded ladders broke down in consequence of the eagerness of the Hypaspists to share the peril of their intrepid leader. By this time Alexander's splendid armour and matchless daring had caused the enemy to make him the object of every missile that could be brought to bear from the neighbouring towers and walls; when, after a moment's consideration, balancing between his guards on one side, who implored him to throw himself backward into their extended arms, and, on the other, the chance of appalling the barbarians by the boldness of the deed, he leaped down into the citadel, placing his back against the wall that he might the more readily defend himself. Determined either to conquer or die gloriously, he slew some with his sword, amongst whom was the Indian governor, and wounding others with stones, he maintained his ground, being presently assisted by his three followers, who leaped down and fought valiantly to save him.[1] Abrias was killed by an arrow; another arrow pierced the breastplate of Alexander, and wounded him so severely, that at length he fell forward on his shield from loss of blood. He was, however, defended on one side by Peucestas with the sacred shield, and on the other by Leonatus; but both of these being severely wounded, the fate of the king became more and more hopeless, and it was, in fact, on the point of being decided, when some of the Mace-

Assault of their citadel.

Perilous situation of Alexander.

[1] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. ix.

donians reached the spot, and encircled their beloved general at the very instant when life seemed to be extinct. Some had effected an entrance by scaling the ramparts with the assistance of iron pins driven into the face of the walls, others effected the same object by hoisting one another to the top, a larger body, by forcing a gate, reached the inside; and the assailants having glutted their revenge by putting every creature to death, they bore off the king upon his shield, not knowing whether he was still alive or dead.[1]

Daring rescue of Alexander.

After the difficult operation of cutting out the head of the arrow, there was a gradual improvement; and in the course of seven days Alexander was able to occupy a tent on two boats lashed together for this purpose; in this state he was conveyed down the river to the camp and rendezvous of the army, at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Akesines. Finding that the report of his death had produced lamentation and despondency throughout the army, he first showed himself on a couch, and subsequently, by a still greater effort, he appeared on horseback, when he was received with enthusiastic cheers by the soldiers, who raised their hands to heaven, with tears of gratitude gushing from their eyes.[2]

His convalescence; he reviews the army.

During his tedious convalescence, the Oxydracæ and some unsubdued portions of the Malli sent their submission, with an excuse from the former for being tardy, and the latter for their protracted resistance.[3]

Passing through the territory of the Oxydracæ as far as the Indus, he ordered a town with docks to be constructed at the confluence of the Akesines with that river, and then dropped down to the royal palace of the Sogdi. From thence he proceeded to the rich dominions of king Musicanus, who submitted, but afterwards gave some trouble, as did Sabbas or Sambus,[4] the prince of the territory, now represented by Sinde; and, finally, Alexander halted at the upper extremity of the Delta, where he prepared to carry out his project for commercially connecting Europe with the eastern parts of Asia.

Alexander reaches the Delta of the Indus.

[1] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. x., xi.
[2] Ibid., cap. xii., xiii.
[3] Ibid., cap. xiii.
[4] Ibid., cap. xvi., xvii.

CHAPTER XI.

MARCH OF ALEXANDER FROM THE INDUS TO SUSA AND BABYLON; AND VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS TO THE FORMER CITY.

Preparations for the return of the Army and Fleet.—Projected Trade with India as the basis of the intended Commerce.—Alexander abandons his purposed Conquests in Eastern India.—Descent of the Indus and despatch of Forces under Craterus and Hephæstion.— Alexander crosses the Desert.—The Difficulties of the March.—He reaches Kirmán.—Slow descent of Nearchus.—Halt at Karáchee.—Advance to the River Arabius, and along the coast of the Oritæ.—Voyage to Cape 'Arabah, the Town of Mosarna, and the extremity of the Coast of the Ichthyophagi.—The Fleet reaches Cape Jásk and Harmozia.—Nearchus meets Alexander.—Voyage continued to Diridotus or Teredon.—Ascent of the Pasitigris to Agines and Susa.—Ancient and modern Distances of the Voyage.—Games and Sacrifices at Susa.—Asiatics and Europeans to be united by Marriages and other means.—Discontent of the Army.—The general employment of Asiatic Mercenaries.—Former project of Commerce.—Geography of the Kárún and Kerkhah.—Alexander ascends the Tigris to Opis.—Bunds and Dikes.—Mutiny at Opis.—Alexander goes to Susa.—Advance across the Zagros into Media.—Visit to the Nisæan Plains.—March against the Cossœi and to Babylon.—Alexander's preparations.—Reinforcements of vessels and troops.—His gigantic projects, and Death.—Digression on the Course, Risings, Flooding, &c. of the Indus.

ALTHOUGH the attention of the historians of Alexander has been given almost exclusively to his stirring campaigns, yet some circumstances, incidentally mentioned by them, go far to show that the daring achievement now about to be noticed had been projected by him previously to making the march of 9,265 miles, which we have just followed from ancient Tyre to the river Hyphasis.[1] The first step in establishing the great

[1]

Tyre to Thapsacus	376 miles.
Thapsacus to Susa	806 „
Susa to Beghram	3,535 „
Beghram to the Jaxartes	865 „
Return to Beghram, including various marches during the campaigns against the Sogdians, Hill fort of Oxyarta, Aspii, &c. &c.	2,997 „
Beghram to the Hyphasis	686 „
	9,265 „

line of commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of the far east and those of the west seems to have been the construction of the city at the foot of the Amanus, bearing the name of Alexander, and the next consisted in building the Egyptian, or second Alexandria, the gigantic project having no doubt been matured as the conqueror passed through Phœnicia. A faint light only had previously been thrown upon the geography of India; yet the rich productions of that extensive peninsula were tolerably well known, having been sought for ages as the choicest objects of trade in Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt. From the booty of Gaza, Alexander sent specimens of the arts and productions of the East as presents for his mother and favourite sister, besides the balls of frankincense, myrrh, and other aromatics, already mentioned[1] as having been sent, with a note from him to his preceptor, Leonidas;[2] from which it may be inferred that, during his boyhood, the king had acquired some knowledge of the countries yielding those productions.[3] Nor can it be doubted that the inquiring mind of Alexander was early directed to the sources of the wealth which had made the rock of Tyre the richest mart in the world. The archives at Jerusalem must also have shown that, more than fifteen centuries anterior to the fall of the cities of Gaza and of Tyre, a rich land trade passed through this very territory from distant countries; and that upwards of six centuries anterior to the visit of Alexander a route was opened by sea with the same countries. There were other sources also from which information might be derived in addition to the particulars collected from Jews and Arabs, for the expeditions of Sesostris, Semiramis, and Darius Hystaspes would necessarily furnish additional knowledge of the regions of the East, more particularly during the reign of the last sovereign, when Scylax descended the Indus, and crossed the Indian Ocean to the

The productions of India early known in the West.

Alexander acquainted with them.

Sources of his knowledge.

[1] Chap. IX., p. 282.

[2] Plutarch in vita Alex., p. 356.

[3] Among these may be reckoned the sweet wood or cinnamon, the hakym nama of the Singalese; while of manufactured goods he may have seen the *bussine sindon*, or *byssus*, fine linen or muslin (Herod., lib. II., cap. lxxxvi., and lib. VII., cap. clxxxi.), and the produce of the cotton plant, the karpas of Esther (chap. I., v. 6).

Arabian Gulf or Red Sea.[1] Alexander had, moreover, access to the work of Ctesias, who describes the manners, customs, and productions of India; and he must have learned much from the Persians, who were conterminous with, and claimed part of, the territory in question.

A commerce with India probably contemplated by Alexander.

With the preceding sources to guide, and a geographical establishment, that of his engineers, to follow out the inquiry in detail, it is not going too far to presume that the commerce as well as the conquest of India formed part of Alexander's original project. The plan of the conquest no doubt gradually became more mature as Alexander advanced; so that, although the subjection of the territory near the Indus and the descent of that river might have been the objects at first proposed, yet fresh information on the spot would have caused the extension of the plan, had not the army refused to undertake the intended campaign into the provinces near the Ganges.

Thwarted in his purpose of descending this great river, and making it the boundary of his empire, Alexander at once gave way as if to reason, and reverted to his previous plan, for which vessels had already been prepared, not only on the Indus, but also on one or two of its affluents, particularly in the country of the Xathri.[2]

His intention of navigating the Indus.

The tranquil descent of the Akesines, as has been shown, was interrupted by the campaign against the Malli and their allies the Oxydracæ, and again, after the submission of both these, by other tribes who were not disposed to be guided by the renown of the western conqueror, and who required to feel, ere they could appreciate, the power of Alexander. The chief of one of these tribes, namely, Musicanus, who governed the rich country of that name, and also that of the Brahmins, having been crucified at the capital,[3] and Oxycanus having submitted, Alexander was free to renew his descent, and give

[1] Herod., lib. IV., cap. xliv.

[2] Somewhere on the Chin-áb, or Akesines, as the boats were floated along this stream.

[3] Probably the ruins of Alore, near Bukhur.—Burnes, vol. III., p. 138, of Royal Geographical Journal; and Ariana Antiqua, by Professor Wilson, p. 203.

all his thoughts to the accomplishment of his extensive combinations by land and water.

With regard to the land operations, in order to husband the resources of the country by having several lines of march, Craterus was despatched with the elephants, three brigades of the phalanx, and with the inefficient persons, to take a central line through the countries of the Drangæ and Arachosians to Kirmán. Previously, however, to the march of this body of troops, Alexander sailed down the western branch of the Indus with some of the most suitable of his vessels, and, notwithstanding the difficulties caused by the high tides, which were now greatly increased by the S.W. monsoon causing, on the reflux, a violent rush of water called a bore, he passed the island of Cillutas, near Karáchee: having, with two or three vessels only, proceeded about 200 stadia into the open sea, and sighting another island, he returned and then landed, and after offering sacrifices to Neptune, he ascended to Pattala and gave orders for the construction of a haven and docks.[1] He then passed down the left or eastern branch, and with some biremes and triremes sailed into the ocean: returning from thence he examined the coast on horseback, and ordered another harbour to be constructed on one side of a spacious lake; but having found the western branch, especially its estuary, more suited for navigation, he returned once more to Pattala to superintend the construction of the basin and other works there.

He sails on the IndianSea.

Depending upon the zeal and fidelity of Nearchus, who was to conduct the expedition by sea as soon as a change of monsoon would permit, the army was put in motion about the beginning of September; Hephæstion leading the bulk of the forces by a more inland route, whilst the king at the head of the targeteers, the archers, and most active troops, kept nearer the coast; sinking wells occasionally for the use of the fleet being the main object.

Nearchus appointed to command the expedition by sea.

Taking a westerly direction from the bifurcation of the Indus, Alexander appears to have first touched the sea near the estuary of the river Arabius, a little way eastward of Son-

[1] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. xix., xx.

méány. The people, the Arabitæ, made their escape into the interior, and as the Oritæ, a free people originally from India, followed the same prudent course, Alexander, leaving the foot to follow at more leisure,[1] divided his horse into several parties that they might cover more space as they advanced, and proceeded in pursuit; many of the fugitives were in consequence either slain or taken prisoners.[2] Being joined at the next halting place by the corps under Hephæstion, the army advanced to Rambacia. At this large village, which was considered the capital, Leonatus was left with a force to keep the Oritæ in order, also to construct a city, and collect provisions to assist the fleet, and here he remained till Nearchus arrived at the port of Kokala.[3]

Alexander's pursuit of the Oritæ.

The united forces afterwards entered the desert country of the Horites,[4] now the Urhu, and doubtless once the Oritæ, keeping more into the interior. This country produces a number of myrrh-trees much taller than elsewhere, also spike-nard, and a thorn with such thick-set prickles that hares are caught by the down as birds are taken with birdlime.[5] With the assistance of the camel a tract of this kind may be traversed with moderate difficulty, but when deprived of this invaluable animal a forbidding wilderness, scantily supplied with water,[6] becomes really formidable to an army; and accordingly the march from the borders of the Oritæ, probably by Kedje or Chodda,[7] to Bunpur and to Pura or Pareg, was attended with many difficulties and great privations; not so much from the nature of the country, as because Apollophanes, the satrap of Gedrosia, had shamefully neglected his duty in providing supplies which, although thinly peopled, Gedrosia might have furnished. The supplies, together with the camels, horses, and mules, which were brought by Stasanor for the use of the army, arrived after the completion of the march across the desert.

Productions of the Urhu district.

[1] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. xxi.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., cap. xxi., xxii., and Ind., chap. xxiii.
[4] Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. x.
[5] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxii., and Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. x.
[6] For a description of these desert tracts, see vol. I., pp. 78, 79; and for those of Mekrán and Bálúchistán, vol. I., pp. 178, 179, 184.
[7] See vol. I., p. 179.

Distress of the army in the desert.

The historian tells us that the beasts of burthen first perished, then the sick or weakly persons, and lastly a portion of the army[1] which, as might be expected under such circumstances, had become disorganized. The influence of the officers had ceased, and even the semblance of Alexander's authority was nominally preserved, by seeming to be ignorant of those irregularities which could not be remedied; and the soldiers suffered as much from excess when supplies, particularly of water, chanced to be abundant, as from scarcity.

Firmness of Alexander.

Alexander met these difficulties with his usual greatness of mind; and it was on one trying occasion that the well-known circumstance occurred of pouring into the sand the helmet-full of brackish muddy water, which by great exertions they had collected for the use of the king. The succeeding portion of the march from Pareg was accomplished without difficulty to Kirmán, where Craterus joined the king; after making the prescribed detour by Arachosia and through Drangiana,[2] following the valley of the Hélmand to the borders of lake Zerrah, and thence in a south-westerly direction to the capital of the province.

The Indus known in Alexander's time.

The previous campaigns must have made Nearchus acquainted with the affluents of the Indus, and his stay at Pattala, as well as the explorations by Alexander, would naturally give him similar information regarding the trunk itself; which in all probability was almost as well known at that time as it is at present, when the source and much of the upper part of the stream have still to be explored.

Nearchus was to commence his voyage after the change of the monsoon, taking with him the largest and most suitable vessels, leaving the others on the Indus, where from the use of boats it is evident that navigation of some kind must previously have existed; and it is probable that Alexander was aware that the Persian Gulf communicated with the Indian Ocean, and that the estuaries of the rivers Eulæus and Euphrates might be reached by the fleet.

Why it is not stated, but instead of delaying a couple of months for the favourable season, the two admirals, after burn-

[1] Quint. Curt., lib. IX., cap. x.

[2] See above, vol. I., p. 228.

ing some of the vessels which were not required,[1] quitted the station near Pattala early in October, and descended the western arm of the river with unaccountable slowness, considering that the stream had been previously explored by Alexander himself. In fact only nine miles were made during the last six days as the fleet approached Coreatis, a place still within the estuary; where the freshness of the air, the mixture of sweet with bitter water, and the surprising periodical effects of the tide, were experienced, of which such a natural and lively description is given by Quintus Curtius.[2]

Slow passage down the river.

Early on the seventh day, however, by cutting a canal of five stadia through the mud along the western side of the entrance, the vessels passed into the open sea without being forced to encounter the heavy surf on the bar. Once clear of this difficult river, the fleet made 150 stadia (from Coreatis) to the sandy island of Krokola[3] at the commencement of the territory of the Arabii.[4] The island opposite to Karáchee appears to correspond with this station, being about fourteen miles, following the sinuosities, from the Pílí mouth of the Indus. The modern Karáchee is situated on a large, commodious, and safe inlet, capable of containing vessels of two or three hundred tons burthen, and it has a considerable trade with Kach'h, Bombay, and the Malabar coast. The houses of the town are chiefly composed of mud and sandstone, forming very narrow streets; the country immediately around is destitute of vegetation, and the water is brackish; but corn is brought from Haïder-ábád, and rice from Kach'h and the coast of Malabar.[5] Thence, after remaining one day, the ships proceeded on their voyage, having the mountain Irus on their right hand,[6] and a low flat island on their left; and going through the narrow passage thus formed they came to a safe haven, which, being both large and commodious, was named Port Alexander. Opposite to the mouth of this haven, at the distance of two

The ships gain the open sea.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lvii.
[2] Lib. IX., cap. ix.
[3] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxi.
[4] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxi.
[5] Lieut. Kempthorne, Indian Navy, vol. V., p. 263, of Royal Geographical Journal.
[6] In the interior, westward and northward of Karáchee, there are several mountains, one of which no doubt represents Irus.

The island Bibacta.

stadia, there is an island called Bibacta,[1] partly sheltering it; and as the Etesian winds (the S.W. monsoon) grew very boisterous, blowing directly on the shore, Nearchus landed his men, when surrounding the camp with a stone wall, as a protection from the barbarians, he remained twenty-four days[2] awaiting the termination of the monsoon; having in all likelihood found supplies which had been provided by Alexander.

The sheltered anchorage at the western side of the inlet or bay of Karáchee, between Cape Tent and Munoora Point, seems to answer to Port Alexander, which is sheltered by a sandy island, possibly Bibacta, and the passage thither at high tide inside of the sandy island opposite to the present town coincides with the description of Nearchus. The next station of 60 stadia, after the wind abated, was the desolate island of Domas,[3] probably one of those near the entrance of the inlet; and the succeeding voyage was round Munoora Point to the country of Saranga; from whence it is 300 stadia to the commodious haven of Morontobara,[4] probably the estuary of the Bahur river, some distance northward of Cape Monze.

Having with some difficulty gone through the narrow rocky entrance of this harbour, the fleet, with the assistance of the tide, passed through a narrow channel between an island, probably Chulná, and the main, and made 70 stadia; 120 stadia more brought the vessels to the mouth of the river Arabius, where was found a large and safe harbour, but no fresh water.[5]

Arrival at the mouth of the Arabius.

Sonméány, a small fishing town governed by a sheïkh, marks this situation. The people are hospitable but poor, living chiefly on rice and dried fish. The inlet has water for vessels of one or two hundred tons, and is sheltered from all winds; but there is an extensive bar at the entrance which can only be passed by vessels of small burthen at high water.[6] This river separates the last part of the country of the Arabitæ from the Oritæ: these last are clothed and armed like the Indians, but

Poverty of the people.

[1] Bibaga, Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxi. [2] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxi.
[3] Perhaps the Torallibus of Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxi.
[4] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxii. [5] Ibid.
[6] Lieut. Kempthorne, Indian Navy, vol. V., p. 264, of Royal Geographical Journal.

their customs and manners appear to be different from those of their neighbours.[1]

Sailing about 200 stadia along the coast of the Oritæ, the fleet anchored near the island of Pagala, and from thence 430 stadia more brought it to Kabana, where the anchorage being bad, three vessels were lost during a storm which was encountered. From hence 200 stadia were made to Kokala, probably the existing Mahee Makace, and the port of Rambacia or Alexandria,[2] the capital of the Oritæ country, where Alexander ordered a colony to be established.[3] Here were found supplies which had been left by Alexander, also the corps under Leonatus, who had defeated the Oritæ and their allies with the loss of 6,000 men.[4] At this place the fleet was refitted, and those men who were unwilling to bear the fatigue and exertions of the voyage were replaced by others sent by Leonatus;[5] for as the perils of the sea were more dreaded than those of the land, no doubt the latter was the favourite service. After a rest of ten days the voyage was resumed, and having the benefit of the N. E. or favourable monsoon, the fleet made 500 stadia in one day to the river Tomerus,[6] probably the Hingol river, whose estuary forms a kind of lake near the shore.[7] Here the landing was opposed; but the natives being defeated, and many of them captured, the fleet remained six days refitting among the shaggy and wild-looking barbarians,[8] who occupied low huts supported by fish-bones. Another stage of 600 stadia brought it to Malana or Hormárah (Rás Malín), the western limits of the Oritæ, now the Urhu tribe, and the commencement of Gedrosia, as well as the territory of the Ichthyophagi.[9] A stage of 60 miles brought the fleet to Bagasira, a haven capable of receiving it, and having the village of Pasira at about 60 stadia from the shore.[10] The bay is now known by the name of 'Arabah or Hormárah: it is deep and commodious, with good anchorage, well sheltered except from the southward

The fleet encounters a storm at Kabana.

Arrives at the Tomerus.

The bay of 'Arabah.

[1] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxv.
[2] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxiii.
[3] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. xxi.
[4] Ibid., cap. xxiii.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Tonderan.—Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxiii.
[7] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxiv.
[8] Ibid., cap. xxv.
[9] Ibid., cap. xxv., xxvi.
[10] Ibid.

and eastward.[1] Rather a large fishing village (once Pasira) is situated on a low sandy isthmus, forming another bay on the western side of the promontory, now Cape 'Arabah. The people, who are Báluches, have little trade and are very poor, living chiefly in huts of cajan[2] sticks, covered with date-tree leaves; they are hospitable, and have some goats, fowls, and dried fish, but melons are the only thing grown.[3]

Dwellings of the Báluches.

After halting one day, the fleet sailed round the adjoining high and rugged promontory, and having gained 200 stadia it came to Kolta, whence departing at day-light it made 600 stadia more to the village of Kalama, where were found some dates and green figs. Here there was an island about 100 stadia from the shore, called Karnine, where Nearchus was hospitably entertained, receiving presents of cattle and fish. But the former, says Nearchus (probably sheep), eat fishy, not much unlike sea-fowl, being fed upon fish,[4] there being no grass upon the island. Ashtola, a desolate island of about five miles in circumference, and twelve miles from the coast of Mekrán, represents this station: it is inaccessible except at one place where there is a sandy beach, being surrounded by cliffs rising abruptly about 300 feet; latterly it was a rendezvous of the Jawásímí pirates.[5]

The fleet arrives at Kalama and the island Karnine.

Making 200 stadia from Karnine, the fleet put to shore on the coast of Karbis, not far from the inland village of Cysa or Kysa, where were found some small boats belonging to poor fishermen who had fled, but no corn. From thence, sailing round a high rocky promontory, now Passenæ, running 150 stadia into the sea, the fleet came to the safe fishing haven of Mosarna, where was obtained a Gedrosian pilot, who engaged to conduct them safely to the coast of Carmania, with which doubtless this port had commercial intercourse.[6] Under the

A Gedrosian pilot obtained.

[1] Lieut. Kempthorne, Indian Navy, vol. V., pp. 264, 265, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[2] Cytisus cajan. Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] In many places, both here and in Arabia, the cattle are fed entirely on dried fish and dates mixed together.—Lieut. Kempthorne, Indian Navy, vol. V., p. 270, of Royal Geographical Journal. Arrian, Ind., cap. xxvi.

[5] Ibid., and vol. V., p. 266, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[6] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxvii.

guidance of the Gedrosian, the fleet made, in one stage of 750 stadia, the coast of Balomus, and from thence another of 400 stadia brought it to Barna, a village with palm and other fruit trees, also myrtles and various flowers. In another stage of 200 stadia it reached Dendrobosa, and 400 stadia onward the haven of Kophas or Kophanta. This was probably the bay westward of Rás Gwadel; and it appears to have been a large fishing station, where the people had slight boats with paddles, which were used, says Arrian, as diggers do their spades.[1]

The fleet anchors at Kyiza.

Making 800 stadia from thence, the fleet anchored near Kyiza, which being a barren rocky coast, it proceeded onward without landing; and having by fraud surprised a small town, situated on a hill, probably at or near Gwutter bay, there was obtained a small supply of corn, and, what was more common, some meal made of dried fish ground to powder.[2] Thence the fleet proceeded to the rock or island of Bagia, probably Rás-Briefs, and onward, 1,000 stadia from thence, to the commodious haven of Talmona, where the crews were permitted to land.

Talmona probably the present Bay of Charbár.

This seems to coincide with the existing bay of Charbár or Choubar, in which there is a walled town of the former name, subject to the Imám of Maskat, and having an extensive trade with different parts of India, which is chiefly carried on by Banian merchants. It contains about 1,500 inhabitants, living in meanly-built houses, chiefly mud, with flat roofs. The streets are narrow and dirty, and in the vicinity are some date groves, also a few fields producing corn and vegetables.[3]

At 400 stadia from thence the fleet came to the ruined city of Kanasis, where there was found a well and some palm trees; and sailing all night and the day following along a barren coast to Kanates, it anchored, the crews being unable to land for the usual purpose of cooking and refreshing themselves: it then made 750 stadia to the country of the Træsi, which contained some poor villages, with a little corn and some dates, and here the followers of Nearchus captured or plundered seven camels.[4]

The fleet arrives at the country of the Træsi.

[1] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxvii.

[2] Ibid., cap. xxviii.

[3] Lieut. Kempthorne, Indian Navy, vol. V., p. 271, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[4] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxix.

The next stage of 300 stadia brought the fleet to Dagasira, a town frequented by herdsmen, and in another of 1,100 stadia it reached the extreme limits of the Ichthyophagi. According to the present voyage this coast extends 10,000 stadia; Strabo gives it only 7,400 stadia, and the distance on the charts is but 449 miles. At present, as in the time of Nearchus, fish, both fresh and reduced to meal when dry, forms a large part if not the whole sustenance of the people, as well as of their cattle.[1]

The coast of the Ichthyophagi.

On reaching Badis, a port of Moghostán, towards the southern extremity of Kirmán, which appears to be represented by the town of Jásk, near the well-known cape of that name, Nearchus found stores of vines and corn, with plenty of fruit trees, except olives. Passing Bambárak, or Kove Mubarrack, named by Nearchus the second mount of Semiramis, and having made 800 stadia, the fleet anchored opposite the Arabian promontory, called Maceta,[2] now Coomza, and the adjoining small island of Rás Musendom. Next day the fleet entered the Gulf of Persia; and going along the northern shore by Neoptana, now Karroon,[3] a fishing village, it made 800 stadia to the mouth of the river Anamis,[4] where uncertainty as to his voyage, and the chief difficulties in accomplishing it, were at an end.

The fleet enters the Persian Gulf.

More powerful incentives to a great undertaking can scarcely be imagined than those which influenced Nearchus. After being selected in preference to all others by the king, he received instructions in person to carry out an enterprise which the monarch had previously destined for himself, as the last and greatest object to complete his vast undertakings, and there was from time to time during the voyage the animating incitement of endeavouring to keep pace with the parallel movement of the king. But, on the other hand, the difficulties were sufficient to outweigh all these considerations, and deter almost any other commander. The vessels could only carry a

[1] Lieut. Kempthorne, Indian Navy, vol. V., p. 270, of Royal Geographical Journal; Arrian, Ind., cap. xxix.

[2] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxii.

[3] Vol. V. of Royal Geographical Journal, p. 273.

[4] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxiii.

Lieut. Col. D'Arcy, Royal Artillery K. L. S. del.

Dry Leaghe Lith.r to the Queen.

THE ISLAND OF NEARCHUS NEAR THE ENTRANCE OF THE PERSIAN GULPH.

limited supply of provisions, for four or five days at most; and the want of more than sitting space for the rowers, rendered it absolutely necessary that they should have daily opportunities of taking refreshment on shore; and supplies even of water were very doubtful.

Boldness of Nearchus in conducting the voyage.

But notwithstanding these serious considerations, the admiral did not hesitate to venture into an unknown sea, rowing from one headland to another of a strange coast, which, in case of the requisite supplies being obtained, might or might not conduct the fleet to its destination in the Persian Gulf.

Owing, as has been seen, to an imperfect knowledge of the seasons, Nearchus was exposed for some weeks to the S. W. monsoon, at a period when the coast is even now considered impracticable. But he hauled up at one moment, and persevered at another, till he joined Leonatus on the coast of the Oritæ. Subsequently all assistance ceased, and all communication with the army, so much so as to induce a suspicion that, being no longer under the eye of Alexander, the voyage had become in some measure predatory; but, however this may have been, trusting to his own resources in digging wells and collecting provisions, the admiral conducted his fleet to Harmozia, a city situated in an agreeable, and with the exception of the olive, a fruitful country. Here there was abundance, instead of the scanty supplies previously obtained with such difficulty; and to his great surprise Nearchus learnt from a Greek, who had strayed to the coast, that the king was at Salmonte,[1] at no great distance from thence. It is difficult to account for the conduct of the admiral on this occasion, for having ascertained from the prefect that the intelligence was correct, instead of either going in person or immediately sending a report to the king, Nearchus hauled up his fleet on the banks of the Anamis or Minnow, and secured it by constructing a double rampart with a deep ditch, which could be filled from the river. During these defensive preparations, the prefect proceeded to the camp of Alexander, and Nearchus was ordered to report his voyage in person; when, after a journey of five days on foot, he and his followers arrived with untrimmed

The voyage supposed to have been in part predatory.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lviii.

beards, and were scarcely recognizable, owing to their soiled clothing and their sun-burnt, swarthy, and emaciated bodies. They found Alexander and the army enjoying a luxurious rest after the difficulties of the desert march.

Nearchus received by Alexander.

The reception of the admiral, according to his own narrative, was most flattering; for it is said that with tears of joy Alexander declared that the preservation of the fleet was more acceptable than the conquest of Asia itself, and that Nearchus should not be exposed to any fresh toils and hazards.[1]

The latter circumstance, taken in conjunction with the fortifications round the fleet, and the despatch of messengers to bring Nearchus to the camp, would imply that all had not been right during this remarkable undertaking; but, whether Nearchus avoided communication with the king, fearing to be questioned concerning the events of his voyage, or from other motives, the request that he might be allowed to preside over the fleet till it reached Susa was granted. Nearchus being despatched, offered sacrifices at Harmozia to Jupiter the preserver, and on the 1st January, 325 B.C., proceeded by Organa, now Ormuz.[2] The fleet made 300 stadia to another island (Oaracta),[3] larger, well inhabited, and fully 800 stadia in length: and at this place arrived Mazanes, the governor, who offered his services, probably by[4] command of Alexander, to share and control the authority of the admiral. From thence the fleet sailed 200 stadia along the southern shore to another port on the same island. Passing an island sacred to Neptune, now called Angár or Angám,[5] the fleet encountered a storm, and was much exposed on what is now Bassadore bank,[6] till with great difficulty the ships got into deep water: it then made 400 stadia to another island, probably the Little Tomb. From hence, leaving Pylóra, now Polior, on the left hand, the fleet arrived at Sidodóne, a small town, probably represented either by Duan or the fishing village of Mogoo,[7] both situate in

The fleet arrives at Ormuz.

The admiral visited by Mazanes.

[1] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxv.
[2] See above, vol. I., p. 229.
[3] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxiii.
[4] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxvii.
[5] More properly Hinjám or Hanjám, vol. V., p. 279, of Royal Geographical Journal.
[6] Ibid., p. 280.
[7] Ibid.

a bay of the same name, and now, as in the time of Nearchus, only affording fish and water. From thence the fleet sailed 300 stadia to the promontory of Tarsias, now Cape Certes or Rás Jerd; and from thence it made 300 stadia to Catæa, a barren rocky island at the extremity of Carmania, which is sacred to Mercury and Venus; probably Kenn or Keïs, an island next in importance to Kishm.[1] Proceeding onward 40 stadia the fleet came to a place upon the Persian shore called Ilas, now Chiroo, opposite to which was the island of Caicandrus, which forms a haven, now the channel inside of Inderábia, or Hinderábí, an island almost without cultivation.[2] Nearchus next arrived at an inhabited island where he says pearls are found, now Busheab; and 40 stadia from this station the fleet entered a convenient harbour supposed to be that at the western extremity of the same island.[3] From thence the fleet sailed to Ochus, a high mountain promontory, probably Rás Nabend, where it found a safe haven inhabited by fishermen, now called the bay of Alsaloo.

The fleet rounds Cape Certes, and arrives at the bay of Alsoloo.

Proceeding onward 400 stadia the fleet reached Apostani, a harbour in which they found many ships at anchor, and where there was a village 60 stadia from the shore.[4] This haven is probably represented by the bay of Congoon, on the western side of Cape Berdistán or Verdistán: the next station, called a noted bay, with many villages at the foot of a mountain,[5] seems to be that formed between Monsaly island and Rás Monsaly. Thence the fleet passed on about 600 stadia further, and anchored at the mouth of the brook of Areon in the country of Gogana, which most likely is represented by the existing small town of Cogoon. The next station, about 800 stadia from thence, was Sitakus, where the fleet found plenty of corn and other supplies which the king had provided for their use; and being a safe harbour, the ships remained twenty-one days to repair and refit.[6] This station no doubt is represented by

The ships refit at Sitakus, now Abú Shehr.

[1] Vol. V., p. 279, of Royal Geographical Journal; and see above, vol. I., p. 230.

[2] Lieut. Kempthorne, vol. V., p. 281, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxviii.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

Sitakus or Bushire.

the well-known port of Abú Shehr or Bushire,[1] which being the only safe haven on this part of the coast, was on this account chosen for this important object by Alexander himself.

Advancing from thence, the fleet made 750 stadia to Hierates, a place well inhabited, and having a canal called Heratemis, in which the fleet was accommodated;[2] probably the present Bander Reicht. Sous Poshoon, or Cape Bang, appears to represent the peninsula of Mesambria, near the river Podargus; and Cool-band-creek seems to be in the vicinity of another station, at about 200 stadia distance, called Taoce, near the mouth of the river Granis; at which there is a palace of the Persian monarch 200 stadia from the coast.[3] Two hundred stadia onward, the fleet reached the mouth of the river Ragonis, where it found a safe haven,[4] possibly one of the two Khórs, a little way eastward of Rás el Tombe; and from thence it made 400 stadia to the mouth of the Brizana river.[5] From this spot, most likely Bander Delem, by taking advantage of the tide, the fleet anchored at the mouth of the Arosis, which being the largest river met by Nearchus, and having the Persian territories on one side, with those of Susiana on the other, is doubtless represented by the Táb or Indián.[6]

Intricacy of the voyage on the coast of Susiana.

The difficulties previously encountered in navigating the low alluvial coast of Susiana greatly increased from hence, and are made prominent in the narrative of the admiral, who mentions the use of huge posts, and pieces of timber, to guide the vessels through these intricate channels.[7] We also perceive, and it may also be inferred, that a separate independent government prevailed in this territory, like that of the Sheïkh of Chaab at present.[8]

About 500 stadia from the estuary of the Arosis, the fleet anchored at the mouth of a lake called Kataderbís, which was well stored with fish, and had a small island called Margastana lying opposite. The fishing inlet called Khór Músa, and the

[1] See above, vol. I., p. 209.
[2] Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxix.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] See above, vol. I., p. 202.
[7] Arrian, Ind., cap. xli.
[8] The Susians live according to their own laws.—Arrian, Ind., cap. xl.; see above, vol. I., p. 202.

island of Derah, as well as the narrow channels, appear to correspond; and the distance on the map, of thirty miles by the windings, is nearly three-fifths of that given by Nearchus, or about the general proportion between the positive and the computed distances of this part of the voyage.

Termination of the voyage.

From Kataderbís the fleet advanced through narrow channels in the same direction for 600 stadia, no doubt experiencing the greatest difficulty in keeping clear of the Alie Meïdán bank, and not daring to put into any port for the crews to refresh themselves. Keeping off the shore that night and all the next day, it made 300 stadia, or 900 in all, and from Kataderbís[1] it came to a small village in the Babylonian territories named Diridotis (Teredon); and thus was completed one of the most daring voyages on record. The port at which they had arrived was not unknown, being frequented by the Arabian merchants who transported thither their frankincense and other spices for sale. The distance from the mouth of the river to Babylon was estimated at 3,300 stadia, or 330 miles;[2] by the Euphrates itself it would be about 354 miles, or nearly 74 more than by the Pallacopas, which is 280 miles, including the distance along the Euphrates from its second or lower head to Hilláh. The fleet, in following the windings of the channel, might be carried much beyond the Shatt el 'Arab, which is easily missed, and thus it might have reached the supposed mouth of the Pallacopas opposite to the island of Boobian. It is probable that the channel westward of the latter was the passage used by the vessels passing from Gerrha to Teredon. The site of the latter city, the supposed work of Nebuchadnezzar,[3] is presumed to be at Jebel Sanám, a gigantic mound near the Pallacopas branch of the Euphrates. This spot is about 23 miles S.S.W. of Basrah, 13 or 14 S. by W. of Zobeïr, and nearly 18 miles N.W. of the supposed estuary opposite the island of Boobian, near the Khór 'Abd-ullah; but at the time in question the latter may have been near, or even have touched Jebel Sanám.

Teredon supposed to be at Jebel Sanám.

At Diridotis, Nearchus received a messenger bringing news of the approach of Alexander, wherefore the fleet steered some-

[1] Arrian, Ind., cap. xli. [2] Ibid.

[3] Eusebius, from Abydenus, apud Grotium, lib. III., cap. xvi.

what backward in order that it might sail by the river Pasitigris to meet the army.[1]

We are told[2] that, keeping the country of Susa on their left hand, they passed through the lake by which the Tigris empties itself, and thence 600 stadia onward to a village of the Susians called Agines, which is 500 stadia from Susa.[3] Now the latter territory would have been equally on the left, whether Diridotis were situated on the Pallacopas or on the Shatt el 'Arab, and there would have been the same necessity for the fleet "to steer somewhat backward," in order to enter the Pasitigris; whose positive geography, if this river be represented by the river Kárún, will be found to correspond with the movements of the fleet.

The Pasitigris supposed to be the Kárún.

The bed of the lake, once formed, according to Polybius, by the Choaspes, Eulæus, and Tigris, may still be traced.[4] It extended over most part of the country lying between Diridotis and Agines (Ahwáz), and its waters were discharged by the separate channels of the Euphrates, or rather by the Shatt el 'Arab and Kárún. The old bed of the Kárún exists below the site of the lake; and, no doubt, served the fleet in ascending to the latter, whose waters appear to have terminated 600 stadia from Agines,[5] or about the existing village of Ismáïli; where, in fact, the ground becomes a little more elevated. Agines itself is stated to be 500 stadia from Susa, and the supposed site of Ahwáz is 42 miles from thence by the air line, and 47 miles along one of the ancient beds of the Shápúr, following its supposed course from Susa till it met the Kárún at Ahwáz.[6]

Former bed of the Kárún.

On receiving fresh news of the king's approach, which seems to have occurred after ascending the lower part of the Pasitigris, Nearchus continued his voyage to the bridge, newly built for the king's forces to pass towards Susa, where he met part of the army. In obedience to orders, Nearchus[7] proceeded to wait upon the king at Susa, probably going by land, as the passage of the fleet is not mentioned; but being afterwards at the city,

The fleet brought up to Susa.

[1] Arrian, Ind., cap. xlii. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Ainsworth's Assyria and Babylonia, p. 194. Parker, 1838.
[5] Ibid., p. 193; Arrian, Ind., cap. xlii.
[6] See above, vol. I., pp. 198, 199.
[7] Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. v., and Ind., cap. xlii.

RUINS OF SUR, FROM THE N.E. SIDE.

it must have ascended either by the ancient Shápúr or Sháwer river, or else by the canal of the Shaṭṭ el Máktúah (cut river), which once connected the rivers Kerkhah and Kárún.[1]

Comparative distances.

The distances given by the admiral in his account of the voyage from the Indus, only approximate in two portions of the coast, and those the shortest, namely, along the Arabitæ and Oritæ. Throughout the rest of the voyage they do not, however, by any means correspond with those determined by maps laid down from the recent surveys.

Carefully following the sinuosities, the distances are:—

	Geographical Miles.	Stadia.	Nearchus gives
From the Pettee, mouth of the Indus, to Sonméány and the river Arabius	104 to 108, or	1,080	1,000
From Sonméány to Cape Malín, on the Oritæan coast	108 to 110, or	1,100	1,600
From Cape Malín to Cape Jásk, on the coast of the Ichthyophagi	447 to 449, or	4,490	10,000
From Cape Jásk to Cape Nabon, the ancient limits of Carmania	400 to 402, or	4,020	3,700
From Cape Nabon to the Indián or Arosis, on coast of Persis	298 to 300, or	3,000	4,400
From the Arosis to the Pallacopas or coast of Susiana, following the Khórs and passages in and out	112 to 115, or	1,150	2,000
		14,840	22,700

Length of the voyage of Nearchus.

It thus appears that the actual length of the voyage is but about two-thirds of the estimate of Nearchus; and taking this proportion from Cape Malín to the Pallacopas, and allowing ten stadia to the geographical mile, the stations mentioned may in general be traced.

It appears that so soon as Nearchus was despatched to complete his great enterprise, Alexander moved westward, where his presence was urgently required to put an end to the misgovernment and irregularities which had sprung up in his absence. The main body was committed, with the elephants, to Hephæstion, with directions to march by the longer but more convenient route along the coast, that is, in a south-south-westerly direction to Láristán, passing, according to tradition, through

[1] See vol. I., pp. 195, 199.

Alexander visits Pasagarda.

Benarooz and Beruz.[1] Alexander, at the head of some infantry, a few bowmen, and the companion cavalry, crossed the hills by a direct line to Pasagarda. Finding that the tomb of the great Cyrus (Mader-i-Soleïmán)[2] had been plundered during his absence, of the cups, scimitars, jewels and other valuables, with the exception of the golden coffin, which the robbers had not been able to carry off,[3] Alexander left Aristobulus to restore everything to its former state, and build up the door with solid masonry, and proceeded to Persepolis and Pasargada, whose melancholy ruins caused him much regret. Here the misgovernment was speedily remedied by putting Orsines to death for oppression and misconduct; and Peucestas was appointed to succeed to the satrapy, as a reward for his faithful services in defending Alexander's life at the most critical moment among the Malli.[4]

Orsines put to death for misgovernment.

After a short delay Alexander continued his march, most likely along the route by which he had originally advanced, through the Susian rocks to the bridge over the Kárún or Pasitigris, going from thence to Susa. Here he was speedily joined by Nearchus and Onesicritus, and in all probability by the vessels also, for there is little doubt that their crews were present when sacrifices were offered for the safety of the fleet and army: these were ,as usual, accompanied by the exhibition of various kinds of sports, to commemorate the accomplishment of the voyage, and a scarcely less extraordinary march[5] through the desert.

The fate of Orsines awaited the satrap Abulites and his son, on the accusation of the Susians for plundering their temples and oppressing the people.[6] Like many other satraps, they had thus acted under the belief that Alexander would not return to have a day of reckoning, and exercise control over those whom he had placed in authority. But Alexander was not only determined to punish the guilty, whether Macedonians or those of other nations, with impartiality, but also to make a strong effort

Alexander determines to abolish national distinctions.

[1] See vol. I., p. 228.
[2] Ibid., p. 209.
[3] Arrian, Exp., lib. VI., cap. xxx.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Arrian, Ind., cap. xlii., and Exp., lib. VI., cap. xxiii., xxiv.
[6] Ibid., lib. VI., cap. xxx.

to settle the government of his vast empire. The basis assumed, was at once novel and difficult, being the removal of national distinctions, and of the assumption by the Greeks of superiority over conquered nations. Whilst in Egypt, he formed the project, which he was now about to put in execution, of bringing the people of his vast empire to coalesce as one nation, enjoying equal rights and privileges, though differing in religions, language, and manners; and marriages were to be part of the means of accomplishing this great object. Alexander had already availed himself of the Macedonian custom of taking a wife from another state; and as the Greeks were more than likely to be influenced by his example, he married Barsine or Statira. He disposed of many noble maidens to Hephæstion, Nearchus, Craterus, and others; and about 10,000 of his people appeared to receive their brides at a public wedding, including that of the monarch. This was celebrated in the Persian manner, with five days' festivities; and not only were dowries bestowed upon all, but Alexander took this opportunity of paying the debts of his soldiers, to the amount, it is supposed, of five millions sterling.[1] This was followed by the distribution of honorary crowns, and some changes in the organization of the army; the object of which will presently be seen, and for which the Epigoni, and the levies trained in the Grecian discipline, afforded ample materials.

He marries Statira.

Distributes honorary recompenses.

The partial use of the Persian language in the army, and the adoption of the Macedonian dress by Asiatics, gave umbrage to the European soldiers; and even the exercise of justice towards barbarians was a serious ground of complaint with the Macedonians. But, as will be seen, Alexander was prepared to meet the discontent which had been for some time ready to break out in the army.

The grand project of opening, or rather extending, the existing commerce with eastern countries, was only second to the projected change by which the conqueror purposed, quietly, to substitute for the Macedonian army a more general organization of troops to be raised amongst the most warlike nations then under his dominion.

Reorganization of the army.

[1] Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. iv., v.

The employment of mercenary troops had long prevailed both in Macedonia and Greece, and the extension of this system was in fact adopted by Alexander soon after his career of conquests commenced. The Agema, it will be remembered, did good service at the Issus, as well as in the subsequent struggle at Arbela. To these the mounted archers and other levies were added; for the practice of the principal nations in Asia, the Medes and Persians, had gradually overcome the prejudices entertained in the outset by Alexander against that species of troops. But we are nowhere informed at what period, during the retrograde march from the Hyphasis, the more sweeping change was planned. It has just been seen that it was first developed at Susa, where it was based upon a wide system of intermarriages, when his own union with Statira gave him an additional claim to the throne of Darius.

Mounted archers added to the army.

Proofs that a trade with India was early contemplated.

The other part of his plan, trade with India, undoubtedly originated at a still earlier period—having been contemplated when the Egyptian Alexandria was ordered to be constructed; and the project itself must have been matured to a certain extent during his stay in Egypt, since, in offering sacrifices to the gods at Cillutas on the Indus, Alexander announced that it was in conformity to directions given him by the oracle of Ammon.[1] This circumstance also demonstrates that a visit to the shores of the eastern ocean had then been contemplated. The prayer offered that his fleet might prosperously make the voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates, Tigris, &c.,[2] affords another argument; and the desire expressed as he passed through Pasargada and Persepolis to examine the two last rivers,[3] completes the chain of circumstances.

Alexander descends the Eulæus.

Alexander commenced the intended voyage by going on board the fleet, which lay ready at Susa, with his targeteers, the Agema, and some part of the auxiliary horse: with these he sailed down the river Eulæus, leaving the greater part of his forces to march under Hephæstion. When not far from the mouth of this stream, he left those ships which were out of order, and taking the best, he sailed out into the ocean; after-

[1] Arrian, lib. VI., cap. xix. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., lib. VII., cap. i.

wards, having entered the Tigris, he was joined by Hephæstion and the rest of the fleet, which for this purpose passed through a canal (now the Hafár) cut from the river he had descended.[1]

A reference to the maps Nos. 10 and 11 will at once show that if the river here mentioned, namely, the Eulæus, were represented by the modern Kerkhah, into which Alexander might have passed his fleet from Susa, by means of a canal, the stream would at once have carried the vessels into the lower part of the Tigris, without the necessity of entering the latter river from the ocean, and the whole of the equipment would have been ready to ascend the latter stream without the necessity of entering it, as it is stated, through a canal.[2] These objections do not, however, apply to the Kárún Proper, into which it will be seen from the map, that the fleet could have passed by two different channels, namely, either by a canal from Susa into the river Kerkhah, and from thence by the Máktúah canal into the Kárún, or, more directly, along the river Shápúr.

The Eulæus probably the modern Kárún.

Presuming that it was the latter, Alexander would have been carried along this stream from the walls of Susa into the Kárún near Agines; and following this river, then probably known first as the Eulæus, and afterwards as the Pasitigris, the fleet would pass through the lake, and again into the lower river, or old Kárún, which no doubt was the principal stream, although sending a bifurcation westward. Along the latter, Alexander sent the smaller and damaged vessels towards the Hafár canal, and descended, with those which were more efficient, along the greater arm. On reaching the sea through the estuary of the Kárún or Pasitigris, he turned westward, and ascended the Shatt el 'Arab to the western extremity of the Hafár, from whence, being rejoined by the rest of the fleet, he proceeded to the spot where Hephæstion and the rest of the army were encamped. From thence the united forces ascended along the trunk of the Tigris as far as the city of Opis; whose site may be looked for a little below the ruins of Samarrah, or in about 34° 5′ N. L.: but Arrian gives no particulars of this voyage, except that Alexander commanded all the weirs and other obstructions, which had impeded his ascent, to be removed, and the channel

Opis probably near the ruins of Samarrah.

[1] Arrian, lib. VII., cap. vii. [2] Ibid.

to be cleared.[1] No doubt the bunds or dykes, which at intervals raise the water to a higher level for the purpose of irrigation, are alluded to, and some of these, such as those still to be seen below Opis, on the affluent of the 'Aḍhím,[2] and others higher up in the Tigris,[3] which run from side to side of the river, might have been mistaken for defensive works; but this could scarcely have been the case with the ordinary irrigating walls, since they overlap and leave a passage in the centre to accommodate boats or rafts; and through these, no doubt, the fleet of Alexander passed on this occasion.

Effects of removing the river walls.

The removal of these walls would have been favourable to navigation; but in other respects it was detrimental, and particularly so by diminishing the productions of the country, to the increase of which the skill and industry of the Assyrians had been so successfully directed.[4]

Here unfortunately a blank occurs in the narrative of Arrian and other historians respecting the first part of the march from Opis, and even the cause of its being undertaken. It is, however, tolerably clear from the history of Diodorus Siculus, that the movement into Media instead of being homeward, brought things to a crisis by causing a decided outbreak, the whole army mutinously calling out to be discharged, and adding, in derision, that Alexander might enlist another Father Ammon for his future campaigns. Although Alexander could not have been quite unprepared for this conduct, never were his intrepidity and presence of mind so conspicuous as on this trying occasion; for, descending from the tribunal, he rushed into the crowd, followed by those immediately round his person, and seizing thirteen of the ringleaders, he caused them to be executed on the spot.[5] This being done, Alexander returned to the tribunal, where he made an eloquent address to the troops, then terrified into a state of sullen silence and astonishment. He recounted what they had been, and the glorious conquests of the world which made them what they then were, having himself no other dis-

Thirteen Macedonians seized and executed.

[1] Arrian, lib. VII., cap. vii.

[2] See above, vol. I., p. 30.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

[4] Sequel, chap. XIX.

[5] Compare Arrian, lib. VII., cap. viii., with Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxiv., and Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iii.

tinction, after leading them over plains and mountains, lands and seas, than the purple robe and diadem: he added, in conclusion, that all were welcome to return, and relate at home, that after sharing in all these glories they had deserted their king, leaving him to the care of the barbarians, whom, with him, they had conquered.

Persian nobles appointed to commands in the army.

After thus expressing himself, he hastily retired, and for three days remained secluded in his palace; but not idle, for at the expiration of that time, being still without concessions from the army, he summoned the Persian nobility to the palace, and as the 30,000 Epigoni, and a similar number of other trained Asiatics, all in the prime of life, furnished ample means, he proceeded to execute the plan which had been gradually formed, of dispensing with the services of the Macedonians, and admitting the Asiatics to those common rights which had been hitherto denied by their conquerors. Accordingly he selected for the command of the several bodies of his army, chiefs from the different provinces of Persia, who assumed the rank and distinctions of the Greeks. In addition to the Persians already admitted into the royal companion cavalry, he formed a body of royal companion infantry, and another of noble Persians, who were called Argyraspides, from their silver shields. But the most galling circumstance was the renewal of the Persian body-guard called royal kinsmen, who alone, in former times, had the privilege of saluting the king of kings. This produced the most decided effect; for after remaining two days under arms, the troops hurried in a body towards the gates of the palace, and having piled their arms to show the nature of their application, they loudly implored the king to come forth, and declared their readiness to give up the surviving ringleaders. The king's victory being thus complete, a reconciliation followed, with a public banquet for Greeks and Asiatics; and the establishment of a separate force under Asiatic officers, henceforth enabled Alexander to preserve a balance between his old and new subjects, in conformity with the plans which he intended to carry out.

The Argyraspides formed.

Alexander reconciled to his Macedonian soldiers.

A selection was now made of the Macedonians and others who were incapacitated for active service, more than 10,000 of

whom were sent home under Craterus; this favourite and distinguished veteran being appointed, in order to remove the difficulties caused in the home government by the imperious and ambitious conduct of Olympias.

Unfortunately, the succeeding part of Arrian's history is deficient, and Quintius Curtius equally fails. Diodorus Siculus, however, partly supplies the blank, at least from Susa onward; but we are quite left to conjecture the route by which Alexander proceeded from Opis to that capital. It is clear[1] that the meeting and subsequent despatch of the invalids took place at Opis, whither the vessels had ascended. The circumstance of the fleet being on the spot, and at one of the heads[2] of the famous Nahrawán, and water communications being the particular object of Alexander, it is not impossible, as already hinted,[3] that Alexander, with some of the flotilla which came from the Indus, may have passed along the canal in question into the ancient Choaspes; and this is the more probable, since it is stated that part of the fleet which afterwards assembled at Babylon had been brought thither from the Persian sea by the river Euphrates.[4]

Alexander passes by the Nahrawán into the Choaspes.

For some cause or other, his presence having been called for in Media, Alexander marched thither from Susa; taking the easier but longer route, which for some time skirts the southern side of the Zagros, he passed through the villages of Charras and Sittacene in four days to Sambana. At this place, which appears to be represented by the ruins of Samarrah, once the capital of Másabadán,[5] Alexander halted seven days, and in four marches reached Celonæ, a Bœotian colony, which, in the time of the expedition of Xerxes, settled at this place, now Sírwán, or Keïlún.[6] After halting some days, the army resumed its march towards Baghistane (the place of gardens), a very fine country, producing everything required for the

Route to Susa.

[1] Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. viii. to xi.

[2] At Káïm. See vol. I., pp. 27, 28.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xix.

[5] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxvii., and Major Rawlinson, vol. IX., p. 59 of Royal Geographical Journal.

[6] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxvii., and Geographical Journal, pp. 55, 56.

necessity or pleasure of man.[1] As this place, the well-known Bísutún, was passed by Semiramis on her way to Chaone or Kangáwar, it would naturally attract Alexander's attention, who turned a little out of his way for the purpose of visiting it,[2] taking, probably for convenience, the route by the gates of Zagros, and the high table-land of Kirrind,[3] to the city in question. Visits Bagistane.

From thence he passed into the neighbouring province, which it is said formerly reared 150,000 horses; but Alexander, who spent a month there, found about 60,000 only in these celebrated pastures, which probably are represented by the grazing grounds of Kháwah and Alíshtar.[4] In seven marches from the misnamed Nisæan Plains, Alexander reached the Median Ecbatana, Hamadán, where Hephæstion died, during the gymnic sports and carousals which usually took place after any considerable undertaking.[5]

Alexander was now about to return to the intended seat of his empire; and in order to alleviate the grief arising from the loss of his friend, writes Plutarch, he undertook an expedition against the Cossæans; and, dividing his army into two corps, notwithstanding the difficulties of their mountainous country and their strongholds, the warlike inhabitants were subjected in forty days, and Ptolemy, the second in command, was left to complete the task, by erecting forts, to deter the people from living, as before, by plundering their neighbours.[6] The principal seat of this ancient people seems to have been the rock fort of Khorram-ābád, once Diz Siyáh, or Kúh Siyáh, which originated the title of Cossœan.[7] The principal seat of the Cossæans at Khorram-ābád.

From these mountains, Alexander continued at a slow pace his march to Babylon, and was met on the way thither, as well as subsequently to his arrival, by envoys, whom the fame of his exploits, and apprehension of his power, had brought thither

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxvii. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., and Geographical Journal, vol. IX., pp. 48, 49, and 112; and above, p. 116–118.

[4] Geo. Journal, vol. ix., pp. 100, 101. [5] Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxvi.

[6] Compare Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iv., with Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xv.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxix.; Strabo, lib. II., p. 795.

[7] See vol. I., p. 206, and Royal Geographical Journal, vol. IX., p. 99.

from Africa, Europe, Phœnicia, and almost every other part of the world; and he entered the city to receive them, notwithstanding the adverse warnings and predictions of the Chaldeans,[1] who may have feared that the desolation predicted by Jeremiah would follow his visit.[2]

Alexander proposes to circumnavigate Arabia and Africa.

In the pride of success, new and enlarged projects of conquest and undertakings by sea were contemplated by Alexander; Africa and the peninsula of Arabia were to be circumnavigated, as well as subjected, and the Caspian Sea explored; new cities were to be built in Europe and in Asia, the former to be peopled with Asiatics and the latter with Europeans; the wandering Arabs were to be brought into order, the river Euphrates to be navigated from Thapsacus, as the Eulæus had been to Susa, and the Tigris to Opis, as well as the canal between those cities; and, finally, a great port was to be formed at the destined capital of the world. The first object was entrusted to Nearchus, the second to Heraclides, who was to construct vessels in order to explore the waters of the Caspian, and ascertain whether, as stated by Herodotus a century before, it really was an inland sea.[3] Miccalus was to bring seamen from Phœnicia, as well as vessels from Thapsacus, to animate the promising maritime commerce of Persia, &c., but the remainder, or the fourth part of his new and vast undertakings, he reserved for himself.[4]

Babylon selected as the seat of the empire.

As a central spot between India, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, the capital of Darius Hystaspes was selected as the seat of the intended empire; but as an extended commerce and the improvement of Babylonia were contemplated, a haven was ordered to be constructed at the seat of government, capable of containing 1,000 long galleys, which in the first instance were to be employed in punishing the Arabs, who had not even solicited his friendship, and were contented with their wild independence.

Archias being sent, explored the Arabian coast to Tylos, and

[1] Compare Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxx., lxxi., with Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iv., Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xv., xvi., and Plutarch, vita Alexander.

[2] Jeremiah, chap. XXV., v. 12.

[3] Lib. I., cap. cciii., cciv.

[4] Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xix., xx.

his successor, Androsthenes, is supposed to have made his way round the peninsula to the Red Sea.[1] Alexander himself was employed in the same way nearer home, having in the first instance sailed down the river Euphrates, and then ascending the Pallacopas he entered Arabia, where he built a city, and placed in it those Greeks who were disabled.[2] A canal was cut to prevent injury from inundations during the floodings at the summer solstice; but being defective in its construction, too great a proportion of water found an exit by this channel at other times of the year.

A city built in Arabia for the disabled Greeks.

After having by personal examination ascertained the cause of the defect, Alexander determined to confer a lasting benefit on the Babylonians by giving them the means of commanding this outlet, and of regulating at pleasure the level of the water in the great river.[3]

As the original head of the Pallacopas was above Babylon, it probably commenced in a bend where there is a small river called Hawasin, on the right bank, which, no doubt, was in the precincts of the ancient city. Nearly five miles higher, where the river makes, as it approaches Suda island, a sharp bend southward, is the canal called Hindíyeh, going to Mesjid 'Alí and onward, parallel to the Euphrates. As this cut is nearly twenty-three miles below the Kuthah, it clearly corresponds with the separation described by Abú-l-fedá as taking place six farsangs from that river,[4] running through Kúfah, and from thence into the marshy country below, the ancient Paludes Babyloniæ.

As the first opening had been cut through a light and oozy soil, 10,000 men were usually employed for three months annually, and sometimes ineffectually, to stop this outlet when the water was required in the main channel. The new cut was through firm and rocky ground, probably at the spot above indicated (Hindíyeh), from whence it was carried into the old channel, the former inlet to which was effectually closed. Subsequently, after steering his own galley through the marshes, Alexander caused another head to be cut above them, from the

Defects of the old canal.

[1] Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xx.
[2] Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iv.
[3] Arrian, lib. VII., cap. xxi.
[4] Another copy has seven.—Abú-l-fedá; MS. translation by Mr. Rassam.

river below Babylon to the bed of the Pallacopas, probably near the city which he ordered to be built. At Manawíyah, nine or ten miles above Diwáníyah, there are the remains of a canal, possibly of the one in question, which is adapted to carry the stream clear of the marshes.

A fleet collected by Alexander on the Euphrates.

Of the fleet which Alexander was collecting, some of the vessels were brought, as we have seen, from the river Tigris and Susiana; some were transported from Phœnicia to Thapsacus, in order that they might descend the Euphrates; and the rest were built of cypress wood on the spot.

On returning from the exploratory voyage above mentioned, which probably took place during the floods of the succeeding season after his arrival, Alexander found that a second embassy had arrived at Babylon, with golden crowns, sent as presents from the Grecian republics, and also with large reinforcements from Greece, Lydia, and Caria, to supply those who were lately discharged. Peucestas also arrived with 20,000 Persians, besides a body of Cossæans and Tapurians.[1] The leading object of Alexander's studious care, the formation of the fleet, was now far advanced; and but little was wanting to unite his subjects on the Indus, the Euphrates, and the Nile, by the powerful interests of commerce, when he was cut off in the prime of life, after an unexampled career of glory. A fever,

He dies of a fever caught in the marshes.

caught in the marshes of Lamlúm, cut short those great projects, which only could have been planned by the vast and capacious mind of this mighty conqueror, who had never known anything like failure in his plans, or a defeat in either a battle or a siege.

Some account of the great river which had been navigated by Alexander, and was also one of his chief objects of interest,

Sources of the Indus.

will not here be out of place. The Indus, or Sindus,[2] has its springs in two great arms towards the southern borders of Tibet, on the slopes of the great range which, more westward, is known as the Bulút Ṭágh, or Cloudy Mountains,[3] and here as the Himálaya.[4]

The water-shed of this parent range seems to be on the

[1] Arrian., lib. VII., cap. xxiii.
[2] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xx.
[3] See above, vol. I., p. 161.
[4] A part of the Caucasus, called Paropamisus.—Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xx.

northern side, and is marked by the two contiguous sacred lakes, Mepang, or Manas Sorowar, and Rawan Rhud; from which mountain basin, or its vicinity, come four noble rivers, viz., in a western direction, the great river Sanpoo, or Brahmapootra; the Gogra, or Ganges, flowing south-east; the Sutlej, running south-westward; and the Indus. Sources of the Indus.

The last, called also the Singzing-kampa or Eckhung-choo river, apparently commences a few miles north-westward of the lake, with which it may have a communication. About seventy miles onward it receives the other branch, the Sing-he-tsiu, and continues to flow in the same direction, for about 200 additional miles, to the town of Leh, or Lí. A little beyond this place it receives the Seechoo, or Lingtee, a considerable tributary coming from the south-south-east; and again, about sixty miles onward in the same direction, it receives another river on the opposite side, which flows first southward from the Karáh Korum mountains in Tibet; then, by a bold sweep westward, and afterwards southward, it enters the main stream; but little more is known than its bare name, the Shayuk. The Sing-he-tsiu Chu branch.

About sixty miles onward, the united waters take a western direction for a like distance, and then bend southward as this great stream breaks through the Indian Caucasus, or Himálaya. Here, taking the name of the Sinde, it inclines a little to the west, passing Kaspatyrus to Attock; just short of which place it receives the only considerable stream coming from the western side, namely, the Kábul river.[1] When clear of the mountains near Attock, the river, which is of a considerable breadth and contains a great volume of water, washes for about seventy miles the abutments of the Afghán mountains on one side, and the great plain on the other, as far as the village of Maree. Having passed the Salt range near this place, the great river separates for a time into three and sometimes four channels, which, after continuing parallel at a short distance from one another, reunite near the town of Nowakot, in about 32° 10′ N. L. The Indus passes the Himálaya range.

Continuing a southerly course, nearly parallel to the Hala mountains, and having a small part of the great plains inter- Its course southward.

[1] See vol. I., p. 170.

vening on the right side, the Sindus, or Indus, passes Dera Ismael Khán and Kakuree, where it is 1,000 yards broad and twelve feet deep. From thence it flows southward by Leia to Dera Ghazee Khán, and onward to Mittun, just short of which place it is joined by the united waters of the Panj-áb, which give it a south-western direction, after having enriched the large and fertile tract of country bearing that name.[1] The principal of the streams, the Sutlej, or ancient Hesidrus, comes from Lake Rawan Rhud, not far from the source of the parent stream, and after flowing to the west, along the northern slopes of the Himálaya, breaks through this range in a south-westerly direction: it continues to flow through a mountainous country to Hurrekee, where it is joined by the river Beas, the upper part of the celebrated Hyphasis, which flows south-westward from the slopes of the Himálaya to the point of junction.

Joined by the Hyphasis at Hurrekee.

After receiving this stream near Hurrekee, the Sutlej continues the previous course, passing a little westward of Ferozepúr, and so on to Fulehpúr, Bhawulpúr, and Ooch. Latterly, however, this stream has been better known as the Ghara than by the previous name of the Sutlej. The Beas, Beeah, or Bypasa, no doubt represents the Hyphasis of Alexander, which appears to have had a separate channel to the northward, flowing usually at the distance of about twenty miles, and nearly parallel to the present channel, from the neighbourhood of Hurrekee, till it falls into the present bed. This takes place just before its junction with the Chináb, whose trunk brings thither the united waters of the other three rivers of the Panj-áb. The Chináb, once the Ákesines, and the largest of the streams,[2] appears to have its source in 78° E. L., from whence it flows north-westward along the southern slopes of the Himálaya, till, at Kishtawar, on the borders of Kashmír, it takes a south-western direction, nearly dividing the territory of Lahore as it flows by Jumbo, Vezír-ábád, Jelalpúr, to Lal Kango and Trumoo ferry, where it receives the western river, the Jailum, or Hydaspes. This considerable arm, which, according to Pliny, is the recipient of the other stream,[3]

Junction of the Hyphasis and the Chináb.

[1] Burnes, vol. III., p. 139, of Royal Geographical Journal.
[2] Ibid., p. 147.
[3] Lib. VI., cap. xx.

appears to be formed by three branches coming through Kashmír, namely, the Sutí, which springs north of the Himálaya, and the Pir Panj-áb, and the Jailum, or Behut, both of which rise southward of that range. The last passes through Kashmír itself, at some distance westward of which it receives the Sutí, and, bending southward, is joined by the Pir-Panj-áb, ten or twelve miles short of Jailum, and the supposed site of Bucephala.[1] From hence, inclining a little westward, the Behui, or Bedusta, and also the Jailum, or Hydaspes, flow to the battle-ground of Nikæa (near Jelalpúr), from whence they run for a time to the south-west, and again southward into the Chináb, at the ferry already indicated. Affluents of the Chináb.

Preserving the latter name, the trunk takes a south-westerly course for nearly sixty miles, till it meets the last of the so-called five rivers a little below Biralee. This stream, the ancient Hydraotes, and now the Ravi, appears to rise on the borders of the district of Lahoul. It flows westward to Chumba, where it takes a south-west course by Noorpúr, Lahore, and onward, by an exceedingly tortuous course, to the point of junction already mentioned. Preserving the name of the central branch, it flows south-westward, passing near Multan, and, having afterwards received the Ghara, the Chináb takes the name of the Panj-nud, till this appellation, as well as its waters, are lost in those of the Indus. Meets the Hydraotes near Biralee.

With the accession of the Panj-áb tributaries, the Indus presents a great body of water as it flows onward, its breadth often exceeding 1,000 yards,[2] with a depth of fifteen feet and upwards; and it forms several islands in its south-western course from Mittun to the bend at Duturna, below Bukkur and Ravi. Below these towns, and near to Larkhanu, the bifurcation of the Narra takes place; the branch continues at first nearly parallel to the great stream, both afterwards inclining more westward, and again southward, and they reunite at Sehwan, once Sindomana,[3] below Lake Manchur, Magnitude of the Indus after receiving the rivers of the Panj-áb.

[1] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xx.

[2] Memoir on the Indus, by Sir Alexander Burnes, vol. III., p. 135, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[3] Ibid., p. 138.

after forming a succession of islands on the main stream, which is frequently three-quarters of a mile broad, with a current of about two miles and a half per hour.[1] Here the Indus takes a south-easterly direction as far as Sallarah, from whence it flows southward, passing near the western side of Haïder-ábád, and on to Banna, but sending previously the Feleïlí branch through the former city, and thence south-south-eastwards by Kótrí to the sea at the Kóré mouth. Banna may be considered as the apex of the existing delta, one side being formed by the Pinyarí or Goongroo river, which runs south-south-eastward by Maghribi to its estuary, called the Sír; and the other is the main river, which during its onward course sends out five branches on the western, and a short one, namely, the Mall, near its termination, on its eastern side. One of the former, which is now usually dry, runs westward from T'hat'hah (Tattah) till it meets the Garah river, which flows from that place to the vicinity of Karáchee. The next, called the Bagár, is sent out a little below T'hat'hah, and it has a south-western course till it falls into the sea by six mouths, which are open, and more or less navigable, during the season of floods. These, taking them from west to east, are the Pítí, now almost closed, the Dub'hu, the Khan, the Pintiyání, the Juwah, and the Richel; the third is the Títíyah, which quits the trunk thirty-five miles from the sea, and runs south-eastward, with a channel of thirty yards wide, and a stream about two feet deep only, in the dry season. It terminates in the Richel river, below the villages of Kóterí and Béman-Jo-poro. The fourth is the Hajámarí, or, as it is called, the upper part of the Síyahan river, which is the most winding and intricate, yet presenting more facilities for navigation than any of the other branches. It quits the parent stream about twenty-two miles direct distance from the sea, and makes a tortuous course to Bander Vĩkkar, or Bárí Górá, which, although a miserable place, has considerable trade. It subsequently makes a winding course, as before, in the general direction of west-south-west, to its funnel-shaped estuary, which is twenty miles from thence. There are only

The Indus flows near Haïder-ábád.

It enters the sea by six mouths.

[1] Memoir on the Indus, by Sir Alexander Burnes, vol. III., p. 132, of Royal Geographical Journal.

seven and a half feet water on the bar at high tide, but nowhere within it, is there less than twelve feet as far as Vikkar.

The K'hédíwárí.

The fifth river is the K'hédíwárí, which diverges sixteen miles below the preceding branch, and reaches the sea after an irregular west-south-western course. The entrance of the K'hédíwárí is formed by a channel of four miles long, and from 600 to 800 yards broad, with a depth of sixteen or eighteen feet at high tide; and about three miles within the bar it receives the Ad'hiyárí, coming from the parent stream, over which it has, in consequence, some advantages. Reverting to the latter, after sending out the Bagár, it flows south-south-westward to its estuary, the Kúkéwárí mouth, which is about fifty-five miles from thence by the stream and forty-eight in a direct line. It takes the name of Wanyaní below Hajámarí, and that of Manijá as it approaches the estuary. At present there is but one entrance, which varies from 1,100 yards to one mile and a half wide, with two channels, the preferable of which is 500 yards broad at the outer, and 130 yards wide at the interior side: it has a depth of from twelve feet to three fathoms and a half, and a current in the dry season of less than three miles and a half per hour, which is increased to seven miles and one-tenth at the maximum during the freshes. The Hajámarí and the K'hédíwárí are, however, the only other mouths which may be entered during the dry season.

The Manijá branch.

Changes which have taken place at the mouth of the Indus.

But at no very distant period, the mass of the waters of the Indus appear to have passed along the Bagár channel, from which four beds, now dry, appear to have carried a portion of the stream south-eastward across what is the existing main channel, and onward to the sea, discharging at the Warí, the Kajah, the Rúdah, and the Khaï mouths. Besides these alterations, the fact of extensive changes having occurred is placed beyond doubt by a large vessel, the Fateh Jang, once carrying forty guns, being found near the village of 'Alí-ábád,[1] besides the embedded hull of a gun-brig near Sikkar;[2] both

[1] Vol. VIII., p. 348, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[2] Ibid., vol. X., p. 530.

being at some distance from any of the existing arms. But a great and rapid river, bringing down three cubic inches of alluvium to a cubic foot of water, on a flat open coast,[1] is sufficient to account for these remarkable alterations, and for the circumscribed width of the present delta. The 1,000 stadia mentioned by Arrian,[2] if taken from the higher ground near the Pítí mouth, would reach to the coast of Kach'h in about 69° E. L., from whence it is a like distance to Haïder-ábád; possibly, therefore, the apex of the Delta and the port of Pattala may have been somewhere near that city.

Rise, and decrease of the Indus.

The Indus begins to rise, and increases gradually, from the 23rd of March, but is subject to a slight decrease occasionally up to July, during which month, and the early part of the following, there is no decrease; and on the 7th of August it is at the highest, the maximum total rise being 15 feet 2·8 inches. During the rest of the month, and most of the following, the fall is tolerably regular, with an increase occasionally, till the 22nd, when there is a second maximum rise of 13 feet 11·5 inches; after which it is on the decrease, with a good deal of regularity, to the 23rd of March.

Times of approaching the delta from the sea.

The delta of the Indus is exposed to gales in February, but it may be approached occasionally till the middle of March, or even towards the end of April,[3] and of late, by steamers, up to June, but with much difficulty, being then flooded for some miles inward at high tide. About 100 vessels are profitably employed in fishing on this coast, but almost entirely from the beginning of October to the middle of March, during which period there is neither difficulty nor danger on the coast of Sinde.[4] Land and sea breezes prevail alternately, at this period,[5] with cold weather; and the tides are everywhere extremely irregular.[5]

[1] The Indus conveys to the sea annually 10,503,587,000 cubic feet of mud.—Commander Carless, vol. VIII., p. 356, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[2] Lib. VI., cap. xx.

[3] Commander Carless, vol. VIII., pp. 331, 332, of Royal Geographical Journal.

[4] During the months of June, July, August, and part of September, the communication between Bombay and Sinde may be said to be cut off.

[5] Commander Carless, vol. VIII., p. 331, of Royal Geographical Journal.

Construction of the boats on the Indus.

The boat in use, called a dúndí, is well adapted for the navigation of the river and the transport of goods. The shape is peculiar, being without a keel, flat-bottomed; and both the bow and stern, which are perfectly flat, rise from the water at an angle of about 30°, to suit the shelving banks of the river. It is rigged with a square sail aft, and a lateen sail forward, and is steered by means of a large triangular rudder, hung over the slanting stern: the largest are eighty feet long, and carry sixty tons, drawing only four feet water. For want of better materials, the boats of the Indus are formed of innumerable small pieces of wood, fastened by bamboo pegs, and they are consequently liable to accidents; but any great deviation from the principle of their construction would not be an improvement.[1] Between Bukkur and Mittun, the boat most in use, called a zohruy, is built of the talee tree, of an oblong square shape, flat-bottomed, and rounded at the extremities. Some exceed eighty feet in length and twenty in width, with only one mast.[2]

Ever since the time of Alexander, this great stream and its tributaries have been navigated by the above kind of flat boat, in one of which the late enterprising Burnes ascended at the favourable season to Lahore, a distance of nearly 950 miles, in sixty days.[3]

Trade on the Indus.

The ordinary trade is carried on at a moderate rate, namely, twelve or thirteen shillings for 15 cwt., from Bander-Vikkar to Shikárpúr. The distance is about 390 miles, chiefly through a delta, which, owing to the changes constantly taking place at its estuary, is beset with difficulties. But the river has now become known by the careful surveys of Commander Carless and Lieutenant Wood, of the Indian Navy; and, following the steps of the late Sir Alexander Burnes, a steamer has ascended as high as Vezír-ábád, on the Chináb, a distance of about 1,000 miles; while, on another occasion, the Meanee steamer reached Ferozepúr, on the Sutlej, and more recently

[1] Commander Carless, vol. VIII., p. 355, of Royal Geographical Journal.
[2] Sir A. Burnes, vol. III., p. 135, of Royal Geographical Journal.
[3] Vol. III., p. 113, of Royal Geographical Journal.

Manner of conveying troops to Haïder-ábád.

the capital (Lahore): troops, also, are constantly conveyed by steamers to reinforce or relieve our stations near Ḥaïder-ábád. This is sometimes effected by crossing the bar with one of the river steamers to meet the larger one outside, but more generally by marching from Karáchee to the lower part of the Bagár, there to embark. But this difficulty, and also the passage of the bars, might be avoided, by cutting a canal from Karáchee to some part of the trunk of the Indus: this would require but a moderate amount of labour, and would greatly facilitate our growing commerce on the river.

Adverting to what has been said on page 252, a careful computation of the routes of the army has given the following approximative tables of the

MARCHES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

	Miles.	Miles.
European Routes.		
Pella to Widdin, below Lom, on the Danube	300	
Back again to Pella	300	
From Pella to Thebes	180	
From Thebes to Dia	175	
From Dia to the Hellespont	325	
Total		1,280
Routes in Lesser Asia.		
From the Hellespont to the Granicus	52	
The Granicus to Ilium	75	
Ilium to Sardis	139	
Sardis to Ephesus	56	
Ephesus to Halicarnassus	80	
Halicarnassus to Alindæ and Makri	122	
Makri to Xanthus and Telmissus	140	
Telmissus to Mount Climax	64	
Mount Climax to Salagassus	67	
Salagassus to Celæne	43	
Celæne to Yerma, probably Gordium	133	
Gordium to Ancyra	49	
Ancyra (high route) to the Camp of Cyrus	198	
The Camp of Cyrus to Tarsus	199	
Tarsus into Rugged Cilicia and back	165	
Tarsus to Myriandros and back to the Issus	120	
Total		1,602
Carried forward	..	2,882

	Miles.	Miles.
Brought forward . . .	..	2,882
Routes in Syria.		
From the Issus by Aradus to Tyre	273	
Tyre to Jaffa	86	
Jaffa to Jerusalem.	32	
Jerusalem to Gaza	53	
Gaza to Pelusium	136	
Total		580
Routes in Africa.		
Pelusium to Memphis.	125	
Memphis to the Sea	146	
The Sea to Parætonius	145	
Parætonius to the Temple of Ammon . . .	172	
Ammon to Memphis	334	
Total		922
Routes through Syria and Mesopotamia.		
Memphis to Pelusium and Gaza	261	
Gaza to Tyre	134	
Tyre to Aradus	122	
Aradus to Antioch	120	
Antioch to Thapsacus	140	
Thapsacus to Ḥáran, Márdín, and Eskí Móṣul .	280	
Eskí Móṣul to Arbela.	85	
Arbela to the Tigris, at the Great Záb . . .	52	
The Great Záb to Opis	130	
Opis to Babylon	88	
Babylon to Susa	230	
Total		1,642
Persian Routes.		
Susa to the Pasitigris	45	
The Pasitigris, north-eastward to Mál-Amir .	87	
The Uxian city to Ḳal'eh Sefid	188	
Ḳal'eh Sefid to Persepolis	84	
Persepolis to Ecbatana (Hamadán)	480	
Hamadán, by Rhagæ, to the Caspian Gates . .	286	
The Caspian Gates to Hecatompylos.	215	
Hecatompylos to Zadracarta	115	
During the campaign of the Mardi and Reten .	375	
Thence to Zadracarta	115	
Zadracarta to Susia in Aria	550	
Susia in Aria to Herat	130	
Herat to Prophthasia (now Peshawarun) . .	192	
Peshawarun to U'lán Robát, or Shahri-Zohák .	460	
U'lán Robát to Kábul	198	
Kábul to Beghram	35	
Total		3,555
Carried forward . . .	..	9,581

	Miles.	Miles.
Brought forward . . .	..	9,581
Routes in Bactriana.		
Beghram to Inderab	110	
Inderab, or Drepsa, to Bálkh, Bactra or Zariaspa	216	
Zariaspa to Karshi, or Nautaka	204	
Nautaka to Maracanda, or Samarkand . . .	115	
Samarkand to the River Jaxartes. . . .	166	
March into the Fergána district	140	
Second campaign to Gaza, Cyropolis, and Eschata	250	
Eschata to Polytimetus River and Zariaspa . .	450	
Zariaspa to Maracanda and Nautaka . . .	312	
Nautaka to Kurghan-Tippa	245	
Kurghan-Tippa to Merw-el-Rud	310	
Merw-el-Rud to the Rock of Oxyartes . . .	380	
The Rock of Oxyartes to Zariaspa	580	
Zariaspa to Beghram	326	
Total		3,804
Routes West and East of the Indus.		
Beghram to Kábul and Attock	375	
Attock to Taxila	45	
Taxila to the Hydaspes	55	
The Hydaspes to the Hydraotes	125	
The Hydraotes to Sakala and the Hyphasis . .	86	
The Hyphasis, back to the Hydaspes . . .	180	
The Hydaspes to the confluence of the Akesines	250	
The Akesines to the Malli, and back to the Hydraotes	210	
Descent of the Hydraotes and Indus	860	
Total		2,186
Routes in I'rán.		
From the Indus to Susa	1,250	
Susa to the Sea	219	
The Sea to Opis	590	
Opis to Susa	308	
Susa to Bághistán	280	
Bághistán to Hamadán	110	
40 days' campaign against the Cossæans . .	360	
Hamadán to Babylon	340	
Total		3,457
	..	19,028

CHAPTER XII.

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER, FROM 323 B.C. TO 246 B.C.

State of the Empire at the time of Alexander's Death.—Threatened Hostilities.—Arrangements for the Succession.—The various Governors retain their situations.—Roxana puts Statira and her Sister to Death.—Eumenes enters Cappadocia.—Death of Perdiccas.—Defeat and Blockade of Eumenes.—Invasion of Phœnicia, and March towards Babylonia.—The Army of Eumenes escapes from an Inundation, and enters Susiana.—Eurydice and Philip put to Death by Olympias.—Campaigns in Susiana.—March through the Cossæan Mountains.—Campaign in Media.—Drawn Battle, and Death of Eumenes.—Antigonus settles the minor Governments.—Combinations against, and Preparations of Antigonus.—Antigonus marches into Asia Minor.—Demetrius Defeated near Gaza.—The Nabatheans, and Expeditions of Antigonus against Petra.—Roxana and her son Alexander murdered by Cassander.—Barsine, Hercules, and Olympias put to Death.—Antigonus and the other successors of Alexander assume regal titles.—Expeditions of Antigonus and Demetrius: they proceed against Egypt, and are repulsed.—Demetrius besieges Rhodes, and fails in repeated Attacks.—Sieges of Fortresses in ancient and modern times.—Seleucus extends his Empire into India.—His Treaty with Sandrocottus, and March into Asia Minor.—Forces assembled under Seleucus and Antigonus near Ipsus.—Result of the Battle.—Subdivision of Alexander's Empire into four great Kingdoms.—Demetrius is taken, and dies in Captivity.—Death and Character of Seleucus.—Accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus.—Prosperity of Egypt under this Monarch.

A knowledge of Asia derived from Alexander's campaigns,

THE voyage of Nearchus, and especially the preceding campaigns of Alexander, had made eastern Persia and the adjoining countries practically known to the Greeks; but the knowledge thus acquired of these regions would have speedily passed away, had it not been preserved by the subsequent wars: it was at the same time turned to account by the commercial relations which in consequence sprang up. The protracted contests for dominion which followed the untimely death of Alexander must, however, claim immediate notice, since they

and the wars of his successors.

took place in the kingdoms lying between the Nile and the Indus, which had submitted to the power of the conqueror.

Alexander appears to have anticipated these fearful struggles, for in bequeathing his colossal empire to him who should prove the bravest, he added, that his generals, in fighting one with another, would offer ample funereal sacrifices to his manes.[1]

Threatened hostilities.

Scarcely had a reign of unparalleled conquests terminated with these words, when Perdiccas, to whom the king had confided his signet, commenced operations at the head of the cavalry, by surrounding the phalanx, which was then under Meleager, in Babylon.

Joint regal power arranged.

Bloodshed, however, was for the moment averted by the prudent efforts of Eumenes, the late king's secretary; and as no individual could expect support from his competitors for power, all agreed to the proposal that Aridæus, the natural brother of Alexander, should share the regal office jointly with the expected son of Roxana; an infirmity of mind to which the former was subject, and the prospective infancy of the latter, having united all suffrages in their favour. It was at the same time decided that a magnificent procession should convey Alexander's remains into Africa,[2] and that Taxiles and the other Asiatic chiefs should retain their satrapies, as part of the intended empire;[3] while its western portions were severally to continue under Ptolemy, Antigonus, Eumenes, and others. It was also determined neither to construct the pyramidal monument to Philip, nor the six splendid temples which were to have been raised, nor even the thousand long ships which had been intended to command the shores of the Mediterranean; and thus the ample funds which had been expressly left by Alexander for these purposes, became available for other objects. With the decision to make these changes regarding the intentions of the late king, the momentary unanimity of his captains terminated.

The several governors retain their situations.

Roxana puts her rivals to death, and gives birth to a son.

Roxana, shortly after endeavouring to secure the regal succession by putting to death Statira and Drypetis, the daughters of Darius, gave birth to a son, in whose name, jointly with that

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. i.
[2] Ibid., cap. ii.
[3] Ibid.

of Aridæus, now called Philip, the government was nominally carried on; the real power, however, was exercised by Roxana, assisted by Perdiccas.

Eumenes conducts the war in Cappadocia.

After quelling an insurrection in Greece, and another in Thrace, Perdiccas turned his attention towards Cappadocia; when, the strongholds of Isaura and Laranda being taken, and Ariarathes, the king, crucified by his orders, he entrusted the government of that kingdom to Eumenes. Leaving him to prosecute the war, Perdiccas proceeded to invade Egypt, now become a consolidated kingdom. Eumenes, in the mean time, being appointed generalissimo of Caria, Lycia, and Cappadocia, had organized an army, with which, in the first instance, he defeated and killed Craterus, and ten days later he gained a more signal battle over Neoptolemus.[1]

Invasion of Egypt, and murder of Perdiccas.

But these successes were not sufficient to turn the scale in favour of his chief, Perdiccas, whose unjust attack upon Ptolemy, in Egypt, terminated in his defeat, after which he was put to death by his own troops. Antipater, who was now chosen sole protector of the kingdom, with sovereign power, proceeded to make the following allotment of the provinces, the details of which are calculated to show the vastness of the empire.

Antipater distributes the provinces of the new empire.

Ptolemy retained Egypt, and Laomedon Syria; Philoxenus had Cilicia; Amphimachus obtained Mesopotamia and Arbilitis; Babylon fell to Seleucus, the commander of the troops called companions; and Susiana to Antigonus.[2] With regard to the eastern portion of the empire, Peucestas received Persia; Tlepolemus, Carmania; Stasander, Aria and Drangia; Philip, Parthia; Stasanor, Bactria and Sogdia; Syburtius, Aracosia; Oxyartes had the region of Paropamisus, while Pithon had Media and the tract eastward from thence to India, in which region Porus and Taxiles retained their former possessions. In Western Asia, Nicanor received Cappadocia; Phrygia Major, and the tracts near the coast, were given to Antigonus, Caria to Cassander, Lydia to Clitus, Lesser

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. xi., compared with Plutarch, in vita Eumen.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. xiii.

Phrygia to Aridæus. Cassander was appointed general of the horse, and the command of the household troops was given to Antigonus, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes, who, on account of his fidelity, was now reputed a public enemy.[1] The latter lost no time in preparing to defend himself; and Antigonus immediately marched into Cappadocia, where he gained a decided and well-contested victory over Eumenes. Defeated, but not discouraged, the latter retreated into Phrygia, where he defended the castle of Nora[2] so successfully, that Antigonus, although at the head of 60,000 infantry and 19,000 cavalry, was glad to grant him very favourable terms. The faithful Eumenes now received the appointment of commander of the king's forces in Asia,[3] and immediately commenced extensive preparations for the coming campaign. By unremitting exertions he collected about 15,000 men; and hoping to maintain the royal cause, he hastened to take the bold step of commencing operations on the side of Phœnicia, which was at the moment invaded by Ptolemy; but finding himself deprived of the expected support of the king's fleet, in consequence of its recent defeat on that coast, and having besides to contend with the forces of Antigonus, who had followed him thither, he placed the river Euphrates between his troops and those of his antagonist, and then took post at the neighbouring city of Carrhæ.

Antigonus defeats Eumenes in Cappadocia.

B. C. 318.

Eumenes assumes the offensive in Phœnicia.

The inactive season was employed in preparations for the approaching campaign; and amongst other appeals to the supposed adherents of the royal cause, embassies were sent to the satrap of Media, and to Seleucus, the governor of Babylonia.

B. C. 317.

Eumenes marches along the Tigris, and encamps near the Hâï.

Early in the spring, in consequence of the equivocal answer of the latter, Eumenes marched against him at the head of 20,000 men, hoping to seize the treasures of Susa, and at the same time to receive reinforcements from the upper satrapies. With these objects in view, he appears to have advanced along the Tigris, till he encamped on its banks at about 300 stadia from Babylon. The distance here given[4] nearly corresponds with that between the city and the Tigris at the bifurcation of

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. xiii. Ibid., cap. xvii.

[2] Ibid., cap. xvi.

[4] Ibid., lib. XIX., cap. iv.

the Háï, near which he, no doubt, intended to cross the principal stream.

Perilous situation of Eumenes' army.

Whilst collecting boats for this purpose, it appears that Seleucus cut a dyke, probably that of the canal in question which crosses this part of Mesopotamia. The country was in consequence so rapidly inundated, that it was only by occupying some elevated ground, and by the speedy use of boats at the same time, that Eumenes saved his troops from destruction, and gained the left bank, leaving his baggage behind.[1] The latter was, however, recovered the next day, when Eumenes found means to restore the dyke and drain the water. Seleucus, finding that his stratagem had failed, was glad to make a truce, and his opponent immediately occupied Susiana, dividing his army into three corps, to facilitate the means of obtaining supplies,[2] whilst he awaited the expected reinforcements from the upper provinces.

Antigonus still hoped by a rapid march to recover what had been lost by the skill and boldness of his adversary; but arriving too late, he employed the winter season, which had now arrived, in concerting measures with Seleucus and Pithon for another campaign.[3]

Whilst thus occupied, events occurred elsewhere which were well calculated to hasten, if they did not give rise to, those bloody contests which ere long convulsed the empire from one extremity to the other.

Olympias puts Philip and Eurydice to death.

At the instance of Polysperchon, Olympias returned from Epirus, her place of banishment, to Macedonia, and having obtained possession of Philip, as well as of her rival Eurydice, she treated the captives with the greatest rigour, and afterwards caused them to be put to death: thus terminated the nominal reign of Philip, after a period of six years and a half.[4] B. C. 317.

Antigonus enters Babylonia.

One barrier to his ambition being thus removed, Antigonus, the self-appointed regent, moved early in the spring towards Babylonia, taking his whole force, including the contingents of Seleucus and Pithon. Having crossed the Tigris in boats,[5] he

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. iv.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., cap. v.
[5] Ibid., cap. vi.

directed his march on the capital, to encounter Eumenes, and the reinforcements drawn by him from Carmania, Ariana, Drangiana, &c.

Marches to the river Coprates.

Finding a determined resistance, he left a body of troops to besiege the castle of Susa, and advancing against Eumenes, he exposed his army to a trying march from thence to the river Coprates, at a season when the heat was at the greatest, and everything completely burnt up. Using boats, and rafts formed of inflated skins, which were propelled by means of poles, 6,000 horse and 2,000 foot were transported across the lower part of the stream in question, probably the river of Diz, with orders to excavate a ditch and prepare a camp within it for the whole army. Eumenes, who was posted behind a river, probably the Kárún (here called the Tigris[1]), and only eighty stadia from the enemy, was perfectly aware of all that was taking place, and determined, in conformity with the tactics of the school in which he had been educated, to make the best of his position by becoming the assailant. He therefore crossed the Tigris (Kárún) at the head of 4,000 foot and 1,500 horse, where he found 6,000 men collecting forage, under the protection of 300 cavalry and 3,000 infantry: these he attacked and routed, before there was even time to form, causing the whole to fly in the greatest disorder. Antigonus and the rest of his forces, after an ineffectual effort to cover or protect the fugitives, were obliged to witness the sudden destruction of 4,000 men, who by rushing headlong into the boats, and causing the greater part to sink, either perished in the water or were taken prisoners, without the possibility of receiving assistance. Nor was the loss confined to those killed and drowned, for numbers were sacrificed by exposure to the sun during the subsequent retreat to Badaca.[2] After reposing here for a short time, Antigonus put the army in motion, and proceeded towards Media, that he might be near the provinces from which he was to receive reinforcements. In this march he had choice of two routes, the longer and easier of which he determined to avoid, because it would have exposed his troops to the heat of the sun

Eumenes by a manœuvre routs the enemy.

Antigonus retreats to Badaca.

He assumes the offensive.

[1] The Pasitigris of Quint. Curt. and Arrian.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vi.

for forty days; he therefore preferred to move by the shorter and more difficult route through the country of the Cossæans, his intention being to force his way, contrary to the advice of Pithon, who suggested that he should endeavour to purchase the good will of these hardy mountaineers. The route thus chosen, which is described as being irregular, narrow, and precipitous, badly supplied, and occupied by hostile tribes, but cool,[1] appears to be that which passes up the valley of the Kerkhah to A'bi-Garm, and from thence crosses the mountains to Khorram-ābād.[2] Nearchus, one of the generals, was sent in advance, at the head of a body of archers, some slingers, and other light troops, with orders to drive the Cossæans from their principal strongholds, and having done so, to line the roads, so as to ensure the safety of the main body. Antigonus followed with the latter, and a chosen body of horse, under Pithon, covered the rear.[3]

March through the Cossæan Mountains.

Nearchus, as instructed, preceded the main body, and seized several commanding points; but many others were overlooked, and these, being occupied by the enemy, caused great annoyance and serious loss to those who followed. Those immediately round Antigonus suffered most, and were greatly exposed to the stones and darts of the Cossæans. They succeeded, however, in making good their passage, after having been exposed to this harassing warfare for nine days, during which they incurred a heavy loss in men, elephants, and horses. On entering Media, abundant supplies, with a remount for the cavalry, in some measure restored the wonted tone of the army, and the march was continued to the higher provinces.

The army effects the passage into Media.

Eumenes now broke up his camp on the banks of the Pasitigris (Kárún), to pursue his enemy; and taking the route of the *ladders*, or Pylæ Persicæ, and subsequently passing through the shaded valleys and gardens[4] of Basht and Faïlioun, he reached Persepolis in twenty-four marches. The soldiers, who had been scantily supplied during this time, found their

Eumenes marches through the Pylæ Persicæ.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vi.
[2] Major Rawlinson, Royal Geographical Journal, vol. IX., p. 63.
[3] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vi.
[4] Ibid., cap. vii.

The army is feasted by Peucestas.

toils rewarded by a great feast, which, like that of Alexander on a greater occasion, had been prepared by Peucestas for the whole army. An altar, dedicated to the conqueror, and another to his father Philip, occupied the centre, round which the generals, masters of the horse, nobles, and chiefs of Persia had their several tables, forming an interior circle of two stadia; a second, of four stadia, was occupied by officers of the second order; and a third, of eight stadia in circumference, was destined for the Argyraspides, and those who had served under Alexander: the fourth, or that intended for the mercenaries and auxiliaries, was ten stadia in circumference.[1]

Eumenes outmarches Antigonus.

Eumenes, having drank hard at this and another banquet which he subsequently gave to his troops, was attacked by fever, which in the latter part of the march obliged him to be carried in a litter. By making a forced march in this manner, he succeeded in anticipating the intention of Antigonus, by throwing himself between the latter and Gabene, in the district of Parætacene.

On the appearance of the enemy's advance, Peucestas ordered the line of battle to be formed; but the soldiers, who suspected that Eumenes was dead, at first refused to obey. Eumenes was therefore brought out in his litter, with the curtains drawn back, in order to convince them that their general was still alive.[2] Eumenes had 35,000 foot and 6,000 horse, with 114 elephants, while Antigonus had only 28,000 foot, 8,500 horse, and 65 elephants. The latter, who outflanked his enemy on this occasion, attacked in echellon from the right, and repulsed the left of Eumenes;[3] but after a long and obstinate struggle, with various skilful manœuvres and alternate advantages on both sides, the contest ended at nightfall to the disadvantage of Antigonus. He retained, however, part of the battle-ground, and buried the dead before he retired to winter at Gadamolis, or Gadarlis, in Media. On the other hand, Eumenes secured his object by marching from the battle ground into the unexhausted district of Gabene.

In the battle which ensues, Antigonus is worsted.

Positions of the contending armies.

The two armies having moved in almost opposite directions from the recent field of battle, were now separated by a distance

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vii. [2] Ibid., cap. viii. [3] Ibid.

of twenty-five marches, through inhabited countries, but of nine only by the more direct route, which was, however, entirely without the means of subsistence.[1] Antigonus being aware that the troops of his rival were dispersed in different winter quarters, for the sake of supplies, formed the bold project of surprising and attacking them with a superior force, before they could assemble.

Antigonus marches to surprise Eumenes.

Accordingly, ten days' supplies were prepared; and giving out that he was about to traverse Armenia, he moved the whole army by forced marches across the mountains towards Gabene. Strict orders were issued that no fires should be lighted at night, lest his approach should be discovered from the heights; but after obeying this order for five nights, the soldiers, on account of the severity of the winter, made fires, and these being seen by the inhabitants, notice of an approaching enemy was immediately given to Peucestas and Eumenes.

Happy expedient of Eumenes.

The former, who had charge of the advance, was about to make a hasty retreat, lest he should be cut off, but Eumenes, arriving at the moment, encouraged him to maintain his post on the borders of the desert, assuring him that he knew how to delay the enemy till the army could be collected. Ever fertile in expedients, this commander ordered all the troops that he could assemble at the moment to follow him quickly to the elevated ground overlooking the plain, and choosing the most conspicuous places, he caused fires to be lighted at each. At nightfall they were to be very large, as if supper were in preparation; but in the second and third watch they were gradually to become extinct, thus having the appearance, from a distance, of an army encamped on the spot. This simple stratagem completely succeeded; for Antigonus and Pithon, believing that the whole army was in their front, immediately halted, to allow their troops the necessary time for refreshment and repose, preparatory to a general engagement. During this interval, Eumenes was equally prepared, and both armies being encamped within forty furlongs of each other, it was resolved to decide the war.

The two armies prepare for battle.

Antigonus placed his cavalry in the wings, having the

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. x.

infantry in the centre, the elephants in front, and light-armed troops occupying the intervals between these animals.

Eumenes commences the engagement, refusing his right wing.

Eumenes, with the élite of the cavalry, placed himself in the left wing, opposite to his adversary, having sixty elephants, forming an oval, in his front, here also with light troops filling up the intervals. Philip, the satrap of Parthia, commanded the right wing, and had orders to retreat rather than risk its safety by a general engagement. The whole force amounted to 114 elephants, 36,700 infantry, and 6,050 cavalry, all animated with the best spirit.

The battle, which commenced with the elephants and cavalry, terminated, after a lengthened struggle, with mutual advantages, the cavalry of Antigonus having defeated its opponents, while, on the other side, the infantry of Eumenes was victorious. But the families of the Argyraspides having been taken, these troops sacrificed their honour to recover their wives and childen; for on a hint from Antigonus that such an exchange would be acceptable, the Macedonians delivered up their general.

Eumenes is put to death.

The talented and upright Eumenes, being now for the second time in his power, Antigonus, without hesitation, caused him to be put to death; and having gone through the form of honouring his remains with the public rite of burning, he completed the mockery by sending the ashes in a funereal urn to his relatives.

Antigonus arranges the different governments.

Antigonus now occupied winter quarters between the Median Ecbatana and Rhages, and took advantage of this interval of repose to confirm those governors who were too powerful to be dispossessed, removing others who were inimical to his interests. Amongst the latter were Pithon, who was tried and executed, and Peucestas, the satrap of Persia. Having personally superseded the latter, he assumed the title of king of the country, and sovereign of all Asia: he likewise confirmed Oxyartes, Evitus, and others, in their governments; after which he proceeded towards Susa, where he found the celebrated golden vine, and other treasures valued at 15,000 talents.[1]

Fifteen thousand talents taken at Susa.

During this period the flames of war continued to rage in Europe, chiefly in the territories governed by Cassander, by whom Olympias had been invested in Pydna since the murder of

[1] Diod. Sic, lib. XIX., cap. xv.

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Patent J. H. Le Keux

THE LARGEST PATRIARCH CEDAR OF LEBANON.

Aridæus and Eurydice. At length famine overcame the bravery of the defenders of that place, when the haughty Olympias, deserted by her troops, fell into the hands of her enemies, and the mother of Alexander was put to death, by the kindred of those who had already suffered by her orders; but Roxana and her son, who were destined to experience a similar fate, still remained in captivity. Olympias is put to death.

Favoured by these circumstances, Antigonus marched towards Babylon, and on his approach Seleucus fled to Ptolemy, whose authority then extended over Syria and Phœnicia as well as Egypt. He was well received; and he soon induced Ptolemy to join with the rulers of Macedonia and Thrace in a combination against Antigonus, who now openly aimed at uniting the whole of the Macedonian conquests under his dominion. He prepared for the approaching conquest by establishing beacons and couriers to secure speedy intelligence throughout Asia, by raising troops, by building a fleet, and at the same time strengthening his party by an alliance with Rhodes and Cyprus. Combination of Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Cassander.

His advantageous position between Ptolemy on the one side, and the confederates in Asia on the other, was speedily turned to good account. A fleet being urgently required to cope with that of Ptolemy, which, under Seleucus, threatened the coast and menaced the camp before Tyre, numerous shipwrights were immediately employed to construct vessels at Tripoli, Sidon, and Byblus, and also on the coast of Cilicia. The forests of the Taurus supplied materials for that coast, and 1,000 pairs of bullocks were employed in transporting the magnificent pines and cedars of Lebanon to the ports of Syria.[1] Antigonus makes great preparations.

Leaving, in addition to the necessary protection at these places, 3,000 men, under Andronicus, to blockade Tyre, Antigonus proceeded southward, and having secured his flank on the side of Egypt by subjecting the cities of Joppa and Gaza, he returned to resume in form the siege of the first place.[2] During its progress, however, the operations of Ptolemy in Greece, and those of the confederates in Asia, called for particular attention to the northern provinces. Leaving, therefore, Siege of Tyre.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. xviii. [2] Ibid.

Antigonus marches into Lesser Asia.

his son Demetrius at the head of an ample force, Antigonus, after experiencing some loss from the snow, crossed the Taurus, and put his army into winter quarters at Celæne in Phrygia, being supported by his newly-constructed fleet from Phœnicia.[1] He had now obtained command of the sea, and by the skilfully conducted campaign that followed, the greater part of Caria fell into his hands. During that and the following year, he gained the alliance of most of the Peloponnesus, of Eubœa, Thebes, Phocis, and Locris; in consequence of which a treaty followed with Cassander, who, from a formidable opponent, became a dependent ally.

B. C. 313.

Ptolemy defeats Demetrius at Gaza.

But these successes were clouded by a serious reverse experienced elsewhere by his forces. Ptolemy having been successful in Cyrenê and also in Cyprus, had just returned to Egypt. From thence, at the instance of Seleucus,[2] he marched to attack Demetrius with a superior force; and the latter being routed in a pitched battle near Gaza, fled to Tripoli and despatched a courier to entreat his father's speedy assistance.[3] As the consequence of this battle, Ptolemy recovered the cities of Phœnicia, with the exception of Tyre, and Seleucus was enabled to resume his government of Babylonia. With this resumption commenced the celebrated era of the Seleucidæ.

B. C. 312.

Result of the campaign.

The approach of Antigonus, and the defeat of Cilles by Demetrius, caused Ptolemy to retire into Egypt, leaving his enemy master of Cœlo-Syria, &c.[4]

Antigonus sends a force against the Nabatheans.

Elated with these successes, Antigonus determined to turn his arms against the Nabathean Arabs. By their laws, this particular section of the Arab race, like the Rechabites of an earlier time,[5] were forbidden to drink wine, to sow seed, and to build or possess houses. Being almost wholly without cultivation, their food was necessarily limited to the milk and flesh of their flocks, with the addition of fruits, roots, wild honey, and a sort of pepper, which, says Diodorus Siculus, they mixed with the last.[6] Athenæus, the general to whom Antigonus entrusted the enterprise, having ascertained that the bulk of the Naba-

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. xx.
[2] Ibid., cap. xxiii.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., cap. xxv.
[5] Jer., chap. XXXV., v. 2–10.
[6] Lib. XIX., cap. xxv.

theans were absent at a fair on the borders of Syria, made a forced march of 220 miles in 72 hours, and seized Petra their capital.[1] Antigonus seizes their capital

But the Arabs, being apprized by some of the fugitives that their enemies were not on the alert after their success, made a sudden attack during the third watch, and killed Athenæus and all his troops, with the exception of some 80 horsemen, who escaped wounded.[2] Antigonus now despatched Demetrius with 4,000 light armed foot and as many horse to avenge the death of Athenæus; but being unable to make any impression on a people, who for the sake of freedom occupied the caverns of Petra in the heart of a desert, without even ordinary supplies, he gladly consented to retreat towards Lake Asphaltites, on condition that the Nabatheans would send deputies with presents to appease his father. The expected profit from the bitumen of the lake was, however, some compensation to the latter for the failure at Petra, and turning his thoughts to a still higher prize, Demetrius was despatched to recover Babylon.[3] Second expedition under Demetrius.

This undertaking had almost succeeded, one castle being taken, and the other about to fall, when the recall of Demetrius to assist his father in Asia Minor, enabled Seleucus to move from his retreat in the Babylonian marshes, and recover the city. The hostilities which were at this period simultaneously continued in Greece, were terminated by a treaty with the confederate princes, by which Cassander was to hold Asia in trust for the youthful king. But in the following year, hoping to receive the crown of Macedonia, he caused Alexander and his mother Roxana to be murdered; and thus her cruelty in putting the youthful and beautiful Statira to death met a just reward. Ostensibly denouncing this treason, Polysperchon, the competitor of Cassander, sent for Hercules, the remaining son of Alexander, by Barsine, the widow of Memnon.[4] This had the desired effect of alarming Cassander, and he agreed to share the government with Polysperchon, who having thus gained his object, immediately put Barsine and Hercules to

B. C. 311.

Roxana and her son Alexander murdered.

B. C. 309.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. xxv., p. 731.
[2] Ibid., p. 732.
[3] Ibid., pp. 733–736.
[4] Ibid., lib. XX., cap. vi.

Cleopatra put to death.

death. One of the race, however, still remained, Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. Her beauty and noble birth, added to her influence over the Macedonians, had caused her hand to be sought by the most powerful of her brother's captains, as the means of advancement. It appears that Ptolemy was preferred to his rivals; and the princess was on her way from Sardis to Egypt, when Antigonus caused her to be seized, and privately murdered.[1] Thus, in the brief space of fourteen years, the whole of Alexander's family perished by the sword, and the prophecy that his mighty empire should be plucked up and given to others was literally fulfilled.[2]

Demetrius carries the war into Cyprus.

Shortly after the death of Cleopatra, operations were undertaken by Antigonus against Cassander; and Demetrius, at the head of a powerful fleet and army, having freed the Grecian cities, carried his arms into Caria. He then invaded Cilicia, and from thence sailed to Cyprus to besiege Salamis.[3]

But here he met with the most determined resistance, which he endeavoured to overcome by the use of helepoles and various kinds of battering-rams. The arrival of Ptolemy during these operations, with a considerable fleet, caused the siege to be turned into a succession of naval engagements; and, at length, a signal victory gained over the latter occasioned his return to Egypt, and Cyprus submitted in consequence to the conqueror.[4]

Antigonus and his competitors assume regal titles.

Antigonus was so much elated with his son's success, that he immediately assumed regal dignity, and caused Demetrius to do the same. Ptolemy likewise proclaimed himself king, as did Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus;[5] Antigonus continuing, as before, to occupy a place between the kingdom of Ptolemy on one side, and that of Seleucus and Macedonia on the other.

But the newly-acquired diadems of both father and son were destined to be tarnished during the operations which now took place, by land and sea, against Egypt.

Expedition of Antigonus against Ptolemy.

Demetrius, who was recalled from Cyprus to assist in the projected expedition, was placed in command of the fleet, with orders to keep along the coast, in sight of the land forces;

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. ix.
[2] Dan., chap. XI., v. 4.
[3] Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xii.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

whilst the latter, consisting of 80,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and 83 elephants, marched to Gaza.

Antigonus, having procured a number of camels from Arabia to carry the requisite supplies, advanced by a forced march, hoping to surprise Ptolemy, relying on the fleet for sustenance when the ten days' provisions carried by the army should be exhausted.

The fleet encounters a storm on the coast of Egypt.

This movement appears to have taken place just before the change of the seasons; the calms, therefore, which had delayed the fleet in the first instance were followed by the usual strong northerly gales which commence in the early part of May, and make the open coast of Egypt unapproachable.[1] A large portion of the fleet was lost near Raphia (Rafah); some vessels returned to Gaza, and the few that remained, with great difficulty rode out the gale at anchor, probably near Cape Starki beyond El Arish, without the possibility of communicating with the army, and suffering greatly from the want of water. But the unexpected cessation of the storm relieved the weather-beaten mariners from the fear of death, and they found refreshment in the camp of Antigonus. He, after vainly expecting to be joined by the vessels which had separated in the early part of the storm, now advanced towards the Nile. By this time, however, Ptolemy was prepared at all points, and the attempts of his enemy to enter Egypt not only failed by land, but, subsequently, both at the Pelusiac and Tanitic branches of the Nile. Repulsed at every point, and finding his army rapidly decreasing by sickness and desertion, Antigonus was obliged to retrace his steps, and encounter for the second time the privations and exposure incident to traversing the desert tract lying between Palestine and Egypt.

Antigonus advances, and is driven back by Ptolemy.

Demetrius proceeds against Rhodes.

The next operation was the siege of Rhodes. The Rhodians had, it seems, been secretly inclined to support the cause of Ptolemy; which circumstance, added to the wealth they had lately acquired by trading as a neutral territory, determined Antigonus to undertake the subjection of that island. Demetrius was therefore sent thither with a sufficient force and a powerful fleet, provided with all kinds of engines for the intended siege. The Rhodians, finding their town beleaguered,

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xvi.

and that Demetrius refused to listen to any terms, prepared for defence, sending at the same time to request the assistance of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, on account of whom, in fact, the war had taken place. As an encouragement to the citizens during the coming struggle, it was decreed that those servants who proved most faithful should obtain their freedom, and that the parents and children of those who died in the cause should be maintained at the public expense. With these and other promises all were excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and the noblest spirit animated the Rhodians throughout a siege which has become most remarkable from the skill, perseverance, and valour which were displayed on both sides. The effects of the darts and stones thrown from the walls were nearly counteracted by means of the *testudo*; and huge double towers, of sufficient height to be on a level with the top of the wall, being floated on vessels, were placed alongside the fortifications. These moving castles were, however, met by others placed by the Rhodians at the entrance of the harbour, to hurl stones, darts, and arrows against the enemy. The vessels of Demetrius succeeded, however, in approaching the walls, which were fiercely assaulted, and as obstinately defended, till, at the expiration of eight days, Demetrius was obliged to retire to the outer harbour.[1] After repairing his shattered fleet, he re-entered the port, and made a still more formidable and continuous attack, which had almost carried the town, when the desperate efforts of the Rhodians were once more successful; and many of the besieging vessels being destroyed by fire and other means, the rest again retreated to the outer port.[2]

Preparations of the Rhodians against the besiegers.

Vessels and machines used by Demetrius.

Demetrius now resumed the siege by land, chiefly using for this purpose an helepolis, consisting of several loop-holed stories. The machine was put in motion by eight immense wheels, and was propelled by 3,400 of the strongest men in the army. To this machine numerous testudos, battering-rams, and covered galleries were added, with everything that ingenuity could devise. The whole means of assault employed 30,000 workmen, and occupied a space of four furlongs along the walls. The besieged, however, were equally active; for, by using the

Renewed attack on the land side, with fresh machines.

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xvii. [2] Ibid.

materials of their houses, and even of their temples, they had raised another wall within that which was being battered down. Things were in this state, when a deserter informed the citizens that the miners of Demetrius were already almost within the defences of the city. Countermines now became their only resource, and both besiegers and besieged speedily met, as it were, on equal terms, under ground.[1] Countermines employed in the defence.

Bribery was now resorted to, but equally without success, and the besiegers renewed their efforts above ground. The walls were fast giving way before such powerful means from without, whilst famine was assisting the enemy within, when Ptolemy's fleet arrived most opportunely with provisions and reinforcements. Encouraged by this assistance, the besieged, under cover of their engines, which launched fire-balls, darts, stones, &c., made an unexpected and vigorous sally, from the effects of which only a portion of the besieging engines were saved, and that with extreme difficulty.[2] Whilst these were being repaired, to renew the attack, fresh means of defence were employed by the Rhodians, who formed a crescent-shaped entrenchment, embracing the whole of that portion of the walls which was attacked. Demetrius, with equal perseverance, advanced his machines, and carried a considerable portion of the defences; but as the centre tower still resisted his efforts, he resorted to a general night attack by sea and land. On this occasion, some of the assailants forced their way into the town, but after a lengthened and bloody struggle the Rhodians were successful, and a peace followed, by which the city was to continue under its own laws, and at the same time enjoy its own revenues; while they agreed to assist Antigonus in any wars which he might undertake, excepting those against their ally Ptolemy.[3] The Rhodians repel another assault, and make peace.

This place furnishes a striking example of the methods of attack and defence employed in ancient times; the greatest skill, perseverance, and valour having been equally displayed for more than twelve months, both by the besiegers and besieged. Never were assaults more frequent and energetic, or courage more indomitable. When one wall ceased to resist the pon-

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xix. [2] Ibid.
Ibid.

derous machines of Demetrius, another appeared within, offering a more impenetrable barrier than the first. The remains of the helepoles and other machines, which were presented by Demetrius to the Rhodians, as a just tribute to their valour, realized a sufficient sum to erect the colossal statue, which was considered as one of the wonders of the world.

Explosive mines employed in the sixteenth century.

At a later period, this fortress witnessed the first employment of that branch of the military art, which has since contributed greatly to the superior efficiency of the attack over the defence of fortresses. In 1522, more than 100,000 enthusiastic Muslims commenced the siege of this fortress under Suleïmán II. But notwithstanding the use of a powerful artillery, and of the other means employed at that time, besides a great sacrifice of life, a band of 6,000 warriors, under the knights of St. John, resisted successfully, until the besiegers resorted to the expedient of explosive mines: from that period such mines have often accelerated the fall of a besieged place.

Alexander's successors throw off the mask.

As the government, which had hitherto been carried on in the names of a weak-minded prince and an infant king, had ceased to exist, the ambitious designs of Alexander's generals were no longer concealed; and his vast conquests were regarded as an inheritance, which might be lawfully secured by the most powerful among them.

B. C. 305 to 303.

The position of Seleucus at Babylon, and his tact in turning his attention eastward, rather than mixing in the contests to the westward of that city, gave him the largest portion of the spoils, so that he extended his dominion with little difficulty to the borders of India; but his ambition being little short of that of Alexander himself, the Iranian empire[1] was insufficient.

Seleucus prepares to extend his territory beyond the Indus.

Seleucus therefore prepared to extend his territory, and circumstances were particularly favourable to him, for he was in alliance with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus; and whilst the forces of Antigonus were still employed in besieging Rhodes, he proceeded from Babylon at the head of a powerful army, hoping by a rapid march to recover the provinces beyond the Indus, which had recently shaken off the Macedonian yoke. Being master of the intervening kingdoms,

[1] From the Indus to the Euphrates.

with the necessary supplies at command, and the certainty of receiving constant reinforcements, a march through I'rán was not attended with any particular difficulty. But on finding Sandrocottus, the sovereign of the whole country, with 600,000 men, and a proportion of elephants ready to oppose him beyond the Indus, he took the prudent course of renouncing all pretensions to that territory, in consideration of being furnished by Sandrocottus with 500 elephants; then, making a retrograde march, he was in time to take a decided part in the concerns of the west, which, since the truce made at Rhodes, had become more complicated. Demetrius, who was serving as generalissimo of the Greeks, was opposed by Cassander in Europe, while Lysimachus had taken from Antigonus, not only all Phrygia and Lydia, but the whole of the territory between the Propontis and the Mæander.

Treaty with Sandrocottus, and return from India.

Antigonus and Demetrius opposed by Seleucus in Phrygia.

This state of things obliged Antigonus to hasten in person from Syria by forced marches; and, with the public funds, he raised the requisite forces to march against Lysimachus. Seleucus, in the mean time, having re-formed his army in Babylonia, marched into Cappadocia to meet Antigonus; who was obliged in consequence to recall Demetrius[1] with all speed. He was, besides, pressed on the other hand by Ptolemy, who had taken advantage of this opportunity to recover the tract between Egypt and Asia Minor, the cities of Tyre and Sidon excepted. The forces in Cappadocia and Phrygia, now about to contend for dominion, numbered on one side 60,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 75 elephants, under Antigonus and his son; and on the other, 64,000 foot, 10,000 horse, 400 elephants, and 120 scythed chariots. Demetrius attacked Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, with a degree of success which might have been complete, had he not been carried away in the pursuit till the infantry was completely separated from the cavalry. Seleucus, with admirable coolness, took advantage of this circumstance to interpose his elephants between the enemy's horse and foot, and the greatest part of the latter seized this opportunity to go over to him.

B. C. 302 to 301.

Battle of Ipsus.

Seleucus now made a determined attack with his infantry on

[1] Plut. in Demetrius.

Death of Antigonus.

the main body, and thus completed the great defeat near Ipsus.[1] Demetrius, on seeing his father perish nobly in the heat of the battle, rallied a few of the troops, and retreated to Ephesus, and from thence to the shores of the Mediterranean, accompanied by a youth, who was afterwards known as Pyrrhus the Great.

The principal barrier to a peaceable settlement being removed, the territories of Antigonus were divided amongst the confederate princes, and the mighty empire of Alexander, now

B. C. 301. formed four great kingdoms. Ptolemy, in addition to his

Subdivision of Alexander's empire.

possessions in Africa and Arabia, obtained Palestine and Cœlo-Syria; Cassander had Greece added to Macedonia; and Lysimachus, Bithynia in addition to some of the provinces beyond the Hellespont. Lastly, Seleucus was the acknowledged sovereign of the rest of Asia. Demetrius, however, retained, as the wreck of his father's power, Cyprus, Tyre, and Sidon, with the throne of Macedon; and his influence in Greece enabled him to raise upwards of 100,000 men, with part of which he continued the war, hoping to recover his father's

B. C. 287. dominions in Asia. Pyrrhus, however, succeeded in expelling him from Macedonia; and, being joined by the greatest part of the opposing troops, the hopes of Demetrius were effectually crushed in that quarter.

Demetrius makes a futile attempt to regain his crown.

Impelled, however, by insatiable ambition, the prince continued to make other efforts, both in the field, and by means of alliances, to recover his lost ground: the last measure was a desperate attempt with a handful of men to surprise Seleucus by night in his camp. Failing, as might have been expected, he fled to the mountains, and there remained till hunger forced

B. C. 286. him to surrender. Seleucus generously allowed his prisoner the range of ample hunting-grounds, with all the conveniencies of life: the temperament of Demetrius was, however, ill calculated to support the great change in his condition; and he was gradually seized with hopeless melancholy. The elasticity of his mind was destroyed; he grew corpulent, and abandoned himself to drinking and gaming. The excesses of the table and a life of inactivity, brought on a severe distemper, which

[1] Apion in Syriac, p. 122.

terminated his existence in the third year of his captivity, and the fifty-fourth year of his age. A striking contrast to the fate of this prince will be found in the life of his son, whose moderation preserved the crown of Macedonia for a lengthened period in the family. Demetrius dies in captivity.

Seleucus, the successful rival of Antigonus, continued to be the undisputed sovereign of the greater part of western Asia, till he was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, B.C. 280. A short time before this, he had however resigned part of his empire, with his queen, Stratonice, in order to save Antiochus, who was pining to death for his stepmother. Seleucus was distinguished for his just and enlightened government, and more particularly for the construction of numerous cities, the most remarkable of which were Antioch and Apamea, both on the Orontes, with Seleucia, the port of the former; also Theodosia, and the greater Seleucia on the Tigris. The latter was afterwards capital of the empire of Antiochus Theos, which extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to the limits of Bactria. Death and character of Seleucus.

The second of the Ptolemies, who was surnamed Philadelphus, succeeded to the throne of Egypt at this period, and in the first year erected in Alexandria the celebrated Pharos, at the cost of 800 talents. The early part of his reign was likewise distinguished by the formation of a nobler monument, namely, the great library:[1] the translation of the Old Testament, now known as the Septuagint version, was one of the earliest fruits of this institution; which, as will be noticed hereafter,[2] had much influence on the infant literature of Europe. The Pharos erected.

Those enlarged views, which had facilitated navigation and the acquisition of knowledge, were by Philadelphus extended to the commerce with distant nations. A city called Berenice, after the name of his mother, sprang up on the western shore of the Red Sea, through which, as will hereafter be seen,[3] an active trade passed from and to the Nile; again a canal leading to the same river, from the northern extremity of the Red Sea Commerce and the arts encouraged by Ptolemy.

[1] Strabo, lib. XVII., p. 791. [2] Chap. XVI.
[3] Chap. XVIII.

was executed: and, as an additional means of superseding the route from Elath to Rhinocolura, on the borders of Palestine, this prince had fleets on that sea, as well as on the Mediterranean. Intrigues, which were the natural consequences of an incestuous marriage, and the demoralized state of the East, led to a war between Antiochus Theos and Ptolemy,[1] from which the former gladly disengaged himself after losing a large portion of his eastern possessions. Theodotus having revolted and become the sovereign of Bactria, his example was followed in other provinces of that part of the world; but the most important change was that which, from a comparatively trifling circumstance, took place in Parthia. Agathocles, who governed for Antiochus, had so enraged the people by offering violence to Tiridates, that they put him to death; and Arsaces, the brother of the youth in question, having expelled the Macedonians, assumed the government of that extensive country, which from henceforth was destined to play a distinguished part in the history of the world.[2]

War between Antiochus Theos and Ptolemy.

[1] Strabo, lib. VII., p. 152. [2] Justin, lib. XLI., cap. iv.

CHAPTER XIII.

GLANCE AT THE PARTHIAN AND ROMAN WARS, FROM 222 B.C. TO A.D. 631.

Seleucus Callinicus invades Parthia.—His Death.—Parthia becomes independent.—Antiochus the Great succeeds.—Suppression of the Rebellions in Media and Persia.—Ptolemy Philopater gains Palestine and Cœlo-Syria, and visits Jerusalem.—Increase of the Roman power in Asia.—Demetrius Nicator invades Parthia, and is taken prisoner.—Extension of the Parthian Dominions.—Judicious Polity of Mithridates.—Antiochus Sidetes invades Parthia, and is killed in battle. Pacorus, King of Parthia, seeks the friendship of the Romans.—Campaign of Lucullus in Armenia.—Pontus becomes a Roman province.—Crassus invades Parthia.—Surena takes the Field.—Fate of the Roman Army.—Surena's Triumph at Ctesiphon.—Surena's Death.—Circuitous march of Antony into Media.—Siege of the Capital.—Retreat from Praaspa to the Araxes.—Augustus proclaimed Emperor.—Preparations of Ælius Gallus.—March of the Roman Army into Arabia Felix.—Return of the Expedition to Egypt.—Siege of Jotapata by the Romans.—State of Jerusalem.—Siege and Capture of the City.—Massacre of the Inhabitants.—Trajan's Accession.—Invasion of Assyria, and descent of the River Euphrates.—The Nahr-Malká opened for the passage of his Fleet.—Capture of Ctesiphon, and descent to the Persian Gulf.—Return of Trajan.—Siege of Atra.—Severus descends the Euphrates.—Passage of the Nahr Malká, and Capture of Ctesiphon.—Second and third Siege of Atra.—Retreat of Severus.—Wars of Sapor, and Capture of Valerian.—Invasion of the Roman Provinces in Europe by the Goths, &c.—Rise of Odenatus, Prince of Palmyra.—He makes War on Sapor.—Death of Odenatus.—Zenobia seizes some of the Roman Provinces.—Her contests with Aurelian.—Siege and Fall of Palmyra.—Galerius Defeats the Persians.—Wars of Sapor II. and Constantine.—Remarkable Siege of Nisibis.—Rise of Julian.—His preparations for War.—Descent of the River Euphrates with a Fleet and Army to Anatho.—Fearful Hurricane encountered when approaching this City.—Descent of the River continued.—Siege and Capture of Perisaboras, &c.—Julian crosses Mesopotamia to Ctesiphon.—Retreat and Death of Julian.—Jovian succeeds and effects a Retreat with the Roman Army.—Belisarius is Defeated by the Persians.—Chosroes invades Syria, and Captures Antioch.—Chosroes is Routed by Justinian.—Second Invasion of the Roman Territories, and total Defeat of Chosroes.—Rebellion of Varanes put down by Chosroes.—Decline of the Persian power.

DURING the period about to be considered, the contest which had previously been so general in all quarters amongst the suc-

cessors of Alexander, became chiefly confined to one portion of Western Asia, that inhabited by the Parthians: these, in their connexion with other countries, will now be briefly noticed.

Science and learning encouraged in Egypt.

Ptolemy Euergetes, who at the close of the preceding chapter filled the throne of Egypt, was more occupied with peaceful than with warlike pursuits, being no less the encourager of learning and science, than his predecessor Ptolemy Philadelphus. On the library of Alexandria he bestowed particular care, with the assistance from time to time of those individuals, who having made themselves remarkable for their knowledge and acquirements, became in consequence the cherished guests of the Egyptian monarch.

Whilst the arts of peace were fostered in this kingdom, those of war maintained their pre-eminence in the adjoining territory.

Seleucus Callinicus is defeated, and dies in captivity.

The first object of Seleucus Callinicus, the successor of Antiochus, on being partly extricated from two unsuccessful contests, one with Ptolemy Euergetes, and another in Asia Minor with his brother Antiochus, was to march against the Parthians; but owing to fresh commotions at home his purpose was delayed, and Arsaces obtained another opportunity of consolidating his

B. C. 222.

power. As soon, however, as these troubles seemed to permit it, Seleucus renewed the attempt with that perseverance which characterized the successors of Alexander: but being defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, he died in captivity.[1] The Parthians afterwards celebrated this victory as the first day of their independence, and as that by which their leader had raised himself from a low condition to the throne: Arsaces taking from thenceforth the title of king, became in fact the Cyrus of Parthia. The

Rebellion of Molo and Alexander.

short reign of the son of Seleucus, Seleucus Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, was followed by that of his brother Antiochus, sur-

B. C. 219.

named the Great, which, in his fifteenth year, commenced under difficult circumstances, both as regarded Egypt and his own territory. His brothers, Molo and Alexander, the satraps of Media and Persia, withdrew their allegiance from him, and hostilities commenced in Egypt against Ptolemy Philopater, who was now on the throne. The war was urged personally by Antigonus in the region of Cœlo-Syria with little success, and

[1] Justin, lib. XLI., cap. iv., compared with Athenæus, IV., cap. xiii.

was carried on at the same time in Mesopotamia under his general Xenætas. This last was still less fortunate; for having passed the Tigris, near Seleucia, he fell into an ambuscade in that neighbourhood, and perished, with those whom he commanded. Mesopotamia as well as Babylonia thus fell into the hands of the rebels.[1]

Antiochus subdues the rebels. B. C. 217.

In the spring, Antiochus took the field, and passing the Euphrates, no doubt at the Zeugma of Thapsacus, he wintered at Antiochia of Mygdonia (Nisíbín). Subsequently his troops crossed the Tigris, and having relieved Dura, which had been besieged by Molo's troops, he advanced by Oricum to Apollonia,[2] the capital of that part of Assyria which bears this name. Here he gained a complete victory, and the rebel Molo having in despair laid violent hands on himself, his followers submitted; as did subsequently the Atropatians, with their king Artabazanes, and the whole were received into allegiance as formerly.[3]

Defeat of Antiochus by Ptolemy Philopator. B. C. 216.

On the coast of Phœnicia contests, on the whole favourable to Antiochus, were carried on both by sea and land; but these were followed, in the spring, by a campaign which terminated in his defeat at the great battle of Raphia, the consequence of which, was the submission of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine to Ptolemy.

In making a progress through these territories, the conqueror visited Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to the God of Israel, and bestowed rich gifts on that holy place. It is also stated that he visited the second court of the temple, and that when about to penetrate to the holy of holies, contrary to the express law of God, he was stricken with terror and retired.[4]

Antiochus subdues Bactria and the intermediate countries.

During the next season, Antiochus being, by the terms of the treaty that followed the late campaign, at liberty to renew hostilities, carried the war into Asia Minor, and having defeated Achæus, and taken Sardis, he subsequently recovered Media,

[1] Polybius, lib. V., cap. xlvi.-xlix., compared with Justin, lib. XXX., cap. i.

[2] Now Thereban: D'Anville's Anc. Geog., vol. II., p. 35.

[3] Polybius, lib. V., cap. liv.

[4] Third book of Maccabees, chap. I., v. 9, to chap. II., v. 24, as found in the Codex Vaticanus of the LXX.; also Polybius, lib. V., cap. lxxx.

Parthia, and Hyrcania, and concluded a treaty by which Arsaces was to assist in regaining the other provinces;[1] in
B. C. 201. consequence of which Bactria was subdued. The forces of Antiochus numbered 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse.

But notwithstanding the success which thus attended his endeavours to recover the territory of his predecessors, Antiochus discovered in the sequel that circumstances were greatly altered: the Roman power now extended into Asia, and notwithstanding his repeated and persevering efforts, it was firmly established between the chain of the Taurus and the river Halys; in consequence of which, the kings of Syria were wholly excluded
B. C. 183. from Lesser Asia. Things were in this state, when Seleucus Philopater succeeded Antiochus the Great in the government of a kingdom, now oppressed with the enormous annual tribute of 1,000 talents to the Romans.

Increase of the Roman power.

Henceforth, the interference and influence of the latter people rapidly increased amongst the Greeks, the Macedonians, the Syrians, and the people of Asia Minor. Many provinces had in reality become Roman, some having been bequeathed and others obtained by intrigues or negotiations; so that in the year 145 B. C. but little of the Seleucidæan territory remained.

Demetrius Nicator invades Parthia.

Demetrius Nicator still, however, retained Syria, though involved in a serious and protracted war with the Maccabees; which had scarcely terminated when he was threatened with more serious danger from another quarter. The Parthians were, at this period, governed by Mithridates, the brother of Phraates; and, of late, this people had subjected the whole of the countries lying between the Indus and Euphrates. Some of the inhabitants being of Macedonian descent, Demetrius was urged by repeated embassies to enable them to shake off the yoke; and, full of bright hopes built upon the promised general insurrection, this prince marched eastward with the bulk of his forces. The Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, successively declared in his favour as he advanced, and he defeated
His army is destroyed. the Parthians in several engagements; but at the very moment when the prospect of recovering his eastern territory seemed most promising, the Parthians, under the plea of negotiating,

[1] Justin, lib. XLI., cap. v.

or by some other *ruse de guerre*, made him prisoner, and cut his army to pieces.

Following up this victory, Mithridates obtained possession of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, which, in addition to his previous possessions, gave him the command of the territory lying between the Ganges, the Euphrates, and Mount Caucasus.[1] Instead of considering them as ephemeral conquests and enriching himself by their spoils, the great Mithridates consolidated these acquisitions, making them an integral part of the Parthian empire, whose integrity was preserved during many ages, notwithstanding the diversity of nations which the state comprised.[2] Either by force or persuasion the talented ruler of Parthia induced most of the princes of Asia to form alliances on his own terms; and it is said that he took from each whatever was valuable, as the basis of the laws by which the empire was regulated during the remainder of his reign: this terminated in a glorious old age, and was not less illustrious than that of Arsaces I.[3]

Parthian dominions, &c., under Mithridates.

Subsequently, Antiochus Sidetes, hoping to liberate his brother Demetrius, invaded Parthia at the head of 80,000 men; and in the campaign that followed, Phraates II. being defeated in three successive battles, all the conquests of his father Mithridates were lost. A change, however, soon afterwards took place; for the invaders, being confined within the limits of Parthia Proper, and encumbered with followers who were triple the number of fighting men, experienced a signal defeat; when Antiochus was slain, and his army entirely cut to pieces.[4]

B. C. 135. Antiochus Sidetes is defeated in Parthia.

Phraates was about to follow up this success by the invasion of Syria, when a war broke out with the Scythians. In this contest he perished, and his successor Artabanus subsequently lost his life in a battle with the Thogarian Scythians.[5]

Phraates loses his life during the Scythian war. B. C. 129.

Pacorus, the son and successor of Artabanus, tempted by the renown of the Romans, and desiring their friendship, was

[1] Justin, lib. XLI., cap. vi.

[2] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii, pp. 360, 361.

[3] Ibid., compared with p. 597, vol. II. of Wesseling's Mithridates.

[4] Justin, lib. XXXVIII., cap. x.; Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii, p. 374; Jos. Ant., lib. XIII., cap. xvi.

[5] Justin, lib. XLII., cap. i.

Origin of the wars between the Romans and Parthians.

induced to send ambassadors to Sylla in Cappadocia; and this step led to important consequences; for the Romans, as allies of the Syrians, or otherwise, henceforth maintained an almost uninterrupted war with Parthia.

This commenced under Phraates III., who besieged the city Artaxata, with a view to the re-establishment of Tigranes on the throne of Armenia. Phraates withdrew, however, on the appearance of Pompey, after renewing the alliance concluded by his father, first with Sylla, and then with Lucullus.[1]

Lucullus invades Armenia. B. C. 65.

Mithridates, though disappointed in the assistance promised by his son-in-law Tigranes, continued the war, but being again defeated, he sought and obtained from the latter an asylum in Armenia; Tigranes, however, scarcely granted hospitality to his relative, and even refused to see him: at the same time he carried the war in another direction as far as the confines of Egypt. The success of Tigranes gave umbrage to the Romans, and Lucullus invaded Armenia in consequence, though ostensibly, as a punishment for the asylum which had been afforded to Mithridates.

The vigour and talent for which the early career of Tigranes had been distinguished were now totally wanting, and his retreat before the invaders became almost a flight. One portion of Lucullus' army continued the pursuit, whilst another, under Sextilius, was employed against Tigranocerta; but soon afterwards the two divisions were united with the view of prosecuting the siege more vigorously. Tigranes now called a council of war, in which it was determined to attack the Romans, and the appearance of the king's army crowning the hills beyond the river (presumed to be the Mesopotamian Khábúr), was hailed by those in the city as the harbinger of victory.

Battle of Tigranocerta, and subjection of the surrounding territory.

Leaving a force to continue the siege, Lucullus crossed with the remainder of his army at a ford where the river makes a bend to the west. This gave his movement the appearance of a retreat; but the decision of the battle in his favour against fearful odds, opened the gates of the capital, with its treasure, to the conqueror. Thus terminated this remarkable campaign,

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. XXXVI., p. 22. Liv. Epit., lib. c., compared with Dio Cassius, lib. XXXVI., p. 24.

in which Lucullus, at the head of an organized body of 11,000 men, 10,000 being heavy-armed foot, and 1,000 cavalry, archers, and slingers, and assisted only by Machares the son of Mithridates, had successfully invaded the kingdom of Armenia, which was defended by 250,000 men.[1]

Pompey superseded the Roman general, and ended the war soon afterwards with the assistance of Tigranes the younger, who had taken arms against his father, and Pontus, as well as Syria, became a Roman province; the latter in right of Tigranes, who had been elected successor to Cybiosactes, the last of the Seleucidæ, who had been murdered in Egypt. Pontus becomes a Roman province.

Parthia, the next object of conquest to the Romans, was under the government of Orodes, who had usurped the throne of his brother, Mithridates II., and was assisted by the celebrated Surena.

At this period Cæsar was nominated to Gaul, and his rival, Pompey, to Spain, while Crassus obtained the government of Syria, which his avarice prompted him to seek, that he might make war upon the Parthians. His object being known, it was with exceeding difficulty that he got out of the hands of Ateius Capito, and the party who were opposed to the unjust invasion of this rich and powerful nation, which had never been subjected by any foreign enemy.[2] Passing through Galatia he reached his consular appointment, which comprised Syria and the neighbouring provinces. He then lost no time in commencing his plans against the Parthians, and hastening across the Euphrates, he found Mesopotamia altogether unprepared against invasion. Had this unexpected advantage been followed up, Crassus might have taken Seleucia and the whole of Babylonia; but after storming Zenodotia,[3] he most unaccountably retraced his steps, leaving about 8,000 men in the towns of Mesopotamia. During the succeeding winter, Crassus increased the revenue of Syria by new taxes and fresh sacrileges, not even sparing Crassus proceeds to his government in Syria. First invasion of Parthia.

[1] Plutarch in Lucull., vol. I., p. 509, Paris, 1624, compared with Appian, Mithrid., cap. lxxxvi.

[2] Plutarch in Crasso. Appian, Bell. Civil, lib. II., pp. 437, 438.

[3] Supposed to have been on the river Khábúr.

the seat of the much-venerated Syrian goddess Atargetes,[1] or the hitherto-respected treasures of Jerusalem.[2] Having plundered this rich temple, and the others within reach, and being joined by his son, who had been serving under Cæsar in Gaul, he collected his forces early in the spring to renew the invasion of Parthia. Aware of his hostile intentions, the warlike Orodes had not only assembled a numerous army in the meanwhile, but had sent a special embassy to the proconsul during his preparations.

Orodes sends envoys to Crassus.

Agreeably to their instructions, the envoys on being admitted to his presence, inquired with admirable tact, whether Crassus were about to break the existing alliance by order of the Romans, or only to make war to satiate his private interest; for, in the former case, a war of extermination must be the consequence, whereas, in the latter, the Parthian sovereign would be ready, in consideration of his age, to allow the Roman garrison to retire from Mesopotamia unmolested. Crassus haughtily replied, that they should have his answer at Seleucia; on which the envoys briefly and expressively replied, that hair would grow on the palms of their hands, ere he took the city in question.[3]

Preparations of the Parthians.

Orodes, little fearing an attack on the western side through the Desert, but rather expecting his enemy would attempt to penetrate either by the route of Armenia, or that of Upper Mesopotamia, divided his troops, and proceeded himself with the main body to cover the frontiers of the former, while he despatched the remainder to encounter the invaders in the latter direction.[4]

Person and character of Surena.

This important command was entrusted to a celebrated individual, whose character, as handed down by Plutarch, displays that extraordinary mixture of qualities, for which the eastern people are sometimes remarkable. To a commanding stature and winning manners, Surena joined wealth, power, and au-

[1] Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 748; Plin., lib. V., cap. xxiii.; Plutarch in Crasso, and above, vol. I., p. 421.

[2] Jos. Ant., lib. XIV., cap. vii.

[3] Flor., lib. III., cap. ii.; Plutarch in Crasso.

[4] Plutarch in Crasso.

thority only inferior to those of the king, who had been indebted to his valour for the recovery of Seleucia from Mithridates, and for the preservation of the crown itself. The travelling equipage of this chieftain comprised 1,000 baggage camels, 200 chariots for his harem, and 1,000 heavy-armed horsemen, besides a number of light-armed troops; forming, with vassals, slaves, &c., a body of about 10,000 followers.[1] In his case the luxury of an Asiatic prince was united with the intrepidity of the soldier, for while ready to lead his troops on the most desperate enterprise, like the Arabs and Medes he was not ashamed to paint his face, and dye and perfume his hair.[2]

His important services to Orodes.

Surena now advanced against the Romans, and quickly recovered Mesopotamia. From some of the fugitives, the Romans learnt that they were about to encounter brave and determined enemies, whom they could neither escape by flight, nor overtake in pursuit, and who were consequently very different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had driven out of the field.

Surena assumes the offensive.

In consequence of this intelligence, Caius Cassius and most of the legionary tribunes, advised Crassus to proceed cautiously, whilst Artavasdes or Artabazus,[3] king of Armenia, recommended him to throw himself into the mountains to avoid the Parthian horse. But the general, following his own opinion, advanced towards the frontiers of Mesopotamia, and passing the Zeugma of Thapsacus, entered that country at the head of seven legions, and 4,000 horse; or, including the auxiliaries, about 40,000 men.

Crassus crosses the Euphrates with 40,000 men.

Seeing his chief determined to advance, Cassius recommended him to keep along the Euphrates, drawing supplies from his fleet during the march towards Seleucia. But the insidious advice of Ariamnes, king of Edessa, then a visiter in the camp, prevailed, and the Romans advanced over a desert tract, till the scouts brought intelligence that the Parthian army was at hand. Crassus, believing the assurance of Ariamnes that the enemy's forces were not numerous, adopted a square formation, with, as the necessary consequence, a limited front. One of

Mutual preparations.

[1] Plutarch in Crasso. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

the wings was given to his son, the other to Cassius; the general retaining the command of the centre himself. Thus advancing, after a long and painful march, the enemy was discovered, but apparently not in force, near the river Balesius (Belik). Surena, who was prepared in every way, had not only concealed a part of his forces, but their arms also, least they should be betrayed by their glare; till on a given signal, an army well mounted, and with shining cuirasses, appeared to spring out of the ground, and advanced to the attack, making a frightful noise. Surena, richly dressed, charged at the head of his spearmen. Finding the phalanx impenetrable, the Parthians retired, according to their custom, in apparent confusion, but again returned to make a more general attack, by means of showers of arrows, which were poured in on all sides. Crassus now ordered the light-armed troops to advance and charge the enemy: this for the moment was successful; but the Parthian horse speedily re-formed, and forced the troops to seek protection behind the heavy-armed foot. Showers of heavy arrows were now discharged against the close mass, on which every missile took effect, and the situation of the Romans was the more hopeless, since the Parthians had the means of replenishing their quivers from a reserve carried on camels. Young Crassus, by his father's directions, now advanced at the head of 1,300 horse, 500 archers, and eight cohorts; when the Parthians, as was their custom, took to flight. Not doubting that this was real, the youth, crying out, "They fly before us!" pushed on at full speed; but when far from support, he found himself charged by the supposed fugitives. The Romans halted: but instead of engaging in a close fight, the Parthians, as before, resorted to a discharge of arrows against those whose situation scarcely admitted of either attack or defence. As a last resource, the young commander, at the head of his cavalry, made an ineffectual charge against the cuirasses and steel-covered horses of the enemy, and after having been wounded, retired with his remaining men to join the infantry, and seized a rising ground, which they hoped to defend till succours could arrive. But seeing no chance of assistance, and being unable to use his arm, he sought the relief of death from one of his

Commencement of the battle.

Charge of young Crassus.

His critical situation and death.

attendants. The Parthians having killed or taken all that remained, marched without delay against Crassus, displaying, as they advanced, the head of his son on the point of a lance.

Efforts of Crassus to encourage his troops.

On perceiving this dismal trophy, Crassus exclaimed, like a true Roman, "This misfortune is mine; let us charge, and punish these insulting barbarians, since the loss of one man cannot affect the victory." His efforts to reanimate the troops were however vain; and the Parthians continued their harassing attacks till nightfall, when they retired, to allow, as they said, the father one night to lament his son.[1]

Retreat of the Roman army.

This was truly no more than he required, for the excitement of the contest being over, his energies sunk so completely that he covered his face in his cloak, and became incapable of further exertion. A council of war was therefore called, and it was resolved that a retreat towards Carrhæ should be commenced at dawn, which took place accordingly, the wounded being left to their fate. Three hundred horse, under Ignatius, proceeded, however, early in the night by the same route, and passed on to the Zeugma, after apprizing the governor of Carrhæ that a battle had been fought with the Parthians: Crassus found in consequence an asylum in this city. This, however, proved only temporary: Surena was not long behind his enemy, and having ascertained that Crassus and Cassius were within the walls, he prepared to invest the place. To avoid so critical a situation, the Roman army continued its march the same night, closely followed by Surena, to whom their purpose had, it would appear, been betrayed.

Difficulties encountered.

Finding the army hampered in marshy ground, Cassius separated himself from the guide, whom he suspected, and returned to Carrhæ, whence he made his way into Syria; but Crassus remained entangled in his difficult position. At daylight he removed to a hill, and the troops having been formed by Octavius into a hollow square, continued the retreat; their bodies serving as a rampart to protect their general.

Death of Crassus.

Crassus now increased the disadvantages of his position by thoughtlessly entering into a negotiation, and even accepting an invitation to confer with his enemy. A kind of scuffle ensued,

[1] Plutarch in Crasso.

which led to the death of the unfortunate Roman, and to the destruction of the remainder of his army.[1]

As in the similar catastrophe at Kábul, in our own time, it is doubtful whether the enemy had planned the death, or merely intended to bring about the capture of the chief. But the scene which was subsequently enacted at Seleucia, makes the latter conclusion more probable than the former.

Position of the localities.

The marshes in which the Romans found themselves entangled when advancing, indicate that this event must have taken place some miles southward of Háran, and the battle ground was in all probability a little further in the same direction.[2] The previous passage at Thapsacus, and the march from thence through a desert country to the river Belik, seem to show that Crassus must have proceeded eastward, or nearly so, in a direct line from Thapsacus to the upper part of that river.

Triumph of Surena at Ctesiphon.

Surena proceeded to Seleucia after the battle, and there celebrated his victory by a mock procession, in which Crassus was personated by an individual, who was made to enter the city preceded by lictors and other accompaniments of such displays. The head of his fallen enemy had, however, already been despatched to Orodes with this brief message: Surena sends the head of the Roman general, whose army has been cut in pieces. Orodes received this present, with transports of joy, in Armenia, whilst engaged in cementing, with public feasts, his recently-formed alliance with Artabazus; and having obtained a more particular account of the action from the messenger, Syllaces, he commanded melted gold to be poured into the mouth of the lifeless head, in order that, as he observed, the passion of Crassus for this metal might be satiated.

Pacorus invades Syria.

B. C. 50.

But Surena did not long enjoy the glory of his victory; for Orodes, fearing he might be supplanted by his vezír, caused him to be put to death, and then sent an army under his own son Pacorus to invade Syria, at a time when the Romans were much occupied in another quarter.

[1] Plutarch in Crasso.

[2] The distance from Carrhæ must have been small, since the fugitives reached that city about midnight after the battle.

The campaigns in Europe which have been so well described by the Roman historians, and in the Commentaries of Cæsar himself, having terminated at Pharsalia, the East again became the theatre of war.

Antony takes the field.

After the reunion of Octavius and Antony, the latter took the field in person, hoping to snatch the laurels of victory from his own lieutenant Ventidius,[1] and afterwards to subjugate the Parthians; and in order to avoid the passes occupied by the enemy in the line through Kurdistán,[2] he appears to have made a detour of 1,000 miles, to the river Araxes;[3] probably keeping westward, and again northward, of the most mountainous part of Armenia.

Route of his army towards Praaspa.

Having arrived on the borders of Media, and wishing to hasten operations in order to rejoin Cleopatra, he left Statianus in Atropatana[4] to bring on the baggage and military engines, while he made a forced march of 300 miles to Praaspa or Phraata, the Atropatenian Ecbatana,[5] having taken, it is supposed, the route near the lake of Urumíyah and the Miyándáb plain, following the valley of the Jaghatú by Ṣa'ïn Ḳal'eh, to the stronghold in question.[6]

Capture of the Roman baggage and engines.

Feeling at ease respecting the safety of their city with Antony's present means, the Parthian army which had come to protect it, allowed the place to be quietly invested, and crossing the mountains in a direct line, they fell unexpectedly upon Statianus, and not only routed his escort, but captured the whole of the baggage and military engines.[7] Antony on perceiving his fatal mistake, and suspecting the object of the march, hastened to pursue the Parthians, but finding he was too late, he returned to resume the siege, raising a mound

[1] Jos. Ant., lib. XIV., cap. xxvii.

[2] The pass of Keli-shín, and the mountainous country about Rowándiz, would be in the direct line from Thapsacus to the Median Ecbatana.

[3] If the valley of the Upper Euphrates were followed, keeping northward of Erẓ-Rúm to the central part of the river Araxes, the distance from Thapsacus would exceed 1,000 miles.

[4] Plutarch, p. 933, and Appian, vol. III., p. 77.

[5] Now Takhti-Soloïmán, Royal Geog. Journal, vol. X., pp. 113, 114.

[6] Ibid., p. 115.

[7] Strabo, lib. XI., pp. 523, 524, 525, compared with Dio Cassius, lib. XLIX., p. 465.

against the walls, as the only means of replacing the engines. He persevered for a time under these adverse circumstances; but being unable to make an impression on the town, or to bring the active enemy who harassed his rear to a general action, supplies also beginning to fail, he abandoned his entrenchments as they stood, and forthwith proceeded by the mountain road towards the Araxes. Antony retreated by a different line from that by which he had advanced, namely, through the mountains, leaving it is supposed Marághah on the left, and skirting Sehend in the direction of Tabríz. There was a sort of understanding that the march would not be molested; notwithstanding which he found himself constantly harassed by the Parthians, and suffered the greatest losses and privations, being attacked no less than eighteen times before he quitted the Median territory. The principal affair, that of Gallus, in which the Romans lost 8,000 men, took place probably not far from Miyándáb.[1] But at length he recrossed the Araxes into a friendly country, after the loss, chiefly by sickness, of 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry.[2]

Antony's retreat from Phraata.

B.C. 31. Antony speedily rejoined Cleopatra, and ere long the battle of Actium took place. On the death of Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus entered Alexandria, and two years later he assumed the title of Emperor.

Augustus assumes the purple.

B.C. 24.

B.C. 20. The early part of his reign was remarkable for an expedition sent into Southern Arabia,[3] in order to secure by commercial treaty, or other means, a share of the gold, silver, and other reputed treasures of that country.

Ælius Gallus lands in Arabia. By command of the emperor, Ælius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, prepared an adequate flotilla at Cleopatris, from whence he proceeded to Leuce Komí, a port in the Nabathean territory, then well known to the Romans as a commercial entrepôt between Southern Arabia and the great mart of Petra, and now represented by El Haura[4] on the coast of Hijáz.

March through the country. With a force consisting of 10,000 Romans, 500 of Herod's guards, and 1,000 Nabatheans commanded by Syllæus, and conducted by the latter as the representave of their ally Obodus,

[1] Royal Geog. Journal, vol. X., p. 115. [2] Plutarch in Ant.
[3] Detailed in Strabo, lib. XVI.
[4] The white town. D'Anville's Anc. Geog., vol. II., p. 8.

king of the Nabatheans, the expedition proceeded through an arid country, carrying on camels the water necessary for subsistence. After a toilsome march of many days the army reached the territory of Aretas, who, as the relative of Obodus, gave them a friendly reception; but owing to the want of roads, thirty days were subsequently consumed in passing through the country of this chief, which is described as only producing palms, and a coarse kind of rye, with butter instead of oil to render the food of the people palatable. The army now entered the nomad district of Ararena,[1] of which Sabus was king. In this tract, which was almost entirely desert, fifty days were consumed before the army reached the fertile country of Nigranes, probably Wádí Nejrán. The king fled on their approach, and his city was taken by assault. From thence in six days the army arrived on the banks of a river. Here an engagement took place, in which the Arabians lost about 10,000 men, and the town of Asca (Cisca), fell in consequence to the invaders. Gallus next proceeded to the town of Athrulla, which did not offer any opposition. Having procured supplies, and left a garrison in this place, the Romans proceeded to Marsyaba, in the country of the Rhamanetæ, which was governed by Ilasarus. After six days, want of water obliged Gallus to raise the siege of this town, which according to the account given by the prisoners, was only two days from the spice country. Perceiving that he had followed the guides uselessly for six months, Gallus determined to return, and taking for this purpose a more direct line, in nine days he reached the battle-ground of the Nigranes. Eleven days carried the army from thence to the Seven Wells; from whence they marched by Chaalla to Malothas, and thence through an uninhabited country to Nera Komí, a seaport town under the dominion of Obodus: thus accomplishing in sixty days in returning, a distance which had occupied six months during the advance. Gallus then crossed the Red Sea to Myos-Hormos, from whence he marched to Coptos, and returned to Alexandria. There seems little doubt that the extreme point reached, Marsyaba, is Máreb or Sabá,

Progress through the country of Aretas.

Engagement with the Arabs.

Retreat of Ælius Gallus, and his return to Egypt.

[1] Gosselin, in his researches, with much probability supposes that Strabo here alludes to the district of Nedjd-el-'Aridh.

also called Marsabá, being, like the former, in or near the country of the Rhamnatæ.[1]

Observations on the campaign.

Although there are not sufficient materials to follow the wanderings of the Roman army under Ælius Gallus, the time consumed during the advance may easily be accounted for, without the supposition that the Roman general had been deceived. The detour of Nedjd-el-'Aridh was probably taken to round the high range of Jebel Imariyeh. This and the subsequent march through desert countries in central and southern Arabia, would give a distance of nearly 2,000 miles from El Haura to Marsyaba, which would have occupied nearly the specified time of six months; whilst the return, when better acquainted with the countries to be traversed, would naturally have been much more rapid, the direct distance to one of the ports on the coast opposite to Medina, being only about 1,000 miles.

Augustus recovers the eagles, &c., taken from Crassus.

B. C. 20.

The failure in the attempt to subjugate the Arabs was almost the only disappointment which occurred during the reign of Augustus, all else having been prosperous. The Parthians were glad to restore the trophies as well as the remaining captives taken from Crassus; and in the following year an embassy came for the second time, bringing rich presents from the Indians, to seek his alliance.[2] Moreover, extensive tracts of country, and even kingdoms, were disposed of by Augustus: among these was Armenia, which was, for the second time, bestowed on Tigranes; the latter having been raised to the throne on the expulsion of Artabanes.

B. C. 1.

Rebellion of the Jews.

When the advent of the Redeemer of mankind took place, Augustus still wielded the sceptre of Rome; and, only half a century after the decease of this emperor, the predicted punishment of the Jewish people commenced, through the instrumentality of Gessius Florus, the last and most cruel of the governors who ever tyrannized over Judea. In the second year of his government, the Jews, exasperated beyond endurance by his atrocities, everywhere took up arms, and giving loose to their passions in murders and robberies, Cæstus Gallus was sent to subdue them, but was shortly afterwards superseded in

[1] Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 782.

[2] Ibid., lib. XV., p. 719.

the command by Vespasian. The Roman general commenced the war by burning Gadara; after which, with the assistance of his son Titus, he laid siege to Jotapata, knowing that Galilee must follow the fate of its capital. The city was defended by the celebrated historian of the Jews with such valour, that it resisted 60,000 Romans for forty-seven days, when it was carried by a fearful assault in which every individual was either killed or taken prisoner. After the fall of this city,[1] Vespasian reduced Joppa and Tarichea by storm, and Tiberias having surrendered, he likewise captured Gamala. Titus was employed against Girchala, which being taken, he rejoined his father, in order to undertake the siege of the capital, the principal object of the war. Three parties at this time divided the power in Jerusalem, and a fourth was invited to assist in its defence, viz., the Idumeans, who, as the descendants of Esau, were considered a part of the Jewish nation. But on being admitted to the city, to revenge some supposed insult, they indulged their predatory habits by plundering and committing other excesses, after which they returned to their own country, leaving Jerusalem to its fate. Discord was at its height when Titus approached; who, after the necessary reconnaissances were made, commenced the siege in form. The tenth legion occupied the Mount of Olives; a third legion took post three stadia beyond the city; and the rest of the army, after levelling the ground between Scopus and the walls, was stationed where these turn from north to west, and from thence to the tower of Hippicus. During these preparations, Titus sent Josephus to offer terms of peace, which were scornfully rejected as it were by the whole nation, then assembled from all parts to keep the feast of the Passover. Titus, therefore, proceeded to level the suburbs, and after carrying some of the works, he put a stop to all chance of egress by lines of circumvallation. Famine soon ensued, and this to such a fearful extent, that the cravings of hunger overcame a mother's love, and the body of the offspring became the food of the wretched parent. When this inhuman circumstance was made known to Titus, he determined on the extirpation of a people

Capture of Jotapata.

Successes of Vespasian and Titus.

State of Jerusalem.

A.D. 73.

Commencement of the siege.

Distress of Jerusalem.

[1] Now probably Safet.—See vol. I., pp. 479, 480.

who had chosen to be reduced to such extremities; and the siege being pushed with increased vigour, the castle of Antonia was taken, the gates burned, and the temple plundered and afterwards destroyed by fire, notwithstanding the efforts of Titus to save this noble structure. A horrid massacre subsequently took place, and 1,101,000 Jews are said to have perished in this memorable siege, while 97,000 were sold as slaves:[1] the descendants of those who escaped still continue outcasts in the remotest corners of the world.

Fate of the city and people.

The work of massacre and pillage being over, Titus caused the fortifications to be razed to the ground, with the exception of a piece of the western wall, and the three towers of Hippicus, Phasælus, and Mariamne, which were left to give future ages some idea of the strength of the city.[2]

A.D. 78. On the death of Vespasian, Titus received the purple: his
A.D. 81. brother Domitian succeeded him, and was followed by Nerva,
A.D. 96. who closed a happy reign by the judicious choice of a successor.
Trajan's wars in Germany. This was Ulpius Trajan, a native of Italica, near Seville, who, in consequence of the decision of Nerva, quitted the government of lower Germany, to assume that of the Roman empire.

During his second war against the Dacians, the famous bridge of twenty large arches was thrown over the Danube by his engineer, Apollodorus of Damascus.[3] His conquests over the Dacians and Armenians procured for him the reputation of a great general; but these, as well as the subjection of Arabia Petrea, by his lieutenant, Aulus Cornelius Palma, the governor
A.D. 107. of Syria, were only preparatory to his invasion of Parthia.

He constructs a fleet.

Early in the spring he advanced towards the enemy; but as the country near the Tigris produces little wood adapted for the purpose, he conveyed thither on carriages the materials prepared in the forests near Nisibis for the construction of a fleet: and on reaching the river, he prepared to lay a bridge over against Mount Cordynas, the highest of the Gordyæan chain.[4] The barbarians (Assyrians) were posted on the opposite bank to prevent the passage, yet Trajan succeeded in

[1] Jos. Bell. Jud., lib. VI., cap. i. ii. [2] Ibid., lib. VII., cap. i.
[3] At the narrow part of the river, near the present Orsova.
[4] Pliny, lib. VII., cap. xxvii.

throwing a bridge across the river: part of the vessels were lashed together to form the bridge, while others, with soldiers and archers on board, were posted as if to cover the operation of passing the river, or to manœuvre on each flank. Owing to this judicious plan of attack, and the consternation caused by the appearance of such a fleet in a country, where, from want of timber, it could not have been constructed, the enemy fled. Passage of the Tigris, and

The Romans immediately crossed the river, and subdued the whole country of Adiabene, which is that part of Assyria near Nineveh, and also contains Guagamela and Arbela, where Alexander conquered Darius. The inhabitants, changing *s* into *t*, call this part of the territory Athur, for Assur.[1] Subjection of Adiabene.

Not finding any enemies who were in a condition to offer resistance, the Parthians being extremely weakened by their civil wars, Trajan advanced as far as Babylon, and visited the lake, the sulphur (or bitumen) of which had been used in constructing the walls of that stately city. The strength of this bitumen, when mixed with bricks or small stones, is so great that it becomes harder than marble or iron.[2] Descent of the river Euphrates.

Difficulties have been experienced in explaining the descent of Trajan, who, according to the historian Dio, proceeded from Assyria by the Tigris to Babylon, which is situated on the sister stream. But as the name of one river is sometimes used by ancient writers for the other, there is little doubt that on this occasion the Roman fleet descended the Euphrates. As has been described, the vessels were transported on carriages from the forest of Nisibis to the banks of the Tigris, and supposing them to have been carried back in the same manner, Trajan could have taken his forces from the neighbourhood of Sinjár, along the Mesopotamian Khábúr into the Euphrates at Circesium, and then have continued the descent to Hít and Babylon; where the narrative of the operations is resumed.[3] Observations on the localities. Trajan commences the Nahr Malká.

Trajan had resolved, writes Dio Cassius, to carry his vessels

[1] Dio Cassius, ed. Reimer, Hamb., lib. LXVIII., cap. xxvi.; Steph. 1592, Xiphilinus, p. 252–254. [2] Ibid.

[3] As the historian carries him from the Euphrates across the country, it is obvious that Trajan must have descended this river, and not the Tigris, as erroneously stated in his text.

from the Euphrates into the Tigris, and he commenced the canal now called Nahr Malká for this purpose; but he abandoned the work on ascertaining that the bed of the Euphrates was higher than that of the Tigris, and that there was danger that the former would be drained in consequence of the waters descending to the lower level. Transporting his vessels, therefore, by means of carriages across the country which lies between the two rivers, and which is a very narrow tract, he crossed the Tigris and entered the city of Ctesiphon, where he found the daughter of Chosroes, and the golden throne of this prince.

Supposed beds of the rivers of Mesopotamia.

Having conquered the surrounding country, and declared Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, to be Roman provinces, he was saluted as emperor, and established his right to the surname of Parthicus. He also received from the senate the honour of a triumph, attended with feasts and public rejoicings, which were to continue as long as he thought proper.

Assyria, &c., declared Roman provinces.

After the fall of Ctesiphon, Trajan sailed down the Tigris to the Red Sea, a part of the ocean so called from the name of a prince who formerly reigned there, and without difficulty reduced an island, called the Isle of Messene, which is situated in the Tigris, and of which Atambilus was king. But owing to stormy weather, the rapidity of the river, and the reflux of the sea, the fleet was exposed to extreme danger. The inhabitants of a city called Spasinas received him in a friendly manner; and he afterwards came to the ocean itself, which he viewed very attentively. Seeing a ship ready to sail for India, he said that he would have made the voyage himself if he had been younger; adding, that Alexander had been happy in carrying his arms so far.[1]

Trajan descends the Tigris, &c.

A.D. 117.

Symptoms of revolt in the newly-acquired provinces having called for the presence of the emperor, he immediately returned to Ctesiphon, where, having assembled the Parthians and Romans on the neighbouring plain, and recounted from an elevated spot his various expeditions, he declared Parthamaspates king, and placed the crown on his head. He next proceeded against the Hagarenes or Saracens,[2] who had endea-

His return to Ctesiphon.

[1] Dio Cassius, ed. Reimer, Hamb., lib. LXVIII., cap. xxvi.

[2] Probably a portion of the Arabs westward of the lower Euphrates.

voured to shake off the Roman yoke; but owing to the scarcity of water and provisions for the troops, and the excessive heat, Atra,[1] the capital, successfully resisted his arms; and Trajan being foiled, as Severus was at a later period, he raised the siege and proceeded to Cilicia,[2] where he died in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Adrian lessens the number of the Roman provinces.

Adrian, his successor, resolved to abandon useless conquests, and having withdrawn his troops from the territories beyond the Euphrates, that river once more became the boundary of the Roman empire.

A.D. 167.

Peace, which continued for many years, was again disturbed by the Persian king Vologeses, who was defeated by Cassius. At a later period, the emperor Severus resolved to subject the Parthians, who, while he was occupied in the civil war, had possessed themselves of Mesopotamia, and laid siege to Nisibis. A.D. 197. This city held out till Severus appeared, when the Parthians immediately retreated. Following up his success with increased means, and considering the autumn the most favourable season for his intended expedition, the emperor put his fleet and army in motion; the latter partly on the banks of the stream, partly on the water. On reaching Babylonia, he caused the Nahr Malká to be cleared out, by which means his fleet was conveyed from the Euphrates into the Tigris. Seleucia having fallen, he laid siege to Ctesiphon, which was at length carried; but this operation was attended with many privations to the troops of Severus, who were forced to eat such roots as they found in the fields. The city was given up to plunder, and the inhabitants put to the sword, with the exception of 100,000 women and children, who were sold as slaves. The pompous account given of his exploits, which were also represented by paintings, obtained for Severus from the senate a triumph, with the title of Parthicus Maximus.

Severus descends the Euphrates.

Passes through the royal canal.

Capture of Ctesiphon.

As the supplies had been consumed in descending the line of the Euphrates, Severus was determined to return by another route. The army ascended therefore along the Tigris, and in passing through Upper Mesopotamia, made an unsuccessful attack against Atra (El Hadhr). In the following season,

Return of Severus, and siege of Atra.

A.D. 129.

[1] Probably El Hadhr.

[2] Xiphilinus, Trajan, p. 254.

Severus, having made great preparations in troops as well as in military engines, laid siege for the second time to this city, whose resistance could not be tolerated, all other places having submitted to the dominion of Rome. But, though no means were spared in carrying on the attack, he was as unsuccessful in this attempt as in the former, and suffered the loss of his choicest troops. Many were slain whilst foraging; for, at that moment, the Arabian cavalry were accustomed to fall upon them suddenly from the exterior, whilst the besieged showered darts on those near the walls. But the greatest loss was experienced when the Romans had reached the foot of the wall, and had beaten down part of it, for the besieged then threw quantities of burning naphtha on the assailants, when, besides the destruction of the men, the warlike engines were consumed in an instant by this liquid fire.

Second siege, and successful resistance of Atra.

Severus raises the siege and retreats.

Severus, from the ground where he was posted, had the mortification of being an eye-witness of this catastrophe, and of the failure of the assault, at the moment when his soldiers attempted to enter the town through the breach. Severus now ordered a retreat to be sounded; but finding that a whole day passed without any offer of surrender from the inhabitants, he gave directions for another assault. The European soldiers refused to advance, and the Syrians having undertaken that service, were repulsed with great loss. After remaining twenty days before this place, he raised the siege and proceeded to Palestine, after which he went to Egypt, where he rendered funeral honours to Pompey the Great.

A.D. 201.

A.D. 211.

This monarch died whilst carrying the Roman arms into Great Britain. He was then in the neighbourhood of York, preparing to renew the invasion of Caledonia, the wall which he had carried across the island from Solway to the mouth of the Tyne not having been a sufficient protection against the people of that kingdom.

The Persian power replaces that of the Parthians.

The cruelties of his son Caracalla, and of his successor Heliogabalus, caused two invasions of the Roman territories. On the first occasion, the Romans purchased peace from Artabanes, king of the Parthians, by fifty millions of drachmas; but, on the other, Artaxerxes, who had established the Persian

on the ruins of the Parthian power, was foiled before Atra, when he returned to his kingdom after ravaging Media,[1] instead of taking Syria which was then unprotected.

Invasion and defeat of Artaxerxes

The decline of the Roman discipline had, for a time, given the superiority to the Persians; but, the ancient discipline having been restored by the emperor Alexander, when Artaxerxes advanced at the head of many thousands of horsemen, 1,800 chariots, armed with scythes, and 700 elephants, each carrying, according to custom, a tower filled with archers, he was entirely defeated; and, to use the words of the Roman general, in his relation to the senate, the most potent Persian king Artaxerxes, with 120,000 horse, was put to flight, and 1,000 Cataphractarii, whom the Persians call Clibanarii, killed in war.[2]

A.D. 233.

A.D. 238.

Sapor's accession and character.

About five years later, Alexander was assassinated, and Gordian III. assumed the purple in consequence. Sapor, son of Artaxerxes, the remarkable prince who now occupied the throne of Persia, was of lofty stature, arrogant and haughty in his demeanour, passionate, cruel, and an enemy to the principles of justice. This prince, the restorer of the Persian empire, entered the Roman dominions at the head of a numerous army, captured the cities of Nisibis and Carrhæ, overran Mesopotamia, and committed dreadful ravages in Syria. Antioch itself had fallen, and the Roman soldiers were beginning to desert their standards, when Gordian restored confidence by boldly assuming the offensive.

Gordian successfully opposes the Persians.

For this purpose he hastened to the theatre of war, and advancing from Syria, soon proved that the efficiency of an army does not depend on its numerical strength. The Romans speedily recovered Artaxance and Antioch, as well as Nisibis and Carrhæ, in the face of a host of Persians, and Sapor retreated before his energetic enemy, who proposed to follow him even as far as Ctesiphon.[3]

Subsequently, however, the Persians regained some of their

[1] Dio Cassius, lib. LXXX., p. 318.

[2] Lamprid. vit. Alex., cap. lv., lvi.

[3] Julius Capitolinus in vit. Gordian, cap. xxvi., xxvii., compared with Zosimus, lib. I., pp. 5, 6.

Defeat of Sapor, and death of Gordian.

lost ground; but Gordian, having again advanced, totally defeated Sapor on the banks of the Mesopotamian Khábúr, and forced him to retreat into his own dominions. Whilst following up this success, Gordian was put to death by his own troops, at the instigation of Philip, the captain of his guards. A splendid monument, recording his titles and conquests in Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian, was, however, erected by the soldiers to the now deified Gordian at the Circeian camp, which, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, who visited the spot, was at Dura, near Zaitha, and sixty stadia below Circesium on the Aboras.[1]

Capture of Antioch.

Sapor renewed the war successfully in the time of Valerian, and having taken Antioch, after conquering the intervening territories, he returned to Persia, with much booty.[2] About this period the Borani Scythians crossed the Euxine, and, having plundered Trapezus and certain places near the Bosphorus, they retreated, on the approach of Valerian.[3]

A.D. 260.

Valerian is taken prisoner by Sapor.

Valerian, thinking the territory on the Rhine and the Danube secure, hastened into Syria to meet Sapor, and his allies the Armenians and Cadusians; but having encountered these combined forces under serious disadvantages, he was signally defeated near Edessa, and subjected to a lengthened and cruel captivity.[4]

Rome and her European provinces are threatened.

This ill success brought on the Roman empire a flood of invaders, who, coming from the wide circumference of Asia, converged upon one portion of Europe, and threatened the destruction even of Rome itself. One section, the Scythian Goths, ravaged the southern coast of the Pontic sea, and a considerable part of Asia Minor. A second, the Sarmatians, occupied a part of Dacia, and the neighbouring tracts. A third invaded Spain;[5] whilst a fourth, the Alemanni, accom-

[1] Amm., lib. XXIII., cap. v., and lib. XXIV., cap. i.; and Gord. vit., cap. xxx., compared with Eutropius, lib. IX., cap. ii.; Zosimus, lib. III., p. 49.

[2] Zosim., lib. I., pp. 10, 25, 33, Ox.; Ammian., lib. XXIII., cap. v.; Zonares, lib. XII., cap. xxiii.

[3] Zosim., lib. I., pp. 12, 28, 29.

[4] Ibid., pp. 33-34; Aurel. Vict., p. 210; Petri Patricii de Legat., p. 29; Valerian, vit., p. 175; Zonares, lib. XII., cap. xxiii.; Trebell. Poll., Valer., cap. vi.

[5] Zosim., lib. I., p. 42, Ox.; Gallieni, vit., pp. 176-178; Zonar, lib. XII., p. 24. See Aur. Vict. De Cæs., cap. xxiii.

panied by the Franks, penetrated into Italy as far as Ravenna. Gallienus hastened from Gaul, and successfully opposed the torrent of the Franks, and compelled them to retreat. Those who invaded Dacia were likewise repulsed. As usual a civil war ensued, by which Regillianus gained the power, while, in the mean time, the Persians were actively employed.

Sapor laid waste both Mesopotamia and Syria; and, after surprising Antioch and levelling the principal buildings of the city, proceeded into Cilicia, where he plundered Tarsus; then, advancing into Cappadocia, he stormed Cæsaria and put its inhabitants to the sword.[1] The thoughtless conduct of this prince, now at the height of his prosperity, raised up an unexpected, and, as it is proved, a formidable enemy.

Sapor lays waste Mesopotamia.

Odenatus, a ruling emír of Palmyra and eastern Arabia, held an intermediate place between the two great powers, which for some time had been contending for sovereignty. Hoping to keep on friendly terms with both, he sent several camels laden with rare and valuable presents to the Persian king. But the haughty Sapor tore up the letter which had been addressed to him, and caused the presents to be thrown into the river, declaring that he would exterminate him and his country for his presumption, unless he showed proper respect to his lord and sovereign, by prostrating himself at his feet with his hands tied behind his back.[2] Odenatus declared that he would either be revenged for this indignity, or perish in the attempt, and joined his forces with those of the Romans. The latter, who had continued broken and dispirited since the capture of Valerian, were now assembled under an individual, who distinguished himself by his daring and judicious manner of assuming the offensive. Calistus, or rather Balista, transported his forces by sea from the coast of Italy to that of Cilicia, and arrived just in time to prevent the surrender of Pompeiopolis, or Solí, to the Persians. Being joined, as he advanced towards Lycaonia, by his new ally Odenatus, the Persians, who occupied this and the neighbouring provinces in

Indignity offered to Odenatus by the Persian king.

Calistus assumes the offensive.

[1] Amm. Marcel., lib. XXIII., cap. v.; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.; Zosimus, lib. I., p. 33, Ox.

[2] Petr. Patr. de Legat., p. 29.

fancied security, were defeated, and the harem of Sapor, chiefly owing to the efforts of Odenatus, made part of the spoil.[1]

Campaign of the Romans and Palmyreans.

Balista hastened to Cilicia, where he captured Sebaste and Coryeus,[2] whilst his ally, faithful to his purposed revenge, fell upon the rear of the Persians as they reached Euphratesiana, and obliged them to repass the river. This operation was attended with such heavy loss, that Sapor gladly purchased a

A.D. 260.

safe retreat from the garrison of Edessa, by restoring the treasure which he had amassed whilst plundering the Roman territory.[3]

Odenatus assumes the regal title.

Odenatus now assumed the title of king of Palmyra, and the following year, being commander of the Roman forces as well as his own, he again took the field, and having recovered for his allies the cities of Nisibis and Carrhæ, advanced into Persia, hoping for an opportunity of punishing his enemy by releasing Valerian.[4]

Odenatus defeats Sapor near Ctesiphon.

Sapor, at the head of a powerful army, was defeated by Odenatus in an obstinate engagement near Ctesiphon, which city he was prepared to hold to the last. The Persians, however, had hastened from all parts of the empire to support their monarch; and a succession of well-contested battles were fought under the walls, generally to their disadvantage. But Sapor maintained the city and his royal captive against all the efforts of his enemy;[5] and Odenatus at length abandoned the enterprise, after devastating the surrounding country as a

A.D. 264.

punishment of the people. In a subsequent invasion, Odenatus besieged Ctesiphon a second time, and had mastered the place,

A.D. 266.

when an irruption of the Goths into Asia Minor called him thither, when, according to Syncellus,[6] he was assassinated at Heraclea, by his cousin Maconius.[7]

[1] Trigint. Tyr., cap. xiv.; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.; Trebell. Poll., Valerian, cap. vii. [2] Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.

[3] Petr. Patr. in Excerpt. de Legat., p. 25; Trigint. Tyr., cap. xiv.; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.

[4] Gall. vit., cap. xxxii.; Zosim., lib. I., p. 36.

[5] Trebellius Poll., vit. Gall., cap. xxxii.; Zosim., lib. I., p. 36.

[6] P. 382.

[7] Trebellius Poll., Gall. vit., cap. xxxii.; Trigint. Tyr., cap. xiv., Zosim., lib. I., p. 36; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiv.

The sons of Odenatus being too young to reign, their mother, Zenobia, governed in their name as empress, or rather, queen of the East. Gallien, foreseeing that she would not maintain the same fidelity towards the Romans as her late husband, sent Heraclianus against her, who, being defeated by Zenobia, was forced to retreat towards Rome; the queen, giving way to the fascinations of ambition, followed up this success by the subjection of Syria, Mesopotamia,[1] and, subsequently, of Egypt. Zenobia reigns, and takes Syria, &c.

Zenobia continued undisturbed till the time of Aurelian, whose wars with the Goths permitted her to make a fresh attack on the side of Bithynia. But the former wars having terminated, the emperor proceeded forthwith against the queen of the East, receiving, as he advanced, the submission of Ancyra and Tyana; the latter, after an obstinate siege. A.D. 272.

Operations against the queen commenced near Antioch: the first battle is supposed to have taken place at Imma on the plain of 'Umk, and was decided by a well-timed stratagem. During the greater part of the day, the armour-clad cavaliers of the desert bore down everything before them. All, however, was not lost as long as the resources of talent and presence of mind remained. Aurelian instructed his cavalry to retreat, and even to simulate flight. They continued this system till the heavy-armed troops of Zenobia, spent with exertion, entered marshy ground, when the Romans unexpectedly faced about, and at the close of the day snatched the victory from the queen of the East. Her fugitive troops hurried into Antioch, but again quitted the city on finding that the inhabitants were likely to declare for Aurelian, and proceeded towards Emessa. On pursuing them, Aurelian found the heights and defile of Daphne strongly occupied. But a closely-formed body advancing, protected from missiles by the cover of their shields, carried the heights, and turned the pass. On approaching Emessa (Homs), Aurelian found Zabdus posted in order of battle, with 70,000 men to oppose his progress.[2] A double attack was immediately made, in which the cavalry of Aurelian was overturned, but the Roman infantry being successful, the victory remained

Aurelian defeats Zenobia at Imma.

He forces the pass Daphne.

[1] Orosius, lib. VII., cap. xxiii.; Zosim., lib. I., pp. 36, 41, 44.

[2] Vopiscus, Aurel., vit., cap. xxv.; Zosim., pp. 45, 46, 48.

Second defeat, and retreat of Zenobia.

with the latter, and the ground was covered with the slain. The queen, unable to trust the inhabitants of Emessa, who were prepared to declare for the Romans, made a rapid retreat to her capital, followed by Aurelian, who secured the treasure left by her in Emessa. During his advance, several combats took place with the Arabs; but he continued his march till the beautiful city of the wilderness was before the eyes of the victorious Romans.

Preparations at Palmyra.

Zenobia was prepared to defend herself in what was deemed an almost impregnable and well-garrisoned position; while in consequence of its central situation as the commercial entrepôt of the East, Palmyra was in the highest state of wealth and prosperity which had ever yet been attained by any city, Tyre and Carthage alone excepted.[1] As lately as the time of Odenatus it had been skilfully fortified, and in addition to the advantages of high and strong walls, it possessed that of an isolated situation in a wide-spreading desert. Here the resources of the besieging army in water, would be limited to a scanty supply, while the city was amply provided for a protracted defence, which, from the enormous wealth of the people, their devotion to their queen, and her determined valour, promised to be successful; supported as it was outside the walls, by the Arab, Persian, and Armenian auxiliaries. Such a state of things, at a period when defensive siege warfare was equal to, if not superior to that of attack, almost justified the answer of defiance, which was sent in the name of Zenobia, by her secretary, to the summons of Aurelian, who, from that time, appears to have determined to be revenged on this minister.

Commencement of the siege.

Thinking their city impregnable, the inhabitants, from the summit of their walls, irritated the Romans with reproachful epithets, while the latter gradually raised towers, and carried on their approaches with timber, supplied by the neighbouring date groves. Sorties and other efforts were not wanting; for, encouraged by their sovereign and the influential men who were so much attached to Zenobia, the city was long and valiantly defended.[2] But Syria being open to the besiegers and rein-

[1] Vopiscus, Aurel., vit., cap. xxviii.; Zosim., p. 50.
[2] Ibid.

Lt. Col. Estcourt, 43rd. L.I. del. G. Hawkins, Junr. lith.

Day & Haghe, Lith.rs to the Queen.

PALMYRA.

forcements having joined them under Probus, the hope that supplies would fail them seemed vain, while, on the other hand, those of the city began at length to be exhausted. It was therefore resolved that Zenobia in person should seek further assistance from Persia.[1] Zenobia quits the city, and is taken prisoner. A.D. 273.

The departure of the queen took place during the night, by, it is supposed, one of the channels constructed for cleansing the town; and, mounted on a dromedary, she made her way almost unattended towards Zelebi. But her escape having been made known, some fleet horsemen overtook the fugitive on the very banks of the Euphrates, and Zenobia returned as a captive to Aurelian. All hope of assistance from Persia was now at an end, and the question of capitulation to avoid starvation was therefore seriously agitated within the city. A certain party, animated by the spirit of the warrior-philosopher Longinus, urged its defence to the last extremity, whilst another proposed to capitulate. The latter, which was headed by Sandarion, prevailed, and the siege terminated. Fall of Palmyra,

Taking with him the spoils of the city, Aurelian returned to Emessa, where he caused Zenobia, and those who had favoured her revolt, to be examined. The queen pleaded the peculiar circumstances in which she had been placed, the weakness of her sex, and the injudicious advice of her counsellors, including, it is said, the faithful Longinus, who, to the disgrace of the emperor, was executed.[2] and execution of Longinus.

Zenobia claimed descent from Cleopatra and the Ptolemies. She is said to have understood the Egyptian, Greek, and Latin languages, and to have been acquainted, through Longinus, with Oriental and Egyptian history. To these intellectual accomplishments were added personal bravery and skill in martial exercises. Zenobia appears to have possessed some of the high qualities which so eminently belonged to her husband, although during her reverses in Syria, and the latter part of the siege of Palmyra, she scarcely displayed that courage and constancy for which she has obtained such credit. Character of Zenobia.

Aurelian had scarcely ended the siege, when he was recalled

[1] Vopis., Hist. August., cap. xxviii.; Zosim., lib. I., pp. 44, 48, 50.
[2] Zosim., p. 51; Vopis., Aurel. vit., cap. xxviii.–xxx.

Revolt and destruction of Palmyra.

by a revolt of the Palmyrenians, who had murdered Sandarion and the Roman garrison. Having surprised the city by the rapidity of his march, he put the women and children to death, and destroyed the town, the splendid temple of the sun alone excepted.[1]

A.D. 273.

After the fall of Zenobia, all the provinces formerly subject to Rome returned to their allegiance, together with most of the territory as far as Bactriana. Hormisdas, the successor of Sapor, sent rich presents, and embassies came to Rome even from China and Ethiopia.

Galerius, general of Diocletian.

A.D. 297.

Aurelian was successively followed by Probus, Carus, and Diocletian. The last, fearing he might experience the fate of Valerian, sent Galerius against the Persians. This general having fought two battles, advanced hastily and incautiously into Upper Mesopotamia, where, on the ground so fatal to Crassus, he was signally defeated:[2] he was, however, one of those men who are destined to rise above reverses; and, renewing the invasion with a fresh body of 25,000 men, he entered Armenia and gained a complete victory over the Persian king, who fled, leaving his harem in the hands of the conqueror. From the desert in which he had taken refuge, Narses sent to entreat Galerius to restore the queen and his children, and not to extinguish an empire, which, he said, was the eye and sun of the earth. A treaty followed, and the harem was restored, on condition that Narses should give up Sophene and the other provinces westward of the Aboras:[3] these were retained by the Romans till the defeat of Julian, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the Persians to recover them; and Armenia was restored to Tiridates.

Peace with the Persians.

Sapor and Constantius prepare for war.

The wars which arose in consequence were chiefly between Sapor II.[4] and Constantius. The former, who had twice failed before Nisibis or Nisíbín, again made extensive levies,

[1] Vopis., Aurel. vit., cap. xxxi.; Zosim., lib. I., p. 56; Trig. Tyr. cap. xxix.

[2] Orosius, lib. VII., p. 25.

[3] Petr. Patricii. Excerpt. de Legat., pp. 26, 27; Procopius, de Edificiis. lib. II., cap. vi.; Zonares, lib. XII., cap. xxxi.; Ammian. Marcel., lib. XXIII., cap. v.; Eutropius, lib. IX., cap. xv.

[4] Son of Hormisdas, and grandson of Narses.

and assembled auxiliaries from various nations, hoping thus to terminate the war. The river Tigris not being defended, the Persians crossed on three bridges, and advancing, they halted at Hillú near Singara, where they fortified their camp;[1] Constantius being posted seven or eight leagues from thence. Sapor placed his archers on the ramparts, with the cavalry in advance; and with the rest of his troops he made demonstrations as if to give battle, but in reality with the intention of retreating, in the hope of being pursued, till they could fight under cover of the entrenchments. A.D. 348.

Thus the two armies remained for some time, neither of the commanders wishing to attack. It is stated that Sapor at length reconnoitred the enemy from an artificial elevation, which appears to have been formed in front of his adversary by means of a pile of shields. Perceiving that such a dense mass was unattackable, Sapor retired and entrusted the care of the army to his son, assisted by one of his generals. The Persians now retreated, and were followed by the Romans to their camp. An attack then took place, first on the covering cavalry and afterwards, contrary to the orders of Constantius, on the camp itself. This was however carried; and the son of Sap[illegible] days considerable spoil, fell into the hands of the Rom[illegible]ya, he during the night, whilst the Roman troops were [illegible]ches, or themselves, the Persian archers made a sudden [illegible]antius to defeated them with heavy loss, which was follow[illegible]er place privations and hardships during their retreat; but [illegible]Orhoene, still retained by the Romans.[2] Position of the two armies near Singara.

External and internal wars in the west, occupied th[illegible]ce. He and gave Sapor time for fresh preparations for wa[illegible]arbus, being completed, he invaded Mesopotamia at the he[illegible]e, one numerous army, collected from various parts of his do[illegible]tus; and even from the borders of India. Being well provid[illegible]the elephants and warlike engines, he undertook the s[illegible] Nisibis for the third time. Constantius could not re[illegible] assistance, but the city was well provided, and, wh[illegible]

[1] Jeron. Chronic., Eus. A.D. 351, Julian, Orat. I. p. 23; [illegible]lib. III., edition, 1696.

[2] Ibid., compared with Ammian. Mar., lib. XVIII., cap. v.; lib. X., cap. vi.; and Sixtus Rufus, cap. xxvii.

Extraordinary efforts of the Persians.

greater consequence, was defended by the brave and talented Lucilianus, the father-in-law of Jovian. Battering rams and mines having proved ineffectual, Sapor turned the Mygdonius, in the hope of depriving the defenders of water; but as the cisterns and wells still gave a supply this project failed, and Sapor resorted to another contrivance, which was familiar to the Persians. This was the construction of a series of bunds, to collect such a body of water above the town, as might inundate the country, and, as he hoped, the city also. The former part of the plan was accomplished, but owing to the elevation of the site, the latter failed. Boats carrying engines were now floated alongside the walls, but the attack, though continued for some days, was repulsed. Seventy days having been consumed in various efforts, it was determined to make a final attempt by collecting such a mass of water as would rush with irresistible force along the bed of the river, and in so doing, carry away part of the defences. A hundred cubits of wall were levelled by this contrivance, and the Persians immediately assaulted the place; but owing to a violent thunderstorm at the moment, they were repulsed with the loss of 10,000

Failure of the Persians in assaulting Nisibis.

Narse

children of renewed attacks, the besieged repaired the breach, the eye more prepared to oppose their enemies. Sapor con harem wa rsevere, till news of the invasion of the Massagetæ Sophene ine and sickness among his troops, obliged him to these were nes, and terminate a siege of four months' dura notwithsta to march towards the Oxus.[2]

Peace with the Persians.

them; a rs later Constantius appointed his cousin Julian, the The r, governor of Gaul, where, as well as in other parts Sapor e, he distinguished himself as an able general, and thus failed himself for those extensive and more important opera hich will presently be noticed.

Sapor and Constantius prepare for war.

Vrting to Persia, the ever-active Sapor, hoping at this cap. to be able to recover Armenia and Mesopotamia, took for this purpose, and passed the Tigris near Nineveh ge of boats. But finding the country wasted in the

[2] Orat. 1, pp. 27, 28; Orat. 2, pp. 62-65; Spanheim's edit., 1696; XIII., p. 14; Zosim., lib. III., p. 161; Jul. Theoph., p. 33. lib. XV., cap. vii.

direct line of Thapsacus, and the Romans preparing to dispute the passage of the Euphrates at that place, the Persians turned northward through Mesopotamia, in order to cross that river, now flooded, towards its sources. Sapor passed Nisibis, but in a fit of anger he was induced to depart from his plan by attacking Amida, which he carried by a bloody assault, after a siege of seventy-five days, and the loss of 30,000 men.[1]

Amida carried by storm.

The opportunity of striking a decisive blow being thus lost, operations were delayed till the spring of the following year, when Sapor re-entered Mesopotamia, and captured Singara after a short siege; then passing Nisibis, he stormed Bezabde, once Phenice,[2] and laid siege to Birtha (Bír) at the extremity of Mesopotamia; but having failed in several attempts to carry this strong place, he retired to his own dominions.

A. D. 360. Second invasion of Sapor.

Constantius, who had hesitated between the necessity of opposing this enemy, or moving against Julian (the apostate), who had been declared emperor by the soldiers at Paris, decided on the latter course, but died on the march.

Death of Constantius.

With a view to the invasion of Persia, Julian fixed his head-quarters at Antioch, to the great annoyance of the Christians of that place. Here, his extensive preparations of troops, and ships both for war and for burthen, being completed, Julian put his army in motion in the month of March, and in five days reached Hierapolis. Remaining at this place three days, he proceeded to the neighbouring Zeugma of Karâ Bambuche, or Buyúk Membij; and appointing Lucian and Constantius to conduct the fleet then assembling at Sumeïsát and other places on the upper Euphrates, he proceeded to Batnæ in Osrhoëne. There the inhabitants of Edessa presented him with a crown, and begged he would honour their city by his presence. He acceded to their request, and afterwards advanced to Carrhæ. From hence, he had the choice of two routes into Persia, one by the Tigris and Adiabene, the other along the Euphrates; and thus far the invasion would have appeared to be by the former line, rather than that which he intended to follow.[3]

A. D. 362.

Julian's preparations at Antioch.

March to Edessa and Carrhæ.

[1] Ammian. Mar., lib. XVIII., cap. iv., viii.; lib. XIX., cap. viii.; Zonares, cap. ix., p. 20. [2] Ibid., lib. XX., cap. vi., vii.

[3] Ibid., lib. XXIII., cap. ii., iii., p. 273, compared with Zosim., lib. III., pp. 160, 161, ed. Ox. 1679.

Whilst in this city, news was brought that the Persians were ravaging the Roman territories, which intelligence took the army by surprise; but the emperor perceiving that it was little more than a foray, determined to persevere. Leaving 18,000 heavy-armed troops therefore under Sebastian and Procopius to protect the surrounding country, and ultimately join him near Seleucia, he suddenly turned southward with the remainder of his forces, which amounted to 65,000 horse and foot.

Julian changes his line of operations.

In three days, following the course of the river Basilius through the plain of Harán, he reached Nicephorium or Callenicum,[1] a strong fortress where there is a rich mart; and here, whilst receiving the submission of the Arabian princes, his fleet appeared.[2] Following the windings of the Euphrates for a distance of ninety-eight miles, he arrived at Circesium, at the confluence of the Khábúr with the Euphrates, where the army, animated by the sound of trumpets, crossed the former on a bridge of boats, and in sight of the fleet, which was waiting for the troops, in the latter river.[3]

The army crosses the river Khábúr,

The flotilla, which had been prepared with great care to facilitate the expedition, comprised no less than 600 vessels of wood, and 500 covered with leather, in addition to 50 vessels of war, besides numerous flat boats, intended either for the construction of bridges, or for the transport of the vast supplies required, of warlike engines, arms, and provisions.

The next day, after entering the Persian territory, the emperor harangued the troops according to his custom, and at the conclusion of the oration, he gave each man 130 pieces of silver. The command of the infantry was confided to Victor, and that of the cavalry to Arinthæus and Hormisdas. The latter was the son of the king of Persia, who on being deprived of his kingdom by his brother, had taken service under Constantius: he now commanded the cavalry which composed the left wing. The infantry formed the right, having a rear-guard at the distance of seventy stadia; the baggage and camp followers occupied the intervening space, and 1500 light troops

and advances along the Euphrates.

[1] Now Rakkah. [2] Ammian. Mar., lib. XXIII., cap. ii., iii.

[3] Zosimus, lib. p. 161, III., ed. Ox. 1679, compared with Amm. Mar., lib. XXIII., cap. v.

were kept in advance: the remainder of the force appears to have been embarked.[1]

After marching sixty stadia, the army reached Zaitha, from whence the tomb of the emperor Gordian was conspicuous at a great distance,[2] probably at Dura, the next halting-place. This was a deserted town on the Euphrates two days from the Aboras; and it is mentioned that the soldiers killed a lion during this part of the march;[3] and also that one of the men perished by lightning. The tomb of Gordian.

In four easy stages Julian reached the town of Anatho, the Phathusæ of Zosimus,[4] opposite to which there was an island having a castle on it. This latter was defended by the inhabitants, but being surrounded during the night, they were induced to capitulate the following day after a parley.

It was at this period of the invasion that a hurricane occurred, which deserves to be particularly mentioned, on account of a similar hurricane having taken place, during the passage of the British Expedition down the same river, and nearly at the same place. The storm of the 7th April, A. D. 363, is thus described by the historian:—"When the sun was declining near the western horizon, a small cloud appeared; the air suddenly became so thick that they could not see, and after repeated and threatening peals of thunder, accompanied by flashes of lightning, a soldier was struck down by lightning with two horses which he was leading from the river after they had drank at it."[5] In another passage he adds:—"A whirlwind seized on them, and making numerous eddies, so confused the encampment that many tents were rent to pieces, and most of the soldiers thrown on their backs or faces, not being able to keep their feet through the violence of the wind." Julian's expedition encounters a hurricane. Some of the tents and many of the vessels were destroyed.

On the same day a no less dangerous accident happened. For the river having suddenly overflowed its banks, some of the

[1] Zosim. lib. III., pp. 161, 162; Ox. 1679.

[2] Hic Gordiani Imperatoris longi conspicuum vidimus tumulum.—Amm. Mar., lib. XXIII., cap. v.

[3] Ibid., lib. XXIV., cap. i. Músá seems to correspond with this site in point of distance. See Map IV.

[4] Lib. III., pp. 163, 164.

[5] Amm. Mar., lib. XXIII., cap. v., p. 279.

ships laden with provisions were sunk; the dykes, which were constructed of stone-work, for the purpose of keeping up the waters used for irrigation, having been torn away.[1]

The descent from Anatho was continued soon after the termination of the storm. The emperor, on the march, invested an island fort called Thilutha,[2] in the middle of the river, but he was obliged to be satisfied with a promise that the inhabitants would surrender ultimately, if Sapor should be conquered.

Julian now continued his march by Achaichala to Baraxmalká,[3] where he appears to have crossed the river; and he proceeded seven miles to Diacira, which is on the right in descending the Euphrates. The soldiers pillaged this place of a large quantity of corn, killed the women who had remained there, and completely destroyed the town. On the bank along which the army marched, probably at Hít, a bituminous spring was found.

The army reaches Hít.

The emperor having recrossed the river, advanced to Sitha, then to Megia, and afterwards, according to Ammianus, to Zaragardia or Ozogardana,[4] where, according to Zosimus, a stone still exists, which is called by the people of the country Trajan's throne. Pillaging and burning the town occupied the whole of this and the following day.

Trajan's throne.

The emperor being astonished to find that during his long march through an enemy's territory no opposition had been offered, despatched some troops under Hormisdas, who knew the country, to reconnoitre. On this occasion the latter narrowly

[1] The violence of the tempest, as described by Amm. Mar., lib. XXIII., cap. v., and Libanius, Oration X., p. 314, will be easily understood by those who witnessed the storm of the 21st May, 1836, when a mass of water covered the left bank of the river at Werdí, and carried portions of the Tigris steamer and some of her cargo far into a field of corn.

[2] Now 'Anatelbus, and still a strong fort, whose walls are washed by the river. The site of Anatho on the left bank, with an island opposite having a castle, also corresponds with the description of Ammianus, lib. XXIV., cap. v.

[3] Jibbah, the Pombeditha of D'Anville, vol. I., p. 440, may represent Baraxmalká, between which place and Hít was Diacira.

[4] This site must be sought on the left bank, some distance below Hít; Ammian. Mar., lib. XXIV., cap. v., compared with Zosim., lib. III., p. 165.

escaped an ambuscade, which, having fortunately discovered posted behind a canal, he attacked and routed.

The army continuing to advance, reached a canal extending from the Euphrates towards the Tigris. A thick glutinous slime at the bottom, made it difficult for the cavalry to cross it, especially in the face of an enemy strongly posted on the opposite bank. To overcome this difficulty, 1,500 men under Lucilius, and a body of troops under Victor, rounded each flank of the enemy, and having marched the whole night, simultaneously attacked his rear. Being obliged to face about to repel this unexpected onset, the army readily effected the passage of the canal, and immediately advanced on Perisaboras,[1] an exceedingly strong place, being surrounded by a double wall, and having in the interior an elevated acropolis, which was also surrounded by a high wall, forming a segment of a circle.

Julian turns the Persian forces, and advances to Perisaboras.

This work was approached either by means of a difficult road from the inner wall of the town, or by a kind of passage, which led thither in an oblique direction along the southern and western sides of the hill. In these quarters the city was considered impregnable. On the north it was defended by a canal, excavated for this purpose, while, at the same time, it supplied the inhabitants with water; and finally, on the eastern side, there was a rampart with a ditch protected by high towers, the lower portions of which were of brick, the upper of composition, probably the Persian conglomerate.[2]

Description of the defences.

The siege of this place was now commenced with such ardour, that the inhabitants proposed to capitulate, and Hormisdas was sent to arrange the terms. But the pride of the Persians was roused by his appearance, and the prince was reminded that he was basely conducting strangers against his king and country. Incensed at their conduct, Julian pressed the siege with redoubled energy, and the Perisaboreans being unable to defend their extensive walls, now partially breached, retired into the citadel. The Romans accordingly entered the town, and having thrown down the walls and burnt the houses, they placed engines upon the ruins, from which darts and stones

Siege and capture of the town.

[1] Zosim., lib. III., p. 168; Ammian. Mar., lib. XXIV., cap. v.
[2] For a description of this, see sequel, chap. XIX.

were showered into the citadel. A square tower was also constructed of great wooden beams, well secured by iron cramps, and of the same height as the walls, for the purpose of launching darts against the defenders.

Capitulation of the citadel.

The Persians bravely continued their resistance for some time, but at length capitulated, and 5,000 men, with Momonius the governor, were permitted to retire from the place. This being the largest city of Assyria excepting Ctesiphon, the Romans found in it vast stores of provisions, arms, and warlike engines.[1] The ruins of Tell 'Akhar, between the left bank of the Euphrates and the Nahr I'sa, answer the description of the historian, and correspond with Firuz-Sapor, or Anbar, which is supposed to occupy the site of Perisaboras.[2]

Progress of Julian's forces in Mesopotamia.

Having laid the city completely in ruins, Julian proceeded from thence along, as may be presumed, the southern side of the Nahr I'sa, and making his way through a country which had been inundated by the Persians (no doubt that near 'Akar Kúf), he reached the town, which had been deserted by the Jews who inhabited it. The soldiers burned this place, and then came to Maozar-Malká. This city was situated on, or near the Nahr Malká, and was strongly defended by a double wall flanked with sixteen lofty towers, and a deep ditch. Having gradually approached the latter, a mine was carried under the foundation of the wall, and the vigilance of the besieged being diverted by an external attack, until the moment when it was ready, the assailants entered the city by this subterranean passage, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

Passing several canals on bridges, and taking two fortresses,[3] notwithstanding the opposition of Sapor's son, the army now advanced and captured Sabatha,[4] within thirty stadia of Seleucia; but in order to approach Ctesiphon, which was the main object of the enterprise, it was necessary to overcome the difficulty of crossing the Tigris at the former place. Julian, following the

[1] Amm. Mar., lib. XXIII., cap. xxiii., compared with Zosimus, lib. III., p. 171., ed. Ox. 1679.

[2] D'Anville's Anc. Geog., London, 1810. Feulder, Wilkie, &c., vol. II., p. 37.

[3] One, according to Zosimus, p. 174, was called Besuchis.

[4] Zosimus, lib. III., p. 180.

example of his predecessor Trajan, caused the Nahr Malká to be cleared out, and the vessels were immediately floated into the Tigris. After the army had been with some opposition and difficulty transported across, the Persians, who lost 3,500 men in the action, were pursued to the gates of Ctesiphon; and that city might possibly have then been taken by assault, if the Roman general Victor, had shown more presence of mind and daring.

Julian's fleet passes along the Nahr Malká into the Tigris.

Disappointed of the expected reinforcements under Sebastian and Procopius from Upper Mesopotamia, and Sapor himself advancing, Julian determined to abandon the siege. His purpose appears to have been to meet the Persian king, rather than to effect a retreat; and that his march might not be encumbered, he forthwith destroyed his magnificent fleet, with the exception of a few boats,[1] which were to be transported on carriages, for the passage of rivers. The lofty spirit of Alexander, his supposed model, no longer existed, and the hopes of Julian rested on a rapid march to Corduene, a part of Assyria still friendly to the Romans. Taking therefore twenty days' provisions, the army marched through the country to a place called Noorda, and from thence, after resting, to the river Durus, probably the Diyálah, which they crossed on a bridge, and reached Barophthœ. They found the country laid waste, the corn having been burned by the enemy, who speedily appeared, and a skirmish took place before they reached Symbra. This place, which is called Nacumbra by Ammianus, is contiguous to two towns, connected by a bridge, and separated by the Tigris, namely Nisbara and Nischanabe; the first, however, the enemy had burned. Flying parties of Persian cavalry now appeared, and became more and more troublesome, almost surrounding Julian's forces. The Persians attacked the rear-guard of the latter between Danabe and Synea, but they made good their march to Acceta, where they saved some forage from the flames, and proceeded to Marausa, Marousa, or Macauga, where there was another engagement. From thence, passing some villages, they came to Zummara, where they defeated the Persians; but on the following day, being almost completely sur-

Julian burns his fleet, and commences his retreat.

Difficulties of the march.

[1] Eighteen Roman and four Persian vessels.

Death of Julian.

rounded, they were again attacked by the latter, and Julian was mortally wounded in the battle which ensued.[1]

The morning after this contest, the army met to elect an emperor, and saluted as such the first officer of the palace, with the title of Jovianus Augustus. Jovian had, it seems, been a sincere, though not an avowed Christian, and perceiving an opportunity of serving the cause which he had most at heart, he declared that he would neither accept the government of the empire, nor even the post of general, unless he were to hold the command over Christians. The soldiers replied with one voice, that they were really Christians, and that they cherished more what they had been taught during the days of Constantine and Constans than what they had since learned under Julian. With this assurance, and trusting that the hand of Providence would save the army from the cruel alternative of perishing either by hunger or by the sword, Jovian undertook the command. The same day, after repelling a fresh attack of the enemy, he marched to a fortress called Sumera, whose site is probably that of the later Múḥammedan city of nearly the same name.[2] The next day Jovian encamped in a valley, where, on the following morning, he repulsed another attack of the Persians. The following night the Romans occupied Charcha, and on the next evening, when approaching Dura after a march of thirty stadia, the baggage-drivers were almost cut off; and after four days of continued fighting, Jovian succeeded in breaking through the enemy by whom he had been encircled. The soldiers being now aware that they were near the Roman territory, were clamorous to be allowed to pass the river, and some Gauls and Sarmatians who were accustomed to swim rapid rivers, passed across the same night as an experiment. The rest of the army remained two days endeavouring to form a bridge of inflated skins, which failed owing to the rapidity of the current,[3]

Jovian succeeds to the command,

and continues to retreat.

Difficulties of the march.

[1] Ammian. Mar., lib. XXV., cap. ii., compared with Zosim., lib. III., p. 181—190. Libanius, Orat. X.; Gregory Nazianzen, Orat II., sec. xv.—xviii.; and Zonares, lib. XIII., cap. xiii.

[2] Sammarrah.

[3] The passage was attempted about the 7th of July, which is during the season of floods. See vol. I., pp. 38, 39.

and the army was nearly reduced to the greatest extremities for want of provisions.[1]

But before any plan could be formed, the Persians most unexpectedly proposed peace. The terms, though hard for Romans, were justified by circumstances; and in four days a treaty was concluded for thirty years, the Romans having agreed to restore Nisibis, Singara, and the part of the territory ceded to Diocletian: there was a further condition that the Romans were not to give any assistance to the king of Armenia.

Jovian makes terms with the Persians.

Nisibis and Singara restored.

Being now free from the annoyance of the enemy, the march appears to have been continued for a time through difficult ground, along the bank of the river. The troops suffering from scarcity of provisions, many of the soldiers heedlessly attempted to swim across, and were either drowned, or cut off by the Arabians on reaching the other side. But at length the trumpet gave a general signal to cross, when each individual hastened to escape from the calamities to which he had hitherto been exposed. Some on hurdles hastily constructed, others on inflated skins, or leather bags and other contrivances, crossed the torrent obliquely. The emperor himself, with some of his followers, used the shallow boats that had been preserved, which crossed and recrossed till all were ferried over; and at length, adds the historian, all of us, excepting those who were drowned, reached the opposite bank, having escaped our perils by the favour of heaven.[2]

Passage of the Tigris.

A. D. 363.

From the known position of Dura, it may be inferred that this remarkable passage was effected in the neighbourhood of Tekrít, which lies in the line from thence towards Hatra: the latter place was afterwards reached by a forced march. Hearing that for seventy miles onward, neither food nor water were to be procured, the army laid in a stock of both, killing for this purpose their camels and other beasts of burthen. After six days' march, without having found even grass, they obtained a temporary supply at the Persian fortress of U'r.[3] From thence,

March across Mesopotamia.

[1] Amm. Mar., lib. XXV., cap. ii.

[2] Zosim., lib. III., p. 190; Amm. Mar., lib. XXV., cap. viii.

[3] Ḳal'ah Skerḳát.

but still suffering great privations, the march was continued by Thilsaphæta to Nisibis, whither Sebastian and Procopius had come with supplies, to meet the emperor.[1]

Except occasional incursions of the Persians, little occurred of moment between the rival nations for a lengthened period, when Azarethes, the general of Kobad, invaded the Roman territories at the head of a combined army of Persians and Arabs, by the route of Comagene. Belisarius, who was sent to oppose the enemy with a very inferior force, having garrisoned the fortresses in Mesopotamia, advanced with 20,000 men to meet him at Chalcis. Finding their purpose of invading Syria anticipated, the Persians retraced their steps, and were followed by Belisarius, who encamped day by day on the ground which they had just quitted. The Romans, who could not appreciate his prudence, accused their leader of cowardice, and demanded to be led to battle. Belisarius pointed out that the enemy was flying before them, which was all they could desire; but as this had no effect, he was constrained to give battle. The contest was terrible, and at a late hour of the day, victory still remained doubtful, when a charge of the Immortals broke the left wing of the Romans, and decided the battle in favour of the Persians.[2] Belisarius retreated after dark with the remains of his forces, and gained Callinicus on the Euphrates, whilst, on the other hand, the Persians marched into their own country. But on each soldier reclaiming an arrow from the pile, which according to custom was formed at the commencement of the campaign, the Persian king, who then discovered the extent of his loss,[3] refused to grant the expected mark of distinction.

Belisarius follows the Persians.

The Romans are defeated, and both armies retreat.

A. D. 532.

During the negotiations which followed, Chosroes 'Anúshíreván succeeded his father Kobad (Cobades), and Justinian, wishing to be at liberty to oppose the Vandals, agreed to pay the Persian king 11,000 pounds weight of gold. This laid the foundation of a protracted contest between the sovereigns, which was in general favourable to the Persians. Urged by the Arabians and others, Chosroes, taking advantage of the absence of Belisarius, invaded the Roman territory in contravention of

Successful inroad of Chosroes into the Roman provinces.

[1] Amm. Mar., lib. XXV., cap. viii., and Zosimus, lib. III. p. 194, &c.
[2] Procopius, Bell. Pers., lib. I., cap. xviii. [3] Ibid.

the treaty, following on this occasion the river Euphrates from Circesium to Zenobia; a distance about equal to that which an active man would march in three days.[1] Having again advanced the same distance, he came to Sura, which he took and burned.[2] He next levied a tribute on Hierapolis, and demanded twice as much from Berœa, which latter he afterwards remitted, as the inhabitants were unable to pay it.[3]

Siege and capture of Antioch.

He now advanced against Antioch: when there he offered to spare the city for a moderate consideration, but a reinforcement of 6,000 men having arrived from the Lebanon, the people in consequence not only refused to treat, but ridiculed the besiegers from their walls. Enraged at this, Chosroes occupied the rocky ground south-eastward of the city, and forthwith commenced the siege with vigour. The inhabitants defended themselves with great valour; and, to increase their means, they suspended, between the towers at the summit of the curtains, on the external side of the walls, massive beams of wood on which troops were posted. But the cordage having given way, the men were precipitated from a considerable height, and those in the towers, believing that the walls had been beaten down, took flight. Chosroes seizing the opportunity, stormed the town, and the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes.[4]

A. D. 542.

His previous offers were now gladly accepted: 5,000 pounds of gold were to be paid to the Persians within two months, and 500 pounds annually. In return, the Persians agreed to relinquish all claims to Dura, and to prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire through the Persian gates.[5] The towns of Apamea and Chalcis being, however, plundered by the Persians as they returned, Justinian renewed the war. Belisarius, to whom it was[6] entrusted, sent his general Arethas into Assyria, which he laid waste as far as he could. He then entered Persia, and took the fortress of Sisibranum;

Renewal of the war.

[1] Procopius, Bell. Pers., lib. I., cap. xxi., and lib. II. cap. v.
[2] Ibid., lib. II., cap. v.
[3] Ibid., cap. vi., vii.
[4] Ibid., cap. viii., x.
[5] Ibid., and Evag., lib. IV., cap xxv.
[6] Procopius, Bell. Pers., lib. II., cap. xix.

but owing to the sickness among his troops caused by violent heat, he was obliged to return to the Roman dominions, and Chosroes, who had hastened from Lazia to encounter him, put his army into quarters at Ctesiphon.[1]

Inroad of the Persians. A. D. 543.

In the spring of the following year, Chosroes again advanced across the Euphrates. Passing Sergiopolis (Resáfá), and keeping that river on his right, he marched to Comagene, otherwise Euphratesia; meditating an advance from thence to Palestine to take Jerusalem. Belisarius, being despatched against him, boldly threw himself upon the flank and rear of the Persians, and caused them to retreat.[2]

Second invasion and total defeat of Chosroes.

A. D. 574.

The next year Chosroes entered the Roman territory at the head of a powerful army, and found himself unexpectedly opposed by Justinian with 150,000 men near Dura. A Scythian chief who commanded the right wing, unexpectedly turned the flank of the Persians, and making an attack in their rear penetrated into the camp, when he not only pillaged the royal tent, but captured the baggage, part of the harem, and even the sacred fire. Chosroes, in some measure, recovered his disgrace, by a spirited attack on the enemy's camp during the night; but considering himself still in danger, he retreated to Malaṭíyah; afterwards, having burnt the town,[3] he crossed the river Euphrates on an elephant, and escaped on a camel, leaving his army to its fate. Justinian now pushed on to the banks of the Araxes, and renewed the war in the spring; but Chosroes did not live to meet the enemy.

Accession of Hormisdas. A. D. 581.

Hormisdas, his son and successor, made peace; but unmindful of his father's prudent directions to avoid war with the Romans, shortly afterwards commenced hostilities, which were attended with adverse circumstances and severe loss; and wars, which partook of the nature of mutual inroads, were carried on at intervals between the Romans and Persians for about nine

A. D. 589.

years, when Martyropolis, (Myáfáreḳín,) submitted to the former power.

[1] Procopius, Bell. Pers., lib. II., cap. xix.

[2] Ibid., cap. xx., xxi., xxvi., and Theophanes, Chronographia, pp. 186, 187.

[3] Menander in Excerpt. Legat., pp. 113, 125.

War and rebellion of Varanes.

Varanes, general of Hormisdas, then took the field, and carried the war first into Suania, from thence he proceeded into the Lazian territory, where he amassed considerable riches, and having sent his treasure to Baghdád for security, he marched towards the Araxes.[1] A Roman army was now sent against him, and two battles were fought: in the second, the first not having been decisive, the Persians were entirely defeated.[2] Varanes afterwards raised the standard of civil war, and several towns followed his example.

A. D. 590. Chosroes puts down the rebellion,

Chosroes II., who succeeded Hormisdas at this juncture, offered an amnesty to Varanes, with the second place in the kingdom, but these propositions were refused with the utmost insolence, and Varanes even went so far as to command the monarch to abdicate his throne. Both parties prepared in consequence for a contest; and in this, Varanes being victorious, Chosroes sought an asylum with the Roman garrison of Circesium.

Accompanied by a Roman army, Chosroes re-entered his own kingdom, where he was received as sovereign by the people; and the rebellious army, 40,000 strong, being defeated by a force of 60,000 under Chosroes and the Roman general Narses, Varanes abandoned the contest. Chosroes now took possession of his kingdom, and undisturbed peace continued for some time between him and the Romans.[3] But in the first year of Heraclius, the Persians having captured Apamea and Edessa, advanced towards Antioch, where the Romans gave battle, and were completely defeated: in the following year the Persians took Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and carried off a multitude of captives. Chosroes afterwards took Palestine;[4] Egypt and Lybia to the borders of Ethiopia, were likewise subjugated, and the Persians carried their conquests even to the Thracian Bosphorus.[5]

and takes possession of his kingdom. A. D. 600.

A. D. 607.

Two campaigns followed in Armenia, which were on the whole favourable to Heraclius. That of the succeeding year

[1] Theophylact. Simocatta, lib. III., cap. vi.
[2] Ibid., cap. vii.
[3] Evagrius, lib. VI., cap. xvi. to xix. [4] Eutychius, Ann. II., p. 212.
[5] Theophanes, p. 248—268.

was still more active, and was carried on alternately on the banks of the Halys, of the Euphrates, and on the slopes of the
A. D. 628. Taurus; the Persians, however, maintained their ground. In December Heraclius passed the Záb, and approached Nineveh,
Battle near Nineveh. where a battle took place which was obstinately contested during a whole day, without either army yielding the field. Chosroes, however, retired during the night, and eventually returned to his palace of Dastagerd to await reinforcements. The emperor pursued him, and captured the place, in which he found a quantity of silks, carpets, and other valuables. Chosroes escaped with difficulty through a subterraneous passage, with his wives, and having reached the castle of Ctesiphon, he
Death of Chosroes II. was there imprisoned and put to death by his son, who made peace with Heraclius.[1]

During the decline of the Persian empire, the Arab nation was making rapid advances towards the attainment of vast physical and moral influence in the world.

[1] Theophanes, pp. 266, 268, 271, 272.

CHAPTER XIV.

GLANCE AT ARABIAN HISTORY DURING THE REIGN OF THE EARLIER KHALIPHS, FROM A.D. 40 TO 1097.

Early connection of Arabia with other Countries.—Central situation and geographical position of this Territory.—Flood of El Arim.—Foundation of the kingdoms of Ghassan and Hirah.—Conquests of the Tobbáï.—Invasion and Conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians.—State of Religion amongst the Arabs up to the time of Múḥammed.—War of the Elephant.—Subjection of Yemen by the Persians.—The plans of Múḥammed favoured by circumstances.—Early life of the Prophet, and commencement of his Ministry.—Attractive Doctrines of the new Religion.—Accession of Abú Bekr and 'Omar.—Character of the latter Prince.—The Dress, Arms, &c., of the Arabs, adapted for difficult enterprises.—Conquests of 'Omar.—Accession of 'Othmán.—The Berbers: commencement of the Moorish dynasty in Africa.—Ayeshah commences a Civil War against 'Alí.—Invasion of Spain by the Moors.—Arab Conquests in the Mediterranean and elsewhere.—Fiscal arrangements of 'Omar ben 'Abd-el-'Azíz.—The Moors penetrate into France.—Commencement of the reign of the Abassides.—Baghdád occupied.—Rise of Hárún-el-Rashíd.—State of the Khaliphat during his reign.—Intercourse cultivated between Arabia and Europe.—Temporary division of his Territory.—Accession of Mámún.—He encourages Philosophy and Literature.—Assemblies of Learned Men at the court of Baghdád.—Cultivation of the Persian, Indian, and Greek Languages encouraged.—Style of refreshments at the Khaliph's palace.—His liberality.—Revenue of the principal Court Physisian.—Mu'tasem's accession and contests with Justinian.—His encouragement of Architecture.—Military and Civil organization.—Extensive privileges of Muslims.—Formation of regular Troops in Arabia.—Discontent in consequence at Baghdád.—Construction of the city of Sammarrah.—A cartel established for the exchange of Muslim prisoners, &c.—Wars with the Greek Empire.—Recitals of the Rawí to the Khaliph at night.—Mutawakkel builds a great palace.—Learned Men in the time of Mámún.—Subdivision of power in Arabia.—Origin of the Huns and Turkish Tribes.—Conquests of Mahmúd Ghízní and the Afgháns.—Rise and progress of the Seljukian dynasties.

THE almost unceasing wars briefly sketched in the two preceding chapters, only partially affected the peninsula of Arabia;

Early isolation of Arabia.

which, although conterminous with the Parthians and Persians on one side, and with part of the Roman territories on another, continued, as it were, almost isolated in the centre of the world. But it will now be seen that instead of occasional expeditions as heretofore into other countries, the people of Arabia henceforth took a prominent place amongst other nations; and, concentrating their energies, they speedily overran Asia, Africa, and a portion of Europe.

Its geographical position.

Arabia, it will be recollected, constitutes a middle region, which, touching Asia on one side and Africa on the other, appertains geographically to each, although politically, it does not belong to either continent. Its people, however, from their origin, as well as their subsequent relations, have been closely linked with both.

With respect to their origin, it will be recollected that this was the territory intermedially occupied as mankind spread towards Africa; and, with regard to their relations with other countries, it may be observed that the Ophirian mariners coasted its shores; that pilots from this country circumnavigated Africa;[1] and that the merchandize which constituted the objects of the earliest eastern trade traversed its wide-spreading plains: within its limits, also, are comprised the scenes, among which occurred the wanderings of the Israelites, as well as many of the great events connected with scriptural history. Jezíreh El'Arab, in its largest sense, is bounded on three sides by seas, and on the fourth by the river Euphrates.

Extent and superficies of Arabia.

Taking the air-line, it extends for a distance of 1,500 miles from the Mediterranean at Iskenderún to the Indian Ocean at Rás Sherbedá, one of the horns of Khuriyán-Muriyán Bay; and it has a superficies of 1,153,762 square geographical miles, or rather more than the great peninsula of Hindústán. Though split into multitudinous tribal sections,[2] a broad line of demarcation exists, on one side of which are the fixed inhabitants, and on the other the nomad races of the peninsula. Amongst the leading branches of the latter are the Shammár, the Anizéh, the Harb, El Sabá, El Kohṭán, the Bení 'Alí, Bení Kháled, &c.[3]

[1] Vol. I., p. 652.
[2] See List, p. 703-724, vol. I.
[3] Vol. I., Table IV., Appendix.

Amongst the former are the sons of Cush,[1] and those of Kaḥṭán. There are likewise the grafted or naturalized Arabs,[2] who, particularly the Ḥimyári, obtained power in Yemen, the ruler being styled the great king.[3]

Here, about the time that the first princes of the Cahlan branch of this dynasty governed in Yemen, and either during the reign of Akran or that of his son Duhabshan, the flood of El 'Arim is supposed to have occurred, by the bursting of the gigantic dike at Máreb.[4] The epoch of this calamity, by which the city and a large portion of the surrounding country was destroyed, has been assigned to different periods between the time of Alexander the Great and the third century of Christ. But, of the eight tribes who were driven from their dwelling-place in consequence of this inundation, one section settled at Ghassan,[5] and another at Hiráh in 'Iráḳ; and the commencement of the latter kingdom may serve to fix approximately the time of the flood. Now, a sovereign named Cholebus and another called Charibael are mentioned as reigning jointly in Yemen,[6] probably about A.D. 40; and scarcely a century later, the descendants of Akran were firmly established there; hence, as the line of the Tobbáï continued unbroken, the date just mentioned, which was probably also that of the settlement at Ghassan, may claim a preference. Asaad Abú Kurrúb, third of the new line of Tobbáï, appears to have been a successful conqueror, who, after invading Tehámeh, carried his arms into Aẓerbáïjan, and from thence to distant parts of the East.

Kingdoms of Ghassan and Hiráh.

One of his successors having embraced Christianity, marched into the Ḥijáz at the head of an army of 100,000 men, purposing to exterminate the Jews who had been settled about Medina since their flight from the arms of Titus and Adrian.

Expedition into the Ḥijáz.

But, instead of fulfilling his purpose, he became himself a convert to the Mosaic ritual, which, on his return to Yemen, was introduced among his subjects.

About this period an expedition sent from Abyssinia appears

[1] Vol. I., pp. 658, 659. [2] Ibid., pp. 654, 658, and Tables II., III., App.

[3] Specimen Historiæ Arabum, by Pococke; Historia veterum Arabum, ex Abú-l-fedá, Oxoniæ, 1806, pp. 65, 66.

[4] Ibid., pp. 67, 77. [5] See above, p. 81.

[6] Vincent, Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. II., p. 314–317.

Invasion of Yemen by the Abyssinians. A.D. 330.

to have crossed the Red Sea under Aizanas,[1] who after subduing the Himyári and other tribes, carried away a number of captives, with their sheep, oxen, &c. The final subjection of Yemen took place however at a much later period.[2] One of the Bení Thaleb of the Nejrán, who had been converted to Christianity by Akeimaur, a Syrian, having escaped from a persecution, induced the Christian king of Abyssinia to proceed against Yemen: the latter landed his forces at 'Aden; and success having attended his arms, the Abyssinian line of kings commenced with Aryat or Aruat, whose efforts in favour of Christianity added fresh fuel to the flames of discord in Arabia. The various kinds of worship enumerated (vol. I. pp. 661, 662), were combined with the tenets of the Magi and the fire-worship of the Persians; and to these, as has been mentioned, were added, at later periods, Judaism and Christianity. Abrahah or Abramus, once a Roman slave and now a Christian, having usurped the throne, proceeded at the head of 40,000 men against the Koreish, then the guardians of the Ka'ba at Mekkah. Prayers being offered by the inhabitants, the white elephant on which Abrahah was mounted refused, it is said, to carry him towards the temple. At the same time a flight of birds, each carrying, according to tradition, a stone in its bill and another in each claw, let fall these missiles on the heads of the besiegers. Abrahah alone escaped, and on reaching San'á died of a loathsome disease. Thus ended the war of the elephant, which has become memorable as marking the date of Múḥammed's birth.[3] Ere long, at the instance of Siph, one of the excluded line of the Ḥimyarí, Chrosroes Anúshíreván, invaded and subdued Yemen, which continued to be governed subsequently by Persian satraps, till Badhán, the last governor, adopted the new faith.

A.D. 530.

Second invasion of Yemen.

Abrahah is discomfited before Mekkah.

Chosroes invaded Yemen.

State of Arabia at the commencement of Múḥammed's ministry.

No period could be more favourable than that selected by Múḥammed for the development of those plans to which the preceding years of his life had been devoted.

The existence of various kinds of idolatry in Arabia, and the admixture of Judaism with a corrupt form of Christianity,

[1] Voyage to Abyssinia, by Henry Salt, Esq., Rivington, London, 1814, pp. 411, 462; Vincent's Nearchus, &c., vol. II., pp. 317, 318.

[2] Vincent's Dissertation on the Adulitick Inscription, vol. II., pp. 534, 535, and Note 21.

gave rise, in that country, to a state of civil and religious discord, which greatly favoured the views of this extraordinary man, and prepared the people to receive the system of religion which he had formed by a combination of the two last; at the same time the surrounding nations were not in a state to resist the warlike impulse communicated to the people of that country by his influence and example.

Contemplated change of religion.

Abú Kasem Múḥammed, the factor of the rich widow Khadijeh, when only in his thirteenth year,[1] is understood to have contemplated the introduction of a new religion. This idea probably occurred to him about A.D. 583, during his intercourse with a Nestorian monk at Bozra in Syria;[2] and his purpose appears to have been confirmed by another visit to the same individual. After Khadijeh became his wife, he prepared himself for the object he had in view by making himself acquainted with the tenets of the Jews, as well as those of the different sects into which the Christians were already divided.

First announced by Múḥammed.

About fifteen years after his marriage, his project being matured, Múḥammed announced that he was about to restore the true religion of Adam, through Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and the prophets, and he succeeded in making his doctrine sufficiently attractive to enlist the people in its cause, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinances which were enjoined.

In addition to the eternal truth that there is only one God, he joined belief in his own name as that of the apostle of the supreme and incomprehensible Being, inculcating at the same time prayer, fasting, and alms, as religious duties. The first is supposed to carry the Múslim half way to God; the second to bring him to the door of the heavenly palace; and the third to gain his admittance.

To the self-denial enjoined by stringent fasts, such as that of the Ramaḍán, and by the devotion of one-tenth, even sometimes of one-fifth, of the yearly income to charity, were added the prohibition of gaming, usury, the use of wine, &c.; while wilful murder, calumny, fornication and adultery, were enumerated as deadly sins.[3]

[1] He was born A.D. 570 or 571. [2] Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., pp. 161, 162.

[3] "Verily God commandeth justice, and the doing of good, and the giving unto kindred what shall be necessary, and he forbiddeth wickedness and ini-

Mūḥammed's Paradise.

In return for the restraints thus imposed on the Arabian people, Paradise, with its rivers, its marble palaces, delightful gardens, luxurious fruits and wines; besides robes of silk, diamonds, pearls, dishes of gold, and still more sensual gratifications, were promised as rewards to the faithful in the life to to come.[1] Expectations such as these, united to the commanding aspect and winning manners of the preacher, were calculated to enlist, as his followers, the pagan Arabs, and even those who were either half Jews, or who, by becoming partly Christians, had made a step in the true direction.

A general idea may be formed from what has been said of the tenets propounded in the beginning of the seventh century by this extraordinary man, who, from the circumstances of his previous life, was equally prepared to become alternately either a warlike leader in the field, or the guide of his hearers from the mim'bar or pulpit.

His aids in the composition of the Ḳorán.

His adventures during his mercantile journeys to eastern cities, and, still more, the experience gained during an expedition which he joined in his twentieth year, against the predatory tribes of Arabia, had prepared him in an eminent degree for military achievements; whilst his early intercourse with learned individuals, furnished him with materials for his grand object. Among these, in addition to those already mentioned, were Hertebé, an Arab, Soleïmán, a Persian, Barylas, a Jacobite, 'Abd-Allah Ibn Salaam, and Waraka, the nephew of Khadijeh. The latter had, in the first instance, exchanged his native polytheism for the Jewish faith; and having subsequently embraced the Christian religion, he was well acquainted with the Old and New Testaments.[2]

Basis of its compilation.

On the information derived from these sources were based the Muslim faith and the precepts of the Ḳorán, a part of which work, according to tradition, was prepared in the convent of Mount Sinai; but whether there or elsewhere, it is evident that much was taken from the Bible.

quity and oppression; he admonisheth you, that ye may remember." Ḳorán, chap. XVI., v. 92. Sale, compared with Lane's Selections from the Ḳurán. See also chap. II., v. 31, 173, 269, 273; III. v. 36; XVII., v. 33, 37.

[1] Ḳorán, chap. II., v. 23; XVIII., v. 30; XXXVII., v. 39, 48; LVII., v. 11, 37, &c.

[2] Abú-l-fedá, de Vit. Múḥammed, p. 14–17.

The self-appointed prophet, however, in rejecting the gross idolatry of his countrymen, respected many of their feelings and prejudices. The ancient veneration for the Ka'ba was still retained, and the hospitality, on which they prided themselves so much, was enjoined as part of the new creed; the rite of circumcision was also retained.

The prejudices of the Arabs respected.

These politic measures did not, however, prove sufficient, and even Múḥammed's own powerful tribe, the Koreish, only adopted the new faith after a contest of ten years' duration, which was scarcely terminated at the prophet's decease, A. D. 632.

The judgment formed by posterity regarding the Ḳorán, has, it would seem, been chiefly founded on certain passages in that book, which refer principally to the infidels who maintained bloody and protracted wars in opposition to the religion it inculcated. The work did not profess to contain anything new. Múḥammed simply announced himself as a teacher and admonisher, who had come to restore the ancient religion by means of persuasion, not by violence.[1] The use of the sword was to be chiefly defensive, his followers being enjoined to wait till they were attacked.[2]

The restoration of the ancient religion professed

Freedom of trade and toleration of their worship were permitted to those who were not believers, and they were to be left to the punishment of God, the only arbiter and recompenser of every one as he deserves:[3] it is also stated that the hope of salvation is not confined to the Muslim, but that every one who believes in God and does good works will be saved.[4]

These precepts, however, were but little regarded during the lifetime of the Arabian reformer, and still less in the time of

[1] Ḳorán, Chap. III., v. 138; XVI., v. 84, 91, 124; XVII. 95; LXXXVIII., v. 21.

[2] "Fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you, but transgress not by attacking them first, for God loveth not the transgressors," &c. Chap. II., v. 186. "Let there be no violence in religion," &c. Ḳorán, chap. II., v. 257.

[3] Ibid., chap. XLV., v. 14.

[4] "Surely those who believe, and those who judaize, and Christians, and Sabeans, whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord; there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved." Chap. II., v. 59. Lane's Selections from the Ḳurán, compared with Sale. See also chap. II., v. 106.

his successors, when the sword became the chief instrument in propagating his creed.

Múḥammed an impostor and enthusiast.

Múḥammed commenced his career as an impostor, and in all probability ended it as an enthusiast; leaving this enthusiasm as an inheritance, which, through the instrumentality of his successors, produced mighty changes in the eastern world.

Nearly twelve centuries have elapsed since the commencement of the Arabian revolution, but it seems as difficult as ever to comprehend the extraordinary and daring conception of Múḥammed, and the wonderful success which attended his project.

Early diffusion of Múḥammedanism.

With the blessings of the Gospel of our Saviour, the Arabian doctrines cannot, and must not be compared; but for some wise purpose, they have hitherto been permitted to hold a middle place in the moral world, by superseding paganism. The faith of El Islám became, at an early period, predominant from the tropic of Cancer northward, to the borders of Siberia, and from the shores of Albania eastward, to the plains of Delhi; giving to its disciples an improved, if not a high, state of morality, and, may it not be added, a tolerant disposition when compared with that of most other creeds.[1]

A.D. 632. The Arab people united under Abu Bekr.

Abú Bekr, the coadjutor of Múḥammed, found an unsettled government; but the impetus had already been given, and by following the steps of his predecessor, the Arabs became for the first time united and powerful. 'Iráḳ was subjected during his reign; Syria was also invaded, and Damascus surrendered on the very day that the khaliph died.

The government regulated by 'Omar.

But a much greater advance was made under his successor, Abú Hassah Ibn el Khatib, the celebrated 'Omar, whose fiscal arrangements included every department of the state.[2] This prince was eminently qualified to become the leader of a brave and enthusiastic people. He was content with such humble food as barley-bread, dates, and water. His couch was a simple mat, and the porch of a building, the foliage of a tree, or even the firmament of heaven, served him as a canopy; and that

[1] 'Omar and the earlier khaliphs gave privileges to Muslims, as well as to those who might become converts, while the rayáh was protected, his religion permitted, and his internal polity preserved.—See vol. I., pp. 371, 376, 379, and Sequel, vols. III. and IV.

[2] See vol. I., p. 253–261.

emanation from heaven, justice to all mankind, was at all times his guiding principle. Such was the leader of a race of people, whose ordinary habits and mode of life fitted them to follow a daring chief.

Equipments and personal qualities of the Arabs.

The kefíyeh protected the head of the Arab, and a flowing cloak covered his person.[1] Arrows, the jeríd, and a sling, were his arms for distant combat; while a scimitar, a long lance with a light bamboo shaft, a hanjar, and a battle-axe, were used in close contests; and bread and cheese, with dates occasionally, were considered ample provision for the longest march. Being thus lightly equipped and easily provided, and the greater part of the troops being mounted on fleet horses, a campaign was a simple affair, which the Arabs speedily brought to a close.

Conquests of 'Omar.

'Omar's accession took place on the fall of Damascus; and throughout his reign wars were carried on, partly by himself in person, and partly under the direction of his lieutenants. Everything gave way before an unencumbered army; and the conquests of 'Omar spread like a flood in all directions. Eastward his arms were successful in the bloody field of Kádisíyeh,[2] and after the victory of Nahavend, they were carried towards the Oxus. Westward his armies advanced to Jerusalem, and finally to Alexandria, in Egypt. In connection with this city, however, 'Omar's name has obtained an unenviable notoriety, in consequence of the wanton destruction of its great library by his deputy, Amrú Ben As.[3]

According to the Persian historian Khondemir, 'Omar took from the infidels 36,000 cities and castles, destroyed 4,000 temples or churches; while he either endowed or founded 1,400 mosques. In the twenty-second year of the Hijrah, A.D. 644. 'Omar perished by the hand of an assassin, and was succeeded in the khaliphat by 'Othmán Ibn Assan. Continuing their previous successes during his reign, the Arabs took Cyprus and Hamadán; and from thence they advanced to Khorásán. They also invaded Isauria, and made an expedition into Africa. The Moorish dynasty in that region dates from about this period.

Accession of 'Othmán.

[1] Herod., lib. VII., cap. lxix; see also vol. I., p. 668.
[2] Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot, art. 'Omar.
[3] Ibid., art. Amrou Ben-Al-As.

Settlement of the Berbers in Africa.

According to tradition, as well as the accounts of the Arabian authors, the Berbers who preceded the Moors, came from the coast of Syria, the Gergashites, Jebusites, &c., being one branch of that race;[1] the descendants of the Canaanites who were exterminated by Joshua, were another; the descendants of the Amorites, (Ait Amor,) were a third; and the Sabæans of Abyssinia, a fourth.[2] It is, however, believed that the Berbers in general are, like the ancient Egyptians, descended from Ham;[3] and of these, the Mazigh, appear to be one of the oldest tribes: many of the dialects of Barbary are apparently derived from theirs, or from one common language which was similar to it.

Subjection of Mauritania by the Arabs.

But, however this may have been, the ancient branches, like the Cushites of Arabia, merged into the later comers. These were the Mauri or Moors, who under the various denominations of Saracens, Hagarenes, Easterlings, &c., entered Mauritania at the period mentioned, and after a contest of forty years' duration, succeeded in conquering the country.

'Alí Ben Abi Taleb, the husband of Fátimah, was the first cousin of the prophet, and the first to acknowledge his divine mission; and, on the murder of 'Othmán, he succeeded to the khaliphat, but not with the unanimous consent of the people.

Ayeshah, the widow of Múhammed, opposes 'Alí.

Ayeshah, the surviving widow of Múhammed, formed a strong party in her favour. She took Basrah; and at Khoriaba, at the head of 30,000 men, she disputed the pretensions and the doctrines of 'Alí. She appeared in her shebrye,[4] mounted on a camel, and moving from one part of the field to another in order to animate her troops; but at length the animal being ham-strung, she lay on the ground till the close of the battle, which is called by the Arabs, that of the Camel. Subsequently, Moawiyah raised forces in Syria to dispute the right to the khaliphat; and, after a series of bloody combats near Suffein, without a decided result, the question of the succession was determined by arbitration.

Death of 'Alí, and the consequent schisms.

The decision being unfavourable to 'Alí, this chief settled at Kúfah, where he was subsequently assassinated; but he had already laid the foundation of the Shí'ah section of Múham-

[1] Procopius, Vandalicorum, II.
[2] See above, pp. 46, 47.
[3] Ibn Khaldún, MS., No. 9574, in the British Museum.
[4] See vol. I., pp. 683, 688.

medanism, which under Ḥaṣan, Ḥosein, and their successors, has ever since been opposed to the Sunnies, or the more orthodox party.[1]

Religious discord, however, did not entirely cripple the efforts of the Arabs, for during the khaliphat of 'Abd-el-Málik, the fourth from Moawiyah, 'Iráḳ, Sigistán, and Khorásán, acknowledged their dominion. A little later, namely in the 76th year of the Hijrah, dinars and dirhems were first struck with the Arabic inscriptions; and only seven years subsequently, the invasion of Spain commenced.

Invasion of Spain by the Moors.

The Arabs had, as has just been mentioned, subjected Mauritania, from whence in the 92nd and 93rd years of the Hijrah, Táríkh Ibn Zerka was despatched to Spain by the African khaliph, Táríkh Ibn Okair. The landing took place at Gibraltar, from whence the Arabs advanced into the interior; when, having defeated Roderic, the last of the Goths, near Toledo, they overran a considerable part of the country,[2] and thus laid the foundation of the kingdom which afterwards conferred such benefits on Europe. This dynasty commenced during the khaliphat of El Walid, who, besides Spain, had conquered Sardinia, Majorca, and Minorca; and in Asia, Má-werá-l-nahr, Kashgar, Turkestán, with part of India on this side of the Ganges. So that the Arab language and the banners of El Islám, extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of that river, and again from the desert of Saharà to the Jaxartes.

Polity and charity of 'Omar ben 'Abd-el-'Azíz.

The short reign of Soleïmán, the successor of El Walid, was followed by that of 'Omar ben 'Abd-el-'Azíz, who carried out and improved upon the fiscal arrangements of his predecessor, the first khaliph of that name. Founded on a calculation of the yearly earnings of a labourer employed in cultivating the soil, the pay for the military and civil branches was regulated, and the taxes to be levied were carefully fixed on a moderate scale for every district of the empire.[3] His own finances were regulated with the utmost frugality; so much so indeed, that his whole daily expenditure did not exceed two

[1] See vol. I., pp. 85, 86.
[2] Mariana, lib. VI., cap. xxii.
[3] See vol. I., p. 254–261.

dirhems, or 8¼*d*. From infancy his mind had been fixed entirely on the other world, and his life was in consequence just, religious, and devout.

The short reign of Yezíd Ibn 'Abd-el-Málik succeeded, and was followed by that of Suleïmán Ibn Hesham, A.H. 112. Moslema, one of his generals, marched against the Turks, as far as the Caspian Sea, but returned without effecting anything, while Hesham's troops gained some advantages over the Christians. Hesham subsequently advanced with 90,000 men as far as Tyana in Cappadocia, but was defeated by the Imperial army under the emperor and his son Constantine at Synnada in Phrygia.

The Moors invade France.

'Abd-el-Rahman, the khaliph's lieutenant in Spain, being determined to carry the war into France,[1] entered that kingdom at the head of a powerful army, and advanced to Arles, where he defeated a large body of the French. Thence, passing the Garonne and the Dordogne, he continued his march, devastating the country as he proceeded. Having advanced as far as Tours,[2] he was there, after a contest of seven days, defeated by the famous Charles Martel, and the Arabs with difficulty effected a retreat into Spain.

Baghdád built and occupied.

During the reign of the three succeeding khaliphs, namely, Al Walid (surnamed Abú'l Abbas), Yezíd Ibn Kháled, and Abú-l-'Abbás, which occupied a space of twenty-one years, warlike events were confined to the Arabian territory itself. The last of these princes commenced the line of the Abassides; and with them the arts and sciences became objects of particular attention. Abú Jaafer Al Mansúr laid the foundation of a great city on the banks of the Tigris, in 140 of the Hijrah, and finished its construction four years later. Baghdád, the new capital, was occupied in the 144th year of the Hijrah, and was destined to merit the name, so happily given by its founder, of Medinet el Salaam, a city of peace,[3] though during the reign of the first princes of this line, there were occasional wars, and also invasions of the imperial territory. Hárún-el-Rashíd, who, as the general of Mohadi, his father, the successor

[1] Roderic Tolentaus, Hist. Arabum, cap. XIII., p. 12; cap. XIV., p. 13.
[2] Mariana, lib. VI., cap. xxii., xxiii.
[3] Biblioth. Orient., art. Baghdád; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, p. 141.

of Abú Jaafer Al Mansúr, had already distinguished himself by penetrating through the Grecian provinces as far as the Hellespont, succeeded his brother Músá Al Hadi. His fleets and army invaded Cyprus,[1] and he carried his arms into Natolia; he might even have wrested this province from the hands of the feeble Constantine, had he pushed his successes. But great as were his courage and capacity for war, he was still more distinguished by his zeal for literature and the arts, combined with a love of justice and truth. The vow which he had made to undertake the pilgrimage to Mekkah on foot, if he ever came to the throne, was now redeemed. Flourishing towns sprang up in every part of his dominions; traffic was encouraged by land and by sea, and at this time, which was the golden age of the khaliphs, Baghdád surpassed Constantinople itself in magnificence. Friendly and literary communications were opened with many parts of Europe, and, in some instances, in a very remarkable manner. Hárún, who was in the east nearly what Charlemagne was in the west, sent an embassy direct to that emperor, and, at his instance, another was sent at the same time to the same court from Abraham, one of the most powerful emírs of Barbary. Amongst the presents were an elephant, then but little known in Europe, a rich tent, and, what was still more singular, a curious sort of clock, as a specimen of the state of the arts in Arabia.[1] The ambassadors passed through France, and were entertained at Aix-la-Chapelle with fêtes and exhibitions calculated to impress them with the power of the emperor.

Hárún-el-Rashíd advances to the Hellespont. A. D. 786.

Civil and literary prosperity of the empire.

Embassy to Charlemagne.

Hárún distributed his territories among his three sons. The eldest, Amin, had Baghdád, Chaldea or Babylonia, the three Arabias, also Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Africa, with the title of khaliph.

Division of the empire.

Mámún, the second son, received Persia, Kirmán, India, Khorásán, Taberistán, Zábulistán, and Kábul, with the tracts beyond the Araxes and Jaïhán. While Mu'tasem, his third son, had Armenia, Natolia, Georgia, Circassia, and the tracts belonging to the khaliph in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea; the

[1] Eginhartus, Vita et Gesta Caroli Magni, Colonia, 1521, p. 108.

brothers were to succeed one another, also, in the dignity of khaliph.[1]

A.D. 809. Hárún died soon afterwards at Ṭúz, and was succeeded by Amin. But war shortly arose, and was continued for five years A.D. 813. by the brothers, when Abú 'Abd-allah al Amin was succeeded by Abú-l-Abbas-al Mámún. The foundation of the literature of the East had been laid, and even part of the superstructure raised by Hárún-el-Rashid; but the reign of Mámún forms a still more important epoch in the learning and science of Arabia. This prince made war upon the emperor of Constantinople, and besieged Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, which he captured and demolished. The following year he marched into Cilicia, and having gained several places by capitulation, he proceeded to Egypt, where he captured Taïm; after which he returned to Damascus.[2] In this year he besieged, during a hundred days, the city of Lúlúa, which afterwards surrendered by capitulation.[3] On his way back to Baghdád, he ate so immoderately of dates, and drank so largely of cold water, that a violent fever ensued, which carried him off. Mámún is described as having been liberal, merciful, thoroughly acquainted with the art of government, and well versed in the speculative sciences of his time, besides being largely the encourager of learning. Different branches of knowledge had been already fostered by Hárún-el-Rashíd, but the reign of Mámún was eminently the golden age of Arabian literature. At Baghdád learned societies were formed; and there, encouraged by the protection of the monarch, congregated the literary men of the empire, who were accustomed to assemble every evening at the palace, as the companions and even friends of the khaliph.

Mámún's accession and character.

In the court of Mámún learning became the passport to advancement, and the greater the attainments of an individual, especially when united with engaging manners, the brighter was the prospect before him of honours and advancement. It is

Literary assemblies in the palace of Baghdád.

[1] Historia Sarracenica, &c., a Georgio Elmacino, Lugdun., 1625, cap. VI., p. 115.

[2] Elmacin., lib. II., cap. viii.; Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot., art. Al Mámún.

[3] Elmacin., lib. II., cap. i. and viii.

true, that ready wit and winning manners sometimes did more than the deepest learning could effect without these advantages, but subjects were frequently discussed in the presence of this remarkable prince in a manner which would do honour to the most distinguished men of the present day. Indeed, without a profound knowledge of the particular science which a man professed, it was impossible for him to attain eminence among the philosophers of Baghdád.

Luxury of the apartments.

Al Mas'údí and other authors have described at some length the half-literary, half-social re-unions in question, which had evidently reached a considerable degree of refinement. We are told that the riches of India and China, regulated by a refined taste, were displayed in the decorations of the apartments; which were lighted with wax candles, so highly perfumed, that the most exquisite odours filled the air; this being kept at an agreeable and delicately stimulating temperature by the thawing of ice. Vocal and instrumental performers, skilled in Arabian, Persian, Indian, and Greek music, delighted the senses of the assembled guests, while refreshments to gratify the palate were handed by youths from Khorásán and Turkistán, chosen for the purpose on account of the symmetry and gracefulness of their forms.

Public recitations.

The khaliph was accustomed to distinguish certain individuals on their appearance in public, by requesting them to recite any verses or passages in prose which had made a particular impression on him; when the merits of the production were canvassed by the company, including the prince himself, whose observations were witty and laconic. Terse rhyme was the fashionable mode of expression, and was frequently used also in state papers, with due regard, however, to simplicity and brevity. Contrary to this practice of the ancient Arabs, the modern Persians use a lengthened phraseology, in which the meaning is not unfrequently almost buried.

Confectionary, fruits, &c.

The refreshments chiefly consisted of ices, and iced fish, meats, and fruits; and it seems that the Italians, who are the best confectioners in Europe, learned at least part of their art from the Arabs, with whom they were in close contact during the middle ages. Many of the Italian dishes are the same as

those of the Arabs, and the word sorbetto (sherbet ice), is clearly from the Arabic.[1]

Some estimate may be formed of the extravagant expenditure of the court of Al Mámún, by taking, as an example, one item derived from that of another khaliph, who was known to be more moderate in his disbursements. Kiftí informs us that Gabriel, son of Bakhtishu'á, the royal physician, received from the treasury of Hárún-el-Rashíd 10,000 dirhems monthly, and from his private purse 50,000 dirhems in cash, besides 10,000 in clothes, the first month of every year. The khaliph was bled twice every year, and on each of these occasions, Gabriel received 100,000 dirhems; he received the same sum on administering medicine in the spring and autumn.

Revenue of the principal physician at Baghdád.

But this was only a part of Gabriel's receipts. 'Isá Ibn Jáfer, the son of the khaliph, bestowed 50,000 dirhems annually, and Zobaïdah, the favoured wife of Hárún-el-Rashíd gave as much. From Al 'Abbáseyah he received a similar sum, and from Fátimah 70,000 dirhems. From Ibráhím Ibn 'Othmán 30,000; from Al Fadhl Ibn Ar Rabíáh 50,000 in cash, and 100,000 in perfumes, horses, clothes, &c. From Yahya el Barmekite 600,000, from Ja' forte Barmekite 1,200,000, and from Abú Fadhl el Barmekite 600,000 dirhems. The preceding does not include occasional presents, or even the annual produce of his estates, amounting to 1,500,000 dirhems; so that the principal physician received for his services in the Abasside court, about 5,280,000 dirhems, equal to about 99,000*l*., or more than the personal revenue of the principal sovereigns of Europe. And when the presents distributed by the khaliph in his harem and among his courtiers are taken into account, together with his extraordinary liberality to learned men, it is evident that the disbursements at the court of Baghdád must have been prodigious.

Liberality of the khaliph.

On the death of Al Mámún, Al Mu'tasem succeeded to the khaliphat; and in the early part of his reign, the emperor Theophilus advanced as far as Malaṭíyah, committing great ravages. The khaliph, in return, took the field with a formi-

A. D. 833.

Campaign of Al Mu'tasem against Theophilus.

[1] Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, p. 160–164; Elmacinus, p. 139; Renaudot, p. 274.

dable army, and having invaded the imperial territories, reduced Ancyra, and laid Antioch in ashes. A battle between the contending armies near Amorium, ended to the disadvantage of the emperor's forces. Amorium[1] was afterwards stormed and levelled to the ground, 30,000 men being killed, and as many taken prisoners; and thus terminated the campaign.

Character of Al Mu'tasem.

Al Mu'tasem died in the year of the Hijrah 227; but although he was possessed of much talent, and many good qualities, the empire seems to have declined during his reign. According to Al Mas'údí, he was passionately fond of architecture, which he said promoted civilization, the principal object of life, and at the same time increased the revenue by spreading money through the state. He also encouraged the improvement of the breed of cattle, and promoted occupation among the working classes. In accordance with these ideas, he instructed his vezír, Múḥammed Ibn 'Abd-el-Málik, to occupy for him any land, for which after a year's time, he might receive eleven dirhems, in return for ten expended upon it.

His foreign guards.

Another propensity of the Khaliph was to purchase Turkish slaves; of whom he had in his army, no less than 4,000, clad in various kinds of brocade, wearing girdles embroidered with gold, necklaces, and bracelets; while their uniform was distinguished by its richness, from that of the other troops. He had previously formed a body-guard, composed of people from the delta of Egypt, from Yemen, Barbary (Mughârebeh), Khorásán, and Turkistán. This measure, which was at first advantageous in reconciling the different nations to the government, proved in the end the ruin of the state; for these troops gradually became as formidable to the khalifdom as the Prætorian bands became to the empire of Rome; and, at length, acquired a degree of power superior to that of the khaliph himself.

Privileges of the Muslims.

According to the original institutions of the Arabian empire, the Muslims, including persons who voluntarily embraced the religion of Islám (others were expatriated), formed the free and fighting population. In return, they were not only exempt from taxation, but had a claim on the public funds. Being

[1] At Hergan Ka'leh.—Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. I., pp. 453, 454.

excluded from agricultural pursuits,[1] they were supported from the revenue levied on the other subjects of the state. These hereditary soldiers occupied camps, which soon became important cities, as Baṣrah, Kúfah, &c., owing to the wealth obtained by prize-money; one-fifth of the booty[2] taken in war being appropriated to the warriors. In Syria and Mesopotamia, such stations were called in Arabic *Jomîd* (armies), and in 'Iráḳ, *Ansár*, meaning settled, in opposition to the wandering habits of the Arabians in general. This separation of the troops from the rest of the people produced an independent spirit in the former; and to this evil was added the discord produced by religious differences. At this time, Damascus, and other places, became so many centres of Arabian learning, comprising theology, law, the study of Arabic grammar, and literature; and the discussions on the first of these subjects led, towards the close of the third century of the Hijrah, to the formation of at least seventy different religious sects, of which that of the Shi'ahs, or followers of 'Alí, was the most numerous and most persevering; in fact, scarcely any year was allowed to pass, without an effort on their part to place an 'Alí-ite on the throne of 'Abbás.

Establishment of permanent troops.

Various religious sects in Arabia.

As the attempt made by Al Mámún to terminate this state of discord had failed, although he had united the contending families by marrying his daughter to the leader of the opposing party, whom he declared his successor, Al Mu'tasem was obliged, as a matter of security to himself, to form the new body-guard, the Mughârebeh just described, from individuals who did not belong to either party. It was in consequence called the guard of foreigners, and may be compared to the Swiss guards of France.

Mámún endeavours to unite the Sunnies and Shi'ahs.

In taking this necessary but dangerous course, Al Mu'tasem departed from the customs of the empire, and overlooked the superiority claimed by the followers of El Islám over the rest of the world. Foreign soldiers had indeed frequently fought in the ranks with the latter; whole corps of Berbers served with the Múḥammedans in Africa, and Al Mámún employed the Turks in Má-werá-l-nahr; but in these instances the

The introduction of foreign troops.

[1] By 'Omar.—See vol. I., pp. 253, 254.

[2] Called Khams.—See vol. I., p. 253.

foreigners were persons who, having been previously adopted by some tribe, had enlisted in Múḥammedan corps, and served as auxiliaries; they were called Moulá, or clients, and had the same right as if they had been born in the tribe.

Discontent in Baghdád.

The discontent and opposition shown to this change, particularly by the Arabs at Baghdád, were increased by the manner in which the citizens were treated. The soldiers, says Mas'údí, rode through the narrow streets and markets of the city without the slightest consideration for the citizens; old men and children being frequently trodden under the feet of their horses. To avoid such evils, Al Mu'tasem proposed, at first, to form a camp at a spot about four farsangs from Baghdád; but the soldiers, considering the distance inconvenient, after fixing on different sites near the banks of the Tigris, he chose Kátúl, situated on a canal of the same name, which was inhabited by Nabatheans and Jerámikahs, where he built a palace; and so many of the people of Baghdád removed thither, that the capital was almost deserted. During the progress of the work, Al Mu'tasem chanced to spend three days in the Christian convent of Sammarrah;[1] when, on account of the salubrious air, and the good hunting around it, he purchased it of the monks for 4,000 dinars, and there built a palace and barracks. Having the assistance of labourers and artisans from all parts of the East, the work proceeded so rapidly, that a magnificent city was erected in the course of a few months. The soldiers were quartered at the Karkh of Sammarrah, two farsangs from thence on the way to Rakkah, which place subsequently became but too famous in the annals of rebellion and bloodshed. In order to avoid contact and confusion, the inhabitants and the soldiers were separately classed according to the places or cities from whence they came, each section having its own market, and its particular quarter in the town of Sammarrah.

Foundation of Sammarrah.

A.D. 836.

Arrangements for the settlement of the city.

A.D. 842.

The khaliph did not long survive the completion of his new city, and he was succeeded by El Wathek Bi'llah. During the reign of this prince, which was not of long duration, the Normans sent a fleet to drive the western khaliph, 'Abd-el-Rahman

The Norman invade Spain.

[1] Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot, art. Mu'tasem.

Ibn el Hakem, out of Spain. This force attacked Seville and Cadiz, but in both cases were repulsed, and on the approach of the Arabs, the Normans hastily quitted the peninsula.[1]

Cartel arranged with the Christians for the exchange of prisoners.

This reign was remarkable for the establishment of a cartel to regulate the exchange of prisoners between the Christians and Arabs, Cilicia being the place selected for this purpose.[2] El Wathek imitated his uncle Al Mámún in his love for, and encouragement of, the favourite sciences of the day, and he was also distinguished by his liberality and charity. He was succeeded by his brother Jaafer Abú-l-Fadl Al Mutawakkel, whose reign was short but very remarkable. In the early part of it, the Greeks penetrated into the khaliphat, by the route of Sumeïsát; but their own territories were in return speedily

A. D. 860.

invaded by the Arabs, who carried off 70,000 prisoners:[3] their fleet having menaced the coast of Syria, the Greek troops landed and seized the citadel of Antioch. The khaliph was assassinated the following year: he is described as having been very affable and munificent, particularly in his encouragement of learned men, who consequently flocked to his court as to their home. Al Mutawakkel was accustomed to beguile restless nights, by sending for the Rawí,[4] who either narrated in poetry the history of former kings, or amused the monarch by repeating some lively tale. One of the latter, by giving an account of a battle scene as represented in the palace of Hiráh, inspired him with the idea of erecting a similar structure; and the result of this sudden thought, was the most splendid architectural monument that had been erected by the khaliphs.

Mutawakkel encourages learning.

The Rawí recite tales to the khaliph.

Palace erected by the khaliph.

The palace consisted of a great structure in the centre, and two wings. The former contained the grand hall of reception; in addition to the khaliph's ordinary apartments, and those for his robes. The right wing was allotted for the harem, and the left contained the culinary establishment. In addition to these buildings there were two others, called Kemén (ambuscades) for the use of the courtiers and gentlemen in waiting; both being within the grand enclosure of the palace. The noble example of his predecessors, more particularly the encourage-

[1] Roderic Tolentanus, Historia Arabum, cap. XVII., p. 24.

[2] Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, pp. 167, 168.

[3] Ibid., ann. Hijrah 256.

[4] See vol. I., p. 663.

ment given to literature and science by El Rashíd and Al Mámún, now began to produce a beneficial effect. Talents were called into activity, and a large expenditure had, by increasing commerce and industry, given an impulse to civilization and literature. The assemblies of Al Mutawakkel were distinguished by the presence of Al-Otahiah, Al Bohtarí, Al-Súlí, and Al Mobarred; all of whom were remarkable for elegance of style. To these learned men must be added, the families of Honain of Hiráh, and Bakhtishura of Jondisabúr, which produced the most skilful physicians of that time. There were also seen the mathematicians of Ḥáran; and among them, Al Kindé, the greatest writer on natural philosophy of whom Arabia could then boast.[1] Subsequently, however, intestine wars caused some interruption to the advancement of literature; and during the reign of Al Mo'tazz, the third in succession from Al Mutawakkel, Turkish influence became predominant. It was only a century earlier that a branch of this people from Turkistán passed the Caspian Straits, and entered Armenia. They were followed during the next year by more of their countrymen, who took[2] up their abode in western Asia; and at the period now in question, their descendants constituted the chief forces of the empire, besides being all-powerful in the khaliph's counsels. The animosities between the two sects into which the Turks were divided, tended still more to weaken the empire, which declined in consequence during the reigns of Al Mohtadi, Al Mo'tamed, Al Mo'tadid, and Al Moctási; that is, from 869 to 902. But during the time of the last-mentioned khaliph, the empire again became formidable. Seleucia was recovered from the Romans; Syria and Egypt were likewise conquered; the arms of this prince were carried into Má-werá-l-nahr, and his successor, Moktader Bi'llah, received an embassy from the Greek emperor to obtain a cessation of arms and an exchange of prisoners. The beautiful character derived from the Cufic belongs to, or rather was renewed at this period; in which, also, flourished several learned men, as Al Ṭabarí, Al Battani,

Impulse given to literature and civilization.

Progress of philosophy and literature.

Settlement of the Turks in Western Asia.

Seleucia and other places rescued from the Romans.

A. D. 869.

A. D. 932.

[1] Elmacinus, p. 125–150–251; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, pp. 171, 173.

[2] Theophanes, Chronograph., 866.

Decline of the power of the khaliphat and subdivision of the empire.

Al Razi, and Abú'l Senna.[1] In other respects, however, this reign was not prosperous. Many of the provinces ceased to acknowledge the supreme government, and the defection increased to such an extent, that the actual power of Al Moctasi, the fourth in succession from Moktader, was almost confined to the district around Baghdád. Yamana, Bahreïn, and the eastern parts of Arabia, were governed by Abú Thaler, the Karmatian; Fárs acknowledged another chief who resided at Shiráz; and Egypt and Syria obeyed a third. Africa was ruled by the Fatimites; Spain by 'Abd-el-Rahman; Sicily again acknowledged another chief, as did the provinces of central Asia.[2] But Baghdád, although still pre-eminent as the centre of learning, declined in other respects during the fourth century of the Hijrah; which was, however, remarkable for the occurrence of some important events towards its close.

Origin of the Hunnish tribes.

The Huns and Turks appear to have been derived from a common stock, which, at a remote period,[3] ruled one great empire under Oghuz Khán, extending almost from the shores of the Pacific (Corea), to those of the Caspian Sea. A division subsequently took place; one portion of this people becoming known as the northern, and the other as the southern Huns, each having a chief called Tanjus, or Khán (emperor). The former portion was driven westward towards Europe, by the Chinese, and in the sequel these were known by the name of Turks. The Persian historians, however, from aversion to this name, substituted that of Tartars, giving to the other section that of Mongols. The latter people, according to the conclusive authority of the Chinese, occupied the eastern and smaller portion of the Hunnish territories, namely, Khitan or Khitay. This tract, which touches Mongolia proper, extends from Corea to Kashgar,[4] and was occupied by the Kin, the ancestors of the Manchous.

The northern Huns or Turks. The southern Huns or Mongols.

Original seat of the Turkish tribes.

The other branch of the Huns had their seat towards the western side of the Steppes, (Túrán); and from the river

[1] Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot, art. Razi, &c.; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast. 1663, pp. 191, 192; Elmacinus, pp. 185, 195.

[2] Abú-l-Faraj, ann. Hijrah 318.

[3] De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, vol. I., p. 213–272.

[4] Gaubil, Hist. de Gench. Turk., p. 2–11.

Jaxartes, they spread southward and westward, bearing occasionally the name of Tartars, but more generally the older appellation of Turks: according to their own historians, their common ancestor was Turk, a son of Japhet.

Oghuz Khán, his descendant, is said to have occupied Turkistán about the time of Abraham. His descendants formed numerous tribal branches, of which the Kiptshaks or Tartars, who will afterwards be noticed, and the Oghuzes, were the most remarkable. The latter gave rise to the various dynasties which governed Afghánistán, Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor.

Rise of Maḥmúd Ghízní.

The Turks appear to have first become known under the distinguished commander Sabektekin, the governor of Khorásán.[1] Maḥmúd, his son, soon after his accession, assumed the title of Sulṭán, and having subdued the eastern provinces of Persia, he proceeded to attack the king of Lahore. Being successful in this expedition, he afterwards penetrated into the interior of the empire; when, nothing being able to withstand the enthusiasm of his followers, he forced an advantageous peace from the sovereign of Hindústán, and returned to Ghízní laden with spoil. The subjection of Gúrjistán (Georgia) followed, and two years later, another invasion of India; but during this campaign a great many men perished in a flooded district, no doubt the Runn of Kach'h, which, however, he passed, though with exceeding difficulty, and made good his march to Khorásán.[2] During another irruption, A. H. 416, he subjected the northern parts of India, and after putting about 50,000 men to the sword, he returned to Ghízní laden with the inestimable treasures of the Indian temples,[3] and a vast number of prisoners who were sold as slaves.[4] His subjects, the Afgháns, being chiefly cavalry, and depending for supplies upon the countries they invaded, a distant march such as that into India was speedily accomplished.

A. D. 1001

His campaigns in Georgia and India.

A. D. 1025.

Nature of the Afghán wars.

Rise of Togrul Beï, and establishment of the Seljukides.

The descendants of the Khán of the Sea, the head of the second branch of the Turkish Huns, were amongst those who came from Transoxiana at this period; and one of these was

[1] Mirkhund, apud Teixeira, p. 255; and Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot, art. Maḥmúd Ghízní.

[2] Abú-l-fedá, Chron., ad an. Hijrah 404.

[3] The celebrated Gates of the Somnath, in Guzerat, were amongst these.

[4] D'Herbelot and Mirkhund, apud Teixeira, p. 283.

Origin of the Seljukian dynasty.

Dohak, the father of Seljuk, who had acquired large possessions near Bokhárá.[1] The latter, who was brought up by Bigú, the khán, is considered the founder of a dynasty bearing his name, which in reality commenced with his grandson Múḥammed, who is better known as Togrul Beï. An attempt to make terms with the elder Turkish branch, then under Maḥmúd Ghízní, the ruler of Khorásán, appears to have failed, and that province being successfully invaded, the prince, the first of the Iranian dynasty of the Seljukides, was crowned at Níshápúr, A. H. 429. The conquest of this place was followed by that of Herat and Meru; and, during the wars with the Gaznevides, which continued throughout the 25 years of this reign, many of the Persian provinces were subjected; 'Iráḳ, and consequently Baghdád, being of the number: this city was taken A. H. 455. Alp Arslan, or the courageous lion, succeeded to the conquests of his uncle Togrul Beï; and in the seventh year of his reign, he defeated the Greeks with great loss; in another battle the following spring he gained a still more decided victory near Malazkerd,[2] when the emperor Romanus Diogenes was amongst the prisoners.[3] Alp Arslan was slain two years subsequently whilst contending with an assassin. His son Málik Sháh succeeded him on the throne, and during his reign, Damascus, with the greater part of Syria, was added to his territories. He died at Baghdád. This prince was the greatest of the Seljukian conquerors,[4] being sovereign of the different countries lying between Egypt and the Jaxartes; the whole of which had been acquired in the short space of 56 years.

Conquests of Togrul Beï. A. D. 1038.

A. D. 1063.

Accession and conquests of Alp Arslan.

A. D. 1070.

A. D. 1071.

A. D. 1073.

A. D. 1092.

Dominion of the Seljukides.

The Sháh having injudiciously left the empire to the youngest of his four sons, civil dissensions were the consequence; but long before a separation took place, and whilst the Seljukian power was still wielded by the same sovereign, the enthusiasm of the Muslim people was raised to the utmost height by a war of religion and, it may be said, of extermination, which will presently be noticed.

[1] Bibliothèque Orientale d'Herbelot, art. Seljuk; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, p. 225; Renaudot, pp. 439, 440; Elmacinus, pp. 267, 277, 278.

[2] In Persia.—Hist. Orientale d'Herbelot, art. Alp Arslan.

[3] Abú-l-Faraj, p. 227; Renaudot, p. 441; Elmacinus, p. 277.

[4] Abúl-l-Faraj, p. 237–239; Renaudot, pp. 447, 448.

CHAPTER XV.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS CONNECTED WITH WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

State of the Seljukian rulers in the Eleventh Century.—Peter the Hermit visits Jerusalem, and urges a Crusade.—The state of Europe favourable to such an enterprise.—Progress of the first Crusaders through Europe and Lesser Asia.—Favourable disposition of the Fatimites.—Capture of Antioch.—Divided state of the Muslims.—Capture of Jerusalem, and Massacre of the People.—The Khaliph Núr-ed-dín, and his General, Saláh-ed-dín.—Change in Saláh-ed-dín's character.—Termination of the Fatimite dynasty of Egypt.—Death of Núr-ed-dín, and rise of Saláh-ed-dín.—Campaign in Palestine.—Defeat, and return to Egypt.—Saláh-ed-dín's Campaign in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Yemen.—Frank and Egyptian Fleets in the Red Sea.—Capture of Aleppo, Sinjár, Nisíbín, Damascus, &c.—Defeat of the Crusaders at Hattín.—Saláh-ed-dín takes Jerusalem.—Tyre is retained by the Crusaders.—The Franks being reinforced besiege 'Akká.—Saláh-ed-dín encloses the besiegers.—Progress of the Siege.—Obstinate defence of the Muslim Garrison.—Saláh-ed-dín marches towards Ḳóniyeh.—The Franks are reinforced from Europe.—'Akká is closely pressed.—The Kings of France and England arrive to assist in the Siege.—Fresh efforts of Saláh-ed-dín to relieve 'Akká.—Several Battles are fought.—The Fortress capitulates.—The Crusaders march against 'Askulán.—Defeat of Saláh-ed-dín.—Treaty of Peace with Richard Cœur de Lion.—Death, and Character of Saláh-ed-dín.—The Franks are joined by a Fifth Armament from Europe.—They are repulsed in Egypt.—Frederic II. arrives, and makes a Treaty.—Louis IX. is defeated near Mansourah.—Battle between the Templars and Hospitalliers.—Louis IX. lands in Africa, and dies near Tunis.—The Franks are driven out of Palestine.—Separation of the Shí'ah and Sunnie Creeds.—Limits, &c., of Mongolia.—Rise of Genghis Khán.—Origin of the name.—Consolidation of his Kingdom.—Invasion of China.—Subjection of Kharism, Khorásán, Persia, &c.—Extent of his territories.—Part of Russia is subjected.—Kiptshak becomes a Russian Province.—The Persian successes of Genghis Khán.—Origin, and titles of Tamerlane.—Turkistán subjected.—Fresh Conquests meditated by Tamerlane.—Khorásán and Southern Russia subdued.—Campaign in Siberia, and against Toktamish.—Taïmúr subjects Southern Persia, Baghdád, Mesopotamia, Armenia, &c.—Taïmúr's Campaigns in India, Anadóli, Syria, &c.—Capture of Baghdád.—Defeat of Bajazet.—Death of Taïmúr.—Taïmúr

and Alexander compared.—Taïmúr's Successors, and subdivision of his Territories.—Persia, and the Sophi Dynasty.—Nadir Sháh and his Successors.—The Seljukians of Rúm, and rise of the 'Osmánlí Turks.—Sulṭán Murád reigns at Adrianople, and conquers most of European Turkey.—Career, and death of Bajazet, and temporary Restoration of the Seljukides.—Success of Sulṭán Murád II.—Capture of Constantinople, and first use of Gunpowder.—Sulṭán Suleïmán extends his Conquests in Europe, transports a Fleet to the Red Sea, and sails to India.—Organization of his Empire.—Yemen, Georgia, Cyprus, and Dághestán are added to the Turkish Territories.—Extent of the latter in the time of Múḥammed III.—Turkey comes into warlike Collision with European Powers.—Treaties of Belgrade and Kuchuk Kaïnarjí.—The French invade Egypt and Syria.—War of Russia and England against the Porte, in 1806.—Accession and Reforms of Sulṭán Maḥmúd II.—Effects of these changes.—Rebellion in Greece.—Battle of Navarino.—Russian War of 1828 and 1829.—Loss of Territory, and present Limits of Turkey.

Extension of intercourse between Asia and Europe.

INTERCOURSE to a certain extent had, from very early times, taken place between Europe and Asia; but it was in the early part of the period now to be considered, that a more intimate and lasting connexion was established between these continents. This was the consequence of warlike movements converging in opposite directions upon the regions of Western Asia; from which ultimately resulted, as it were, in repayment of the calamities of war, a marked improvement in the condition of mankind.

During more than two centuries one inroad of mounted warriors followed another from Central into Western Asia; and, Europe having been armed against the latter continent, host after host of warlike enthusiasts was poured from thence into Palestine, from A. D. 1097 to A. D. 1291, which, with the conterminous countries, then became the point of attraction for the nations both of the east and west.

Local associations which were intimately connected with the Christian dispensation had long caused the Holy Land to be an object of the deepest interest to the people of Europe.

Facilities given to pilgrims visiting Palestine.

From the time of the pious visit of the mother of the great Constantine, and the foundation by her in the fourth century of various religious establishments in that territory, in order to facilitate such journeys, pilgrimages were frequently undertaken from different parts of Europe to Mount Calvary. At

A. D. 1069.

a later period, the chivalrous Abasside, Hárún-el-Rashíd presented his brother monarch Charlemagne with the keys of Jerusalem; and such were the facilities afterwards given by the Muslim rulers, that on one occasion the pilgrims who visited the Jordan, &c., in the train of the Archbishop of Mentz, numbered 7,000 persons.[1]

Separation of the Seljukian territory

These amicable relations were, however, seriously interrupted by the political changes which occurred about this period in the Seljukian dynasty. Málik Sháh having inconsiderately left his empire to Mahmúd, the youngest of his four sons, the contests which ensued in consequence between these princes and their uncle, led eventually to the division of the territory into numerous governments, the four principal of which were under as many sovereigns. I'rán, or Persia, the most important region, constituted, up to the time of Málik Sháh, the supreme government. That of Kirmán commenced A. D. 1041, under the Seljukian prince Kaderd, whose ten successors, in addition to the province in question, ruled over some of the islands of the Persian Gulf. The third was that of Rúm, or Anadóli, which fell to the lot of Suleïmán, the cousin of Málik Sháh, and the fourth was that of Syria and Palestine. These last regions were the seats of the events immediately in question, while the three former governments became of importance only at a later period.

into four kingdoms.

A.D. 1076.

Toucoush, or Tatash, the brother of Málik Sháh, having wrested Antioch, and, subsequently, Jerusalem, from the hands of the Christians, entrusted the government of the latter to the emír Ortok, and with this ruler commenced the harsh treatment of the Christians. An episcopal establishment was, it is true, still tolerated in the holy city; but the choice between tribute oppressively exacted, and conversion to the religion of Múhammed, was offered to pilgrims during the seventeen years' dominion of the Ortokites in Jerusalem.

A.D. 1094.

Pilgrimage of Peter the Hermit,

Such was the state of the city at the time, when a gentleman of Picardy undertook a pilgrimage to it, in the hope of thereby expiating the errors of his youth. Indignant at the treatment which he witnessed and experienced, he indulged

[1] Gretser, de Sacris Peregrin., lib. I., cap. vi.

and his success in preaching the crusade.

his ardent temperament on his return, by preaching throughout Europe the deliverance of the holy sepulchre from the infidels.[1]

A.D. 1095.

Twenty-one years previously to the appearance of this enthusiast, Pope Gregory VII. had endeavoured to arm Europe against Asia,[2] and Urban II., taking up the same views, supported the project of Peter the Hermit, as the pilgrim was designated.

Advantages promised to those who joined in the crusade.

The prospect of recovering a city and territory hallowed by the presence of the founder of Christianity, enlisted the hierarchy in its favour. Many persons joined the proposed expedition in order to indulge their ambition, or to repair their broken fortunes; whilst various immediate advantages, such as immunity from incarceration for debt, the remission of penance, absolution from all sins, and the assurance of eternal felicity, as the reward of martyrdom, secured the support of the common people. The sovereigns of Europe did not personally join the first crusade; but, in less than two years from the return of Peter to Europe, multitudes of all ranks below the crown, women as well as men, having a cross of silk or cloth sewn on their garments as a badge of their enterprise, assembled from every country of Europe, and, under the standard of the cross, marched towards Palestine.[3] The want of supplies for an unorganized rabble, with other difficulties, soon thinned their ranks, still 100,000 horse and 600,000 foot are said to have reached the plains of Bithynia.[4] The subsequent march to Syria, and occasional contests with the enemy, diminished their numbers so much that the force scarcely exceeded 300,000 men, when Bohemund appeared before Antioch. This city, from its connexion with the early history of the Christian Church, had become a primary object of interest, and it was carried after a protracted and bloody siege of eight months.[5]

Numbers of the crusaders.

A.D. 1097.

Shortly after the return of Peter the Hermit to Europe, Palestine again acknowledged the authority of the Fatimites.[6]

[1] William of Tyre, p. 638.
[2] Labbi. Concilia, tom. X., p. 44.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Willel. Tyr. de Bello Sacro, lib. II., cap. xxi., and lib. III., cap. xi.
[5] Ibid., lib. IV., cap. ix., x.
[6] Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandria, p. 478.

But circumstances were now materially changed; Jerusalem, the main object of the European armaments, being now under the paternal government of Moctadi, the khaliph of Egypt, instead of the iron rule of Ortok.

Favourable reception promised by the ruler of Egypt.

The crusaders appearing as enemies of the Sunnie branch to which Moctadi was opposed, this high-minded ruler of the Fatimites was disposed to consider them as friends, and made known that a safe and hospitable reception awaited them at the holy sepulchre, provided they laid aside their arms.[1]

A haughty answer was returned to this proposal, and after some delay in making arrangements, about 40,000 Franks[2] continued their march; when, having taken Ramla and massacred a considerable number of Muslims, they proceeded onward to Jerusalem or Al Kuds; and the object of their hopes and wishes soon appeared crowning the bare hills of this part of Judea. The city stood a determined siege of forty days, which was terminated by a week of unrelenting massacre in cold blood, when 70,000 Muslims perished, of whom, 10,000 were slaughtered in the Mosque of 'Omar.[3]

Capture of Jerusalem.

In 1117, following up these successes, the Franks besieged Tripoli and attacked Damascus. These places resisted all their efforts; but they were more successful against 'Aḳḳâ and the neighbouring fortress of Kaïfa, both of which were carried by storm.

At this period the Muslim people were divided between the contending creeds of the Shí'ah and Sunníe whose differences, together with the separate interests of Syria, Damascus, and Egypt, greatly facilitated the reduction of the country, so that the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, under Godfrey of Bouillon, was easily established, and the Franks obtained possession of Tripoli, Tarsus, Adánáh, Sidon, as well as nearly the whole of the coast. This took place after a second crusade, in which nearly a million of persons had wasted away through famine,

The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem established.

[1] William of Tyre, lib. IV., cap. xxiv.

[2] The effective force appears to have been nearly 22,000, ibid., lib. VIII., cap. v.

[3] Abú-l-fedá, vol. III., p. 519, ed. Reiske, compared with William of Tyre, lib. VIII.

A.D. 1148. pestilence, and the sword, during their march towards Damascus.[1]

Successful operations of Núr-ed-dín,

Núr-ed-dín, son of Sanguin, a worthy representative of the earlier khaliphs, having united the governments of Aleppo and Damascus, assumed the offensive against the remains of the Frank armies, and after defeating them in a serious battle,

A. D. 1167. he took the fortresses of Harem and Panias, or Banías, by storm.[2] Three years afterwards the castle of Moneidera in Syria fell, and subsequently the castle of Ja'ber;[3] after which the towns of Kinnisrín and Serúj, including the dependencies of the latter, were ceded to him. In the following year, the forces of Núr-ed-dín, under his general Shairacuk, recovered Egypt with the exception of Damietta; the youthful Saláh-ed-dín, nephew of the latter, being one of the emírs who were employed on this occasion.[4]

The Latins feeling that the safety of their position required the possession of Egypt, and being reinforced by a fleet and army sent for the purpose by the Emperor Frederic, they pro-

A. D. 1169. ceeded by Tyre and 'Askulán to the mouth of the Nile; but after an ineffectual siege of Damietta for nearly two months, they were glad to secure an unmolested retreat to 'Askulán.[5]

A. D. 1170. Saláh-ed-dín, who had been very active on this occasion, having assumed the chief command, penetrated into the territories of the Franks; but he returned to Egypt after taking Gaza, without engaging their army.[6] At a later period he made another inroad as far as Sobal in Syria, and returned by Aelath or 'Akabah to Egypt.[7]

Saláh-ed-dín becomes viceroy of Egypt.

In the following year, A. H. 567, on the deposition and death

A. D. 1171. of Al 'Adhed, the last of the Fatimites, Saláh-ed-dín virtually became sovereign of Egypt, though he was still nominally a dependent of Núr-ed-dín. The extensive treasures of Al 'Adhed were now at his command, but Saláh-ed-dín, acting according to that self-denying principle for which his uncle

[1] Mill's Hist. of the Crusades, vol. I., chap. ix.

[2] *William* of Tyre, lib. XIX., cap. viii.

[3] Abú-l-fedá, Chron. ad. an. Hijr. 564; Ibn Shonah ad. an. Hijr. 569; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., Pocockio, Oxon., 1663, p. 256–266.

[4] William of Tyre, lib. XX., cap. vi., vii.

[5] Ibid., cap. xvi.

[6] Ibid., lib. XX., cap. xx.

[7] Ibid., cap. xxix.

was remarkable, distributed them amongst the emírs and troops, with such liberality that he gained their unreserved support, and, at the same time, the means of consolidating his power. Giving way, however, to ambition, or, as stated by historians,[1] being influenced by better and far higher motives, a great change took place in his character. From that time Saláh-ed-dín not only carefully abstained from the vices of wine and gaming, but as an expiation of his former crimes,[2] he resolved to expel the so-called unbelievers from the territory which they had so long defiled by their presence.

Judicious liberality of Saláh-ed-dín.

The abolition of the Fatimites of Egypt, who were Shí'ís was celebrated by public rejoicings in Baghdád, in the belief that there would follow the reunion of all Muslims under one spiritual head, as well as the humiliation of the Franks, whose successes had been regarded as the just punishment of schisms amongst the true believers. Núr-ed-dín, although aware of the real motives of Saláh-ed-dín, professed himself satisfied with his conduct; but on perceiving a favourable opportunity, he was on the point of invading Egypt with one portion of his army whilst the other was acting against the Franks, when his death delivered his nominal vassal from all apprehension. Although Saláh-ed-dín was now firmly established on the throne of Egypt, he still acknowledged himself the dependant of Núr-ed-dín's son and successor Al Saleh Ismá'íl Múhammed, and he caused prayers to be offered up in all the mosques for the deceased monarch.

Projects for augmenting the Muslim power.

Death of Núr-ed-dín.

Making the unity of religion his avowed object, Saláh-ed-dín proceeded against Damascus, Ba'albek, and Hamath; when, having signally defeated Al Málik, Al Saleh, and his allies, near the latter places, having also subjected the Assassins of Lebanon, with nearly the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia, he returned to Egypt, where he assumed the title and prerogatives of sultán, founded a college, built an hospital, and fortified the city and castle of Misr.[3]

Saláh-ed-dín subjects Damascus, Ba'albek, &c.

Previously to the accession of Saláh-ed-dín, the Latin king-

[1] Ism. Abú-l-fedá in Chron. ad. Hij. 565; Ibn Shohnah, ad. an. Hij. 565; Bib. Orient., p. 742; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, p. 264–276.

[2] Al 'Adhed's death has been attributed to him.

[3] Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., Pocockio, Oxon., 1663, pp. 267, 268.

Saláh-ed-dín, as sulṭán, takes the field against the Franks.

dom enjoyed comparative security, owing to the religious animosity existing between the Syrian and Egyptian governments. But the Christians having broken the truce, Reginald of Chatillon seized a fortress on the borders of the desert, from whence he pillaged a caravan; and satisfaction having been refused, Saláh-ed-dín led a formidable army of 80,000 horse and foot towards Syria, laying siege to 'Askulán as he advanced. But whilst part of the sulṭan's forces was employed in foraging and ravaging the country, the Franks made a determined and successful attack on the remainder; a confused retreat of the latter across the intervening desert was the consequence, which was attended with great loss in men and beasts of burthen before the fugitives reached the confines of Egypt.[1] Saláh-ed-dín, notwithstanding this signal discomfiture, again took the field, A. H. 575, and after carrying by storm a strong fort, which had been constructed by the Franks to command the ford of El Arjan, near Banías, he marched to protect the sulṭán of Al Rúm, Ḳilij Arslan, against the Armenians. A general pacification, which included Móṣul and Diyár-Bekr, was the result of this campaign, and Saláh-ed-dín returned to Egypt towards the close of the following year, A. H. 576. Shortly afterwards he made an ineffectual attack on Beïrút and Móṣul; but he was more successful during the remainder of this campaign, when he reduced, A. H. 577, Al Rohah, Raḳḳah, Nísibín, Serúj, and subjected the country as far as the Mesopotamian Khábúr. During the following year a part of Saláh-ed-dín's forces were despatched into Yemen, where peace was established and his authority recognised.[2] The next operations took place on the adjoining sea, on which the Franks had fitted out two fleets, with an adequate force on board. One blockaded Aelath, and the other ravaged the coast of Africa, near Aidab, cutting off the communication between that port and Saláh-ed-dín's troops in Yemen. These bold undertakings were wholly unexpected by the Muslims; but the viceroy of Egypt, Saláh-ed-dín's brother, rapidly equipped a fleet, and after defeating the ships blockading

A. D. 1177.

Defeat of the Muslims near 'Askulán.

Renewed campaign in Syria, followed by peace.

Campaign of the Muslims in Northern Syria.

Maritime operations on the Red Sea.

[1] Abú-l-fedá in Chron., ad. ann. Hij. 573; Ibn Shonah, ad. ann. Hij. 573.

[2] Abú-l-fedá in Chron., ad. an. Hij. 577; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, pp. 270, 271.

Aelath, he encountered the remainder off Rabig, on the African coast. After a very protracted and bloody engagement, vigorously sustained on both sides, victory remained with the Muslims, who sunk several ships, slew many men, and took a great number of prisoners. From 579 to 582 operations were continued with advantage to the Muslims. Amid surrendered honourably after a siege of eight days, and Saláh-ed-dín gained possession of Aleppo and its dependencies by treaty in return for Sinjár, Nísibín, Rakkah, Serúj, and the tract along the river Khábúr; after which operations he took possession of the citadel of Aleppo and marched to Damascus.[1] But A.H. 583 produced still more decided results. Saláh-ed-dín advanced to meet the Franks, and drew up in order of battle; but finding this did not entice them to quit their position on the plains of Sepphoris, now El Buttauf, he removed to a spot near the lake of Tiberias, and this measure having also failed, he carried the town of that name by storm. Both armies now advanced at the same moment, and a fearful engagement commenced near Hattín, which continued till night parted the combatants. On the second day the contest still remained undecided, but on the third, victory declared for the Muslims, who sullied their laurels and the name of their prince, by putting to death 230 knights after the engagement. Guy de Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, fell into the conqueror's hands, and was royally received; but Reginald de Chatillon was decapitated by the sultán himself for the violation of a treaty, and the further perfidy of intercepting and murdering in time of peace the persons belonging to a caravan going to Mekkah. The defeat and dispersion of the Christian army was followed by the loss of 'Akká, Beïrút, 'Askulán, and some other towns of the Frank kingdom.

Destruction of the fleet of the crusaders.

Saláh-ed-dín defeats the crusaders near Hattín.

'Akká, Beïrút, Jerusalem, &c., fall in consequence.

Jerusalem was forthwith besieged, and the hopes entertained by the Christians of a protracted and determined resistance were disappointed, for in fourteen days the Muslim banners were planted on the walls; and Saláh-ed-dín, generously disregarding his vow to revenge the massacre of his people when the city was stormed by the Franks, granted a capitulation, by which it was agreed that the garrison should pay for themselves

A.D. 1187.

[1] Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, p. 271; Abú-l-fedá, Excerpta, cap. XVIII. p. 33.

Terms of the capitulation of Jerusalem.

ten Tyrian dinars each, for each of their wives five, and for each child two dinars, and should then be allowed to quit the city in peace. Those who could not pay were to be made slaves. The conqueror, however, modified these terms by accepting a smaller sum, and allowing between 2,000 and 3,000 to depart without any ransom whatever.[1]

Saláh-ed-dín's first care was to release the Muslim prisoners; the next to restore the Temple to its former state; and the third, and most important, was the establishment of schools and colleges. This prince was now master of the whole of Syria, with the exception of one fortress, which still held out. This siege affords a striking example of the protracted resistance which may be made by a fortress, even when completely isolated. Owing to the noble defence of Conrad of Montserrat, the ancient city of Tyre resisted all the efforts of the Muslims under Saláh-ed-dín till the third army of crusaders reached the coast of Syria in the early part of 1191. This timely reinforcement not only saved the last stronghold of the Christians, but it put the Franks in a condition to commence the siege of the neighbouring fortress of 'Akká, with a force of 30,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. This army was, however, in turn placed almost in a state of blockade by the enterprising Saláh-ed-dín, who for this purpose occupied the places in its rear from El Náhr Al Halu, to Tell Ayadhiya. By drawing troops from Hamah and other places, the Muslim prince acquired the superiority in point of numbers, when a bloody but indecisive engagement of two days took place, which was followed by another. This last was disadvantageous to the Franks, and Saláh-ed-dín was enabled to reinforce the town, though the siege still continued. The concentrated fire of a numerous artillery, and the support afforded by means of parallel trenches of attack, were then unknown; and siege operations consisted chiefly in manual combats between the opposing parties, which were attended with much bloodshed on both sides. Scarcely a day was allowed to pass without a powerful sortie being made from the place, or an attack being made by the besiegers on the covering army. In one of these the Franks penetrated

Tyre relieved by a fresh army of crusaders.

Battle under the walls of 'Akká.

[1] William of Tyre, p. 1019, et seq.; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, p. 273.

ACRE FROM THE SEA.

almost to the Sulṭán's tent, but, according to the Muslim writers, they were repulsed with the loss of 10,000 men. The subsequent retreat, however, of the sulṭán to Kheruba, in consequence, it was said, of a bilious attack, affords ground to believe that the Franks had a fair claim to the victory. Be this as it may, the necessity of defending Constantinople against Barbarossa, who was marching against that city, prevented Saláh-ed-dín from giving any further assistance to the garrison of 'Aḳḳá. The siege was then renewed and continued on both sides with unabated valour. Lofty towers were as usual employed to enable the besiegers to gain the tops of the walls, and the operations were aided by the Christian fleet. The former structures were, however, destroyed by naphtha, under the direction of an engineer from Baghdád, and the latter was defeated by the fleet of the Egyptians, at the moment when the garrison was reduced to extremities.

Second battle under the walls of 'Aḳḳá.

Renewal of the siege of 'Aḳḳá.

The Christian fleet defeated.

Encouraged by this success, a formidable sally took place, which, being supported by an attack from part of the sulṭán's troops, caused the Franks considerable loss. This, added to the effects of a pestilential distemper which appeared in the camp about the same time, would probably have caused the abandonment of the siege had it not been for an opportune diversion by Frederic Barbarossa, who had defeated two Muslim armies and taken Iconium, which obliged the principal part of Saláh-ed-dín's forces to march, in order to meet this exigency.[1]

The Franks being at the same time reinforced by 10,000 men under Count Henry, and again by other troops from Europe, redoubled their efforts, and large stones were thrown so successfully from powerful machines, that the garrison must have been overcome had they not succeeded, during a well-timed sally, in setting fire to, and reducing to ashes one of the principal engines erected by Count Henry. Two other large engines were afterwards consumed by fire-darts, having red hot points. Provisions, however, began to fail in the town, when a temporary supply was introduced by a stratagem: vessels, of which the sailors were disguised as Franks, with ensigns bearing the

Mutual efforts of the besiegers and besieged.

Stratagem of the Muslims to provision the place.

[1] Abú-l-fedá in Chron. ad an. Hij. 586; Alb. Schult. in vit. Salad. Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Saláh-ed-dín.

cross and having hogs on board, so deceived the Christians, that they were allowed to pass into the port. Subsequently other vessels, bringing every thing necessary to sustain a siege till the succeeding spring, entered in like manner. On the part of the besiegers, scaling ladders, with additional machines, including a prodigious moveable tower, were brought close to the walls; but these were burnt as before during a sally; and in the following season, A. H. 587, a storm having driven away the vessels of the besiegers, the sulṭán was enabled once more to reinforce the garrison of 'Aḳḳá.

The sultán succeeds in relieving the garrison.

Although labouring under the disadvantages of a considerable portion of the walls being levelled, two general assaults were repulsed, and the breaches were again repaired by the Muslims. The Franks now began to suffer from want of provisions as well as from disease, when (A. D. 1192) reinforcements came from Europe under Philip II. of France; and later the lion-hearted Plantagenet, called by the Arab writers Málik El Argetār (king of England), arrived with a considerable force, brought thither in twenty-five ships of war. Such a state of things was calculated to discourage the garrison; but on the other hand the sulṭán was by this time sufficiently recovered from his protracted illness to display some of his wonted energy.

Richard I joins the besiegers.

Saláh-ed-dín's exertions to raise the siege were commensurate with those of the besiegers to carry the fortress; and the contending armies being animated by the presence of their sovereigns, who were rivals in bravery and skill, nine battles were fought with various success, and many atrocities were committed on both sides. At length the Muslim garrison capitulated, under the sanction of their sulṭán, upon honourable terms. But in consequence of some misunderstanding and mutual failure in carrying out the stipulated terms, the king of England, with the ferocity of that time, caused 3,000 prisoners to be put to the sword.[1]

Capitulation of 'Aḳḳá.

A. D. 1192. Richard, as generalissimo of the invading forces, now proceeded towards 'Askulán; the king of France leading the van

[1] Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 274–276; Historiarum Patriarchorum Alexandrinorum Jakobitorum, &c., by Renaudot, 1713, p. 545; and Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Saláh-ed-din.

during this march of about 115 miles, which was accomplished in ten days, and during that time a succession of engagements took place with Saláh-ed-dín, who constantly led his forces. The Franks having demolished the walls of the fortress of 'Askulán, as well as those of Ramlah and other places, Saláh-ed-dín encountered them once more in a general action on the plains of Arsúf, and being defeated, with great loss, he was prepared to listen to terms. The health of the rival princes had suffered, and each being required elsewhere, negotiations were commenced. The personal interview proposed by Richard was, however, declined by the sultán; but acts of royal courtesy were occasionally exchanged, and a truce was at length concluded. By its conditions, the sultán retained Jerusalem, with its dependencies, in addition to part of the territory of Palestine, the rest of the latter being ceded to the Franks.[1]

March of the crusaders against 'Askulán.

Peace concluded with the Muslims.

Richard now returned to England, and Saláh-ed-dín to Damascus, where he disbanded his followers after liberally rewarding their services; but the constant toil to which he had for some years been subjected brought on a bilious fever, which terminated his life shortly after, A.D. 1194.[2] This prince was a striking exemplification of the character of an eastern potentate, being a man who possessed some of the darkest, and many of the brightest, qualities of human nature. His rapid rise was followed by ingratitude, if not by other crimes, towards the family of his early benefactor, Núr-ed-dín; and he rapaciously seized the territory of many Muslim princes to gratify his ambition: in some instances he exhibited cruelty, as well as rapacity, particularly with regard to prisoners; but he was otherwise mild, humble, patient, liberal, and rigidly just, being ready at all times to attend to the complaints of the meanest suppliant; and the empty treasury at his death sufficiently proves that there was not anything selfish in the character and actions of this chivalrous and distinguished warrior. He commenced his career as the son of a simple Kurd of Tekrít, and closed it in his fifty-seventh year as sovereign of an empire,

Death and character of Saláh-ed-dín.

[1] Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., p. 419; and Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Saláh-ed-dín.

[2] De Guignes' Histoire des Huns, p. 237; Bibliothèque Orientale, art. Saláh-ed-dín.

which extended from Barbary to the banks of the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia.

Al-Assaal succeeds Saláh-ed-dín.

Ere long Al Assaal, the son and successor of Saláh-ed-dín, lost a considerable portion of his dominions, which were seized by his relatives and competitors, particularly by his uncle, Al Málik Al 'Adel, who secured the kingdoms of Egypt, Damascus, and Jerusalem; and hostilities between Syria and Egypt being renewed, the hopes and prospects of the Franks revived.

A fifth and sixth armament join the crusaders.

A fourth armament of crusaders being assembled, and the tedious march through Europe accomplished, the Latins took Constantinople by storm, A. D. 1204;[1] and having, after three day's slaughter of the inhabitants, placed Baldwin on the imperial throne, they proceeded to divide the Greek territories amongst the princes of the crusades. Few changes occurred in Palestine for some little time, but a fifth armament, composed chiefly of

A. D. 1216.

Hungarians, being equipped, the Franks landed at 'Akká, and

Expedition of the Crusaders into Egypt.

advanced to Nábulus. Here discord breaking out, a part of them proceeded to Damietta,[2] and after having laid the country waste as far as Caïro they returned to Palestine. They subsequently renewed this expedition and captured Damietta, but having failed in an attempt on Caïro, they finally agreed to restore Damietta, and to liberate the captives, with an understanding that the invading forces were to return without molestation to Palestine.[3]

Jerusalem occupied by the Franks.

In Syria, however, the efforts of the Franks were subsequently more successful, and in A. H. 625, Jerusalem was occupied, on condition that the city should continue dismantled, and the Muslims have free access to the two grand temples. Several maritime places were ceded to the Franks at the same

A. D. 1228.

time. Subsequently[4] the Emperor Frederic II. arrived in Syria, and by his intervention a treaty was concluded by which

Treaty concluded by Frederick II.

the Muslims restored to the Christians Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the rest of the country as far as Jaffa and 'Akká, together with the towns and fortresses of the maritime part of Syria,

[1] Villehardouin, 120, 130.
[2] William of Tyre, p. 682; God. Mon. II., p. 388.
[3] William of Tyre, 688, 694; Herold, lib. III., cap. vii., ix.
[4] A. H. 626, according to Ibn Shohnah, ad ann. Hij. 628.

and even some places in the interior; the liberation of prisoners was likewise to take place on both sides.[1] Peace appears to have continued till A. H. 645, when the Karismians entered Jerusalem and razed the fortifications of 'Askulán and Ṭabaríyeh.[2] This led to the sixth crusade in the following year, A. D. 1249. when Louis IX. of France landed his force at 'Aḳḳá, and after a short rest, assumed the offensive by sailing towards Egypt, where he occupied Damietta without resistance.[3] But at this place his success terminated, for after advancing to Mansourah, and passing the eastern branch of the Nile, he was defeated in an obstinate battle, with that stream in his rear: great slaughter ensued, and a number of prisoners were taken, amongst whom was St. Louis himself.[4] By the treaty that followed the king restored Damietta, and having paid a million of dinars he was allowed to return to Palestine, from whence he proceeded to France, where he was warmly received, notwithstanding the A. D. 1253. signal failure of his enterprise.[5] The inactivity that followed the departure of the monarch ripened those jealousies which had been in abeyance among the crusaders, and their energies being no longer exercised against an enemy, a battle was the consequence among themselves, in which the Templars were almost destroyed by their rivals, the Hospitalliers.[6]

Defeat of the king of France near Mansourah.

Battle between the Templars and Hospitalliers.

By this time Louis had prepared another army, hoping to A. D. 1270. wipe away his previous reverses; but Henry III. of England, taught by experience, was opposed to any fresh expedition, and only consented to give partial support, by permitting his son Edward, and the Earls of Warwick and Pembroke, to join the sovereign of France.

Edward embarks with the Earls of Warwick and Pembroke.

In the year 1271 the king sailed at the head of 60,000 men, like himself full of ardour, so that much might have been accomplished had he not changed his plan and landed in Africa instead of Syria. At the siege of Tunis, which followed the capture of Carthage, Louis died,[7] and a fatal sickness caused

Louis lands in Africa, and dies whilst besieging Tunis.

[1] Annalum Boiorum Libri Septem., Joanne Aventino auctore, Ingoldstadt, 1554, p. 665. [2] Matthew of Paris, p. 683.

[3] Joinville, 126. [4] De Guignes' Histoire des Huns, IV., 177, 191.

[5] Ibid.; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 1663, pp. 322, 324.

[6] Matthew of Paris, p. 684. [7] Histoire et Chronique du roi St. Louis, par Ch. du Fresne Sr. du Conge, Paris, 1668, p. 28–128.

such severe loss among the troops that the commander of the army returned to France. The force under Edward of only 1,000 men alone proceeded and landed at 'Akká in 1271.

Prince Edward's campaigns in the Holy Land.

The reputation and daring character of the prince soon increased his little band to 7,000 men; and after a succession of desultory, yet, on the whole, successful expeditions to the interior, during which his bravery was frequently sullied by much unnecessary bloodshed in sacrificing his prisoners, Edward returned to England, after making a truce with the sovereign of Egypt for ten years.[1] This proved to be the last effort made in the cause, for another crusade, which was sanctioned by the Council of Lyons in 1276, fell to the ground.

The Franks in Palestine bring on another war.

The Franks of Palestine, however, instead of prudently abstaining from aggression at the moment when they were dependent on their own resources; by attacking certain Muslim merchants, provoked a war, which was fatal to their cause. Tripoli was taken by the Muslims in 1289,[2] and two years later, after a bloody siege, 'Akká surrendered to them. They soon afterwards obtained possession of Jerusalem and the rest

A.D. 1291.

of the Holy Land.[3] Syria and Palestine have ever since been

The Muslims recover Palestine.

subject to the rule of Muslim princes, and, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, they were united to the Ottoman empire. From that time those regions have suffered only temporary convulsions in consequence of the efforts of the páshás to become independent of the sultán, to whose authority, however, the provinces of the empire have always reverted.

Thus terminated a desultory and desolating warfare, carried on by the chivalry of Europe for more than two centuries, without securing any of the objects for which they contended. But though the ends were not gained, good has resulted; for the expeditions of the crusaders have, by opening new fields of inquiry, been the means of enlarging our knowledge of the

[1] Annals of Waverley, in Gale, vol. II., p. 225; Continuation of Matthew of Paris, 859.

[2] Sanectus, lib. III., pars 12, cap. xx.; De Guignes' Hist. des Huns, livre XXI.

[3] Sanectus, lib. III., pars 12, cap. xxii., xxiii.; De Guignes' Histoire des Huns, livre XXI.; Hist. of the Siege of 'Akká, in Martenne, Vit. Perip. Amp. Coll., vol. I., p. 782.

East, and thus conferring important benefits on mankind with respect to science and commerce.

But if the intercourse with Europeans made little alteration in the social state of Syria and Palestine during the two centuries of cruel warfare to which these provinces had been subjected, most important changes occurred in the Muslim dominions elsewhere, both with respect to political power and religious doctrine.

The changes produced in matters of faith were far more permanent in their influence than those which were brought about by the sword; for, in the sequel, they became the means of separating the Muslim world into the Shí'ah empire of Persia, and the Sunnie empire of the Osmanlis, each of which will require a brief notice, on account of their influence upon western Asia and eastern Europe.

The Muslims separate and become two empires.

The superficies of the plateau of Mongolia is very similar to that of Arabia, and the habits of its people correspond to what is known of those of the Kirgís Kazaks,[1] in their normal state. The plains of Mongolia lie between the Chinese territory in about 27° 45′ N.L., and Siberia in 52° 30′ N.L., and stretch from the borders of Tartary in about 84° E.L. to those of Mandshouria in 122° E.L., giving for the air line, in the former direction, nearly 1,500 miles, and in the latter about 1,200. Its superficies exceeds 1,200,000 geographical square miles. The population is, however, very limited, scarcely exceeding, it is supposed, 3,000,000 souls.

Limits and superficies of Mongolia.

In order to give some account of the Turk or Tartar branch of the Huns, which is known by the general name of Mongols, the Scythians of Herodotus,[2] it is necessary to go back almost to the close of the twelfth century, at which time the most remarkable period of their history may be said to commence with Genghis Khán, or Yesoncay or Temúgin, the chief of some 30,000 families, who was then in his fourteenth year. This prince being unable to defend his possessions against the inroads of the Mongolian khans, A.H. 566, sought protection from Oungh, A.D. 1170. the khán of the Keraïtes, and the Prester John of Europeans, who

The Mongolian Huns.

[1] See above, pp. 9, 10.

[2] Lib. I., cap ciii.; Jeremiah, chap. V., v. 15, VI., v. 1, 22, 23.

A. D. 1175. Rise of Genghis Khán.

bestowed his daughter on his guest, raised him to a suitable rank, and gave him the command of his army, with which, in two pitched battles, Temúgin defeated the allied Mongolian kháns, who had conspired against him and his father-in-law.

A. D. 1192.

Some years afterwards he fled to his own territories, A. H. 588, being either justly or unjustly suspected of plotting against his benefactor. It appears that, at this time, he rallied round him, in addition to his own legitimate followers, many of the tribes which had been subject to Oungh Khán; and at the head of these forces he defeated his former protector, and usurped his

A. D. 1202.

dominions, A. H. 599.

Projects of Genghis Khán.

At the close of the same year, having succeeded in bringing over to his cause the principal tribes of this part of Asia, he summoned a great council of the Mongol and Tartar chiefs, by whom he was proclaimed Khán of Kháns, *i. e.*, Genghis Khán, which name he henceforth adopted, instead of that of Temúgin.

A. D. 1203.

He next defeated the Naïmans and subjected their country; and A. H. 602, he declared his intention of invading China, as

A. D. 1205.

well as southern Asia, as parts of the world which, by Divine appointment, he was commissioned to conquer. Following in other particulars the steps of his Muslim prototype Múḥammed, Genghis Khán promulgated a code of laws, and organized his forces into bodies of tens, hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands.[1] The advantages of this formation were tested immediately afterwards, upon a rising of the Mongol chiefs against his authority: five years were consumed in this warfare before he was free to undertake the projected expedition to

A. D. 1210.

China, which took place A. H. 607.

His first and second invasions of China.

Being successful in this campaign, the sovereign of China made peace with, and bestowed his daughter on the khán. Notwithstanding this, the latter invaded China three years later; and, after conquering the Kiptshak territory, he again invaded the former, and added the northern provinces of that empire to his possessions: the authority of the chief was thus

A. D. 1215.

extended eastward almost to Pekin.[2]

[1] See vol. I., p. 674, and above, p. 101.

[2] Ant. Gaubil., Hist. de Gentchise Khán, pp. 23, 24; Ibn Shohnah, ad an. Hijrah 611.

Genghis Khán was now solicited to give assistance to the khaliph of Baghdád against Múḥammed Kothbeddin, the ruler of Kharism. The predecessors of this prince had established a powerful monarchy in a part of the Seljuk dominions, having its capital at Kharism; and some ambassadors and merchants of Genghis Khán having been murdered in this territory, the desired occasion for hostilities was thus afforded, A.H. 615. Genghis Khán proceeded towards the Jaxartes, accompanied by his four sons, and a prodigious force. An undecided battle took place with Múḥammed near that river; notwithstanding which, Transoxiana was subjected in the course of the next two years, and Samarḳand, although garrisoned, it is said, with 110,000 men, fell after a lengthened siege. The city was pillaged by the conqueror, who put 30,000 of the garrison to death. Genghis Khán, continuing his conquests, then advanced to Bálkh, A.H. 618, and having massacred the inhabitants on account of the assistance they had given to the son of Múḥammed, he crossed the Paropamisus, stormed Bámyán, and took Ṭúz, Herat, and other cities, overcoming everything like opposition with extraordinary rapidity.

Gengis Khán invades Kharism. A.D. 1218. He takes Samarkand and Bálkh. A.D. 1221.

During the years 619 and 620, the khán, partly by means of his lieutenants, continued his successful career; and having subdued Great Bokhárá, Kharism, Khorásán, Mesopotamia, and part of Ażerbaïján, he advanced beyond the Caspian Sea to the banks of the Wolga; after which, returning southward, he reduced Ḳandahár, Multán, and Ghízní.[1]

A.D. 1222. Conquests and death of Genghis Khán.

During this expedition he held a diet of the kháns and generals of his empire, as well as of the ambassadors of conquered countries, whose number on this occasion, it is said, exceeded 500.

A.D. 1224.

After this display of his power, he marched against China, and died whilst attacking the province of Kin, then in his seventy-second year, A.H. 623, bequeathing his immense possessions to his assembled sons and grandsons, with these words: "I leave you the mightiest empire in the world, but if you wish to preserve it, be united." He was interred with great

A.D. 1226-7.

[1] Ibn Shohnah, ad an. Hij. 623.

pomp, and a noble monument was afterwards erected over his grave: trees being planted by those who visited the spot, it became one of the finest sepulchres in the world.[1]

Character of Genghis Khán

In addition to great prudence, a penetrating judgment, and unconquerable resolution, Genghis Khán possessed temperance, patience, and a degree of fortitude which was proof against all difficulties; and being gifted with natural eloquence to persuade as well as to command, he had all the qualities requisite for a great conqueror. But, on the other hand, he was bloody and cruel; and even when this propensity was not indulged, he was disposed to treat his enemies with insolence and rigour.

Notwithstanding the dying advice of Genghis Khán, his territories, which extended westward from China to the river Euphrates, were, like those of Alexander, after a little time, divided amongst his generals. Of these the two principal ruled over the Chinese and the Mongols. Another had Túrán, while the fourth and fifth possessed Persia and a part of Europe.

Batú's territories in Europe.

It appears that during the lifetime of Genghis Khán, his grandson Batú carried his arms across the frontiers of Germany, and having conquered some of the Sclavonian, Turkish, and Finnish tribes, he made the princes of Russia his vassals. To the territories thus acquired, the principal portion of which was situated between the rivers Don and Wolga, he gave the name of Kaptshak, or Kiptshak. The chiefs Becke, Meugku Timúr, Talabugha, and Toktay, continued to occupy the seat of government in the Crimea, which was afterwards known as the Golden Camp; and Hungary, Poland, and even Germany, suffered from their ravages. The last of these princes, who

A. D. 1313.

made himself remarkable by the abandonment of the Arabian creed for that of Sabaism, was succeeded by the Uzbek, Mamay, and the third successor of the latter was Toktamish Khán, the founder of the dynasty of the White Horde. He carried

The dynasty called the White Horde.

Moscow by storm, and ravaged Russia. He also renewed the treaties with the Genoese and Venetians, and was proceeding to restore the ancient power of the Kiptshak, when Taïmúr engaged in battle and destroyed his forces on the banks of the Kama.

[1] Histoire du Grand Genghis Can, 1r Empereur des Anciens Moguls et Tartars, &c., par Sherif-ed-dín, traduite par Pétis de la Croix; Paris, 1710.

Some Tartar chiefs afterwards gained the ascendant, and maintained themselves in the Crimea, on the Yaïk, and at Great Seraï, one of them assuming the title of Khán of the Golden Horde. In the contests which followed, the Russian princes began gradually to gain power, and the war, which proved to be the last with the Golden Horde, was brought to a close, by the defeat of the great Khán at Oka on the Don, near Azov. The khánat of Astracan was afterwards subjected, and two centuries later that of the Crimea was added by the Empress Catherine to her territories: thus, in 1774, the once-powerful kingdom of Kiptshak became a Russian province.

The Crimea, and first settlements of the Russian provinces.

Persia fell to Hulakú, another grandson of the great conqueror; and the son of Hulakú extended his authority over the Seljukian princes of Anadóli. Ghazan, one of the successors of the latter, threw off his allegiance to the great khán of Tartary, and he and his subjects embraced the Muslim faith. This, however, was of short duration, for during the reign of Aljapta Khán, the eighth from Hulakú, Persia ceased to be a state, being then divided among several petty dynasties, one of which possessed Baghdád, another 'Iráḳ, and a third Shiráz; and thus it continued till there appeared on the theatre of the world a conqueror who eclipsed the warlike achievements of his ancestor Genghis Khán.

Hulakú and his successors govern Persia.

This was Taïmúr-Bec, or Taïmúr-Lenk (the lame), the Tamerlane of Europeans, under whom the tide of conquest flowed towards that part of the world, which comes more particularly within the scope of the present work.

This prince, called by Eastern writers the fortunate, the axis of the faith, and the conqueror of the world, was of Mongol origin, being descended in the female line from Genghis Khán.[1] He quitted Turkistán in his twenty-fifth year to share in the contests consequent on the division of the Persian empire into separate kingdoms. Having declared war against the emír Husein, chief of Khorásán, in consequence of the treachery of this prince, who had previously been his dearest friend, and whose sister he had married, Taïmúr cap-

Taïmúr descended from Genghis Khán.

A. D. 1365.

[1] Preface to Sherif-ed-dín Alí's History of Timúr Bec, by Mons. Pétis de la Croix.

tured the town of Nakhshab, and subsequently defeated Husein himself near Bálkh:[1] being afterwards declared khán of Jugataï, Samarḳand became his capital.[2]

A. D. 1369.

Taïmúr conquers Turkistán.

Some cause of hostility having arisen against the khán of Khinda, war was declared; and in five well-contested campaigns, not only was the territory of that khán subjected, but also the part of Siberia and Great Tartary, now called Turkistán.[3]

These successes, by feeding the ambition of Taïmúr, did but prepare the way for greater enterprises; for, about this period, he seems to have formed the design of making conquests exceeding those by which, a little more than a century previously, his ancestor had astonished the eastern world.

Takes the town of Herat.

The new operations commenced in Khorásán and the adjoining part of Persia. Herat having been taken by storm, and the rest of the towns and fortresses having surrendered without resistance, the whole of the kingdom became subjected to the authority of Taïmúr.[4] Southern Persia was now attacked, and subsequently Mazanderán and the other provinces lying along the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. The rest of the kingdom followed.[5] Armenia offered no resistance, but Ván, and the surrounding country, as well as Díyár Bekr, were defended for a time.[6] A revolt at Ispahán was punished by the massacre of 70,000 persons, whose heads were piled on the walls by the orders of Taïmúr, each soldier having been required to furnish a certain number. Many, however, unwilling, it is said, to kill the Muslims, bought heads of the executioner, and carried them as if cut off by themselves, paying at first the high price of twenty Copaghi dinars per head; but when the required number was nearly obtained, their price fell to half a dinar, until at length they found no purchasers.[7]

Revolt at Ispahán and massacre of the people

[1] Histoire de Timúr Bee, par Sherif-ed-dín, traduite par Pétis de la Croix; Paris, 1722, liv. I., chap. xv., xvi.

[2] Ibid., liv. II., ch. i., ii.

[3] Ibid., chap. xix.

[4] Ibid., chap. xxx.–xxxiv.

[5] Ibid., chap. xxxvii.–xl.

[6] Ibid., chap. lviii., lix.

[7] Ibid., chap. lx. Schildberger, in his Wunderbarliche und Kurzweilige Geschichte, &c., Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, 1554, says, when Taïmúr took Ispahán, he ordered about 7,000 children under fourteen years of age to be trodden down by his cavalry.

Taïmúr's march and campaign against Toktamish. A.D. 1389.

Taïmúr now turned his arms against the Kiptshak. Departing from the Gihon (Jaxartes), which he crossed on a bridge of boats, and passing Karâ-suma, he continued his march in a northerly direction as far as the great range of the Altaï. Here he turned north-west, and crossed the upper part of the Tobol river in Siberia; from thence proceeding westward, he crossed the Ural mountains, and eventually drew up his forces on the Biclaya, an affluent of the Wolga. Here he encountered, and totally defeated, the army of his opponent Toktamish, who had hastened thither from Orenberg to meet him.[1] A.D. 1390.

Leaving the prosecution of the war to his lieutenants, Taïmúr returned to Samarkand; but, in the following year, he took the field, and engaged in a war which continued during five years. A.D. 1392.

Taïmúr subjects southern Persia, and takes Baghdád.

Disturbances also broke out at this period in northern Persia, which were quelled by his generals, who exercised the greatest cruelties on the people. Taïmúr now marched towards southern Persia, and entered Fárs through Luristán. Taking Shiráz and Kal'ahssefíd on the way he proceeded towards Baghdád, which surrendered without resistance. On this occasion his troops swam across the Tigris, and thereby impressed the inhabitants with an opinion that they were invincible. Ahmed,[2] the khaliph of Baghdád, who had fled on his approach, was overtaken by Taïmúr's generals before he reached the Euphrates, and being defeated, he left his harem and his sons in the possession of the conquerors. The scholars and artists of Baghdád were removed to Samarkand, and as a means of preserving discipline amongst his troops, Taïmúr caused the wine found in that city to be thrown into the Tigris.[3] A. D. 1392.

Subjection of Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, &c.

His operations were now directed towards Upper Mesopotamia. Passing the Tigris at Tekrít, which he took by storm after a most obstinate defence, he proceeded towards Diyár Bekr, and having plundered the town he continued his march to Edessa; but he returned subsequently to Márdín, being

[1] Histoire de Timúr Bec, par Sherif-ed-dín, trad. par Pétis de la Croix, livre III., chap. x–xiv. [2] Ibid., chap. xvii., xix., xxi., xxii., xxiv., xxx.
[3] Ibid., liv. III., chap. xxxii.

unwilling to leave an unsubdued foe in his rear. He laid siege to this place ineffectually, but the prince of Márdín having submittéd, Taïmúr imposed the usual annual tribute; and proceeding by Bitlís through part of Armenia and Georgia, he fought a great battle with the khán of Kiptshak on the river Terek.[1] Having subjected this territory he advanced as far as Moscow,[2] from whence he returned to Samarḳand, to prepare for the invasion of India.[3]

Taïmúr passes the Indus, and traverses the Panj-áb.

A. D. 1398.

After receiving congratulatory embassies on the occasion from many of the countries of the east, Taïmúr marched against Maḥmúd, who had recently usurped the empire of the late monarch of India, Firus-sháh. Traversing the lower part of the Hindú Ḳúsh, towards its western extremity, he passed the Indus, and proceeded across the Panj-áb, nearly in the line followed by Alexander the Great; from thence, after putting to death 100,000 prisoners that his Tartar forces might be unencumbered, the march was continued towards Delhi.[4]

Capture of Delhi, and his return to Samarḳand.

The army of the Indian monarch was completely defeated near this city, the immense treasures of which fell into the hands of the conqueror; and Taïmúr pursued the fugitive, Maḥmúd, almost to the banks of the Ganges. Having established his authority in the country, he returned to Samarḳand before the expiration of the year.[5]

Campaigns in Georgia, Anadóli, and Syria.

His assistance being solicited against Mirza Miran Sháh, the lunatic governor of Georgia, whose conduct had excited his subjects to revolt, Taïmúr again took the field, and entering Georgia, he razed the temples, ravaged the country, and took the towns and fortresses. The haughty conduct of Bajazet, the Turkish sulṭán, having excited his displeasure, Taïmúr marched into Anadóli, when Sívás was taken after a siege of eighteen days. The 'Osmánlí inhabitants appear to have been spared on this occasion, but the conqueror indulged his savage cruelty by burying 4,000 of the Christian defenders alive.[6]

[1] Hist. de Timúr Bec, par Sherif-ed-dín, trad. par Pétis de la Croix, liv. III., chap. xxxiii., xxxv., xxxvi., l., li., liii.

[2] Ibid., chap. lv.

[3] Ibid., chap. lxv.

[4] Ibid., livre IV., chap. i.–xx.

[5] Ibid., chap. xx.–xxxix.

Ibid., liv. V., chap. xv.

From Sívás, Taïmúr proceeded into Syria against the Egyptian sulṭán Ferruj. 'Aïn-táb, which was feebly defended, surrendered on his approach,[1] when, continuing his march, he routed the enemy near Aleppo. The Tartars entered the city with the flying Egyptians, and plunder, with much bloodshed, ensued.[2] Leaving Aleppo, he proceeded against, and took Emessa; he also took Ba'albek, which, according to Sherif-ed-dín, was built by Solomon.[3] Damascus was taken soon afterwards, and its workmen carried into Turkistán.[4] Advancing towards Baghdád, Taïmúr constructed, at Móṣul, a bridge over the Tigris, which the whole of the army crossed in a week. The inhabitants of Baghdád, who had revolted in favour of the Egyptian monarch, were cruelly punished; 90,000 human heads having, it is said, been piled in heaps in the town.[5]

Conquests of Taïmúr in Syria.

A. D. 1402.

Revolt of Baghdád and punishment of the people.

Taïmúr was now to meet a more formidable enemy in Bajazet. Assembling his forces near Aleppo he crossed the great range of the Taurus, and penetrating into the interior of Asia Minor, he found the Turkish sulṭán near Angora, at the head of a well-appointed army, but inferior in strength to his own.

Bajazet, who had already filled Europe with the terror of his name, had been lately besieging Erzingán:[6] he had been accustomed to overcome the warriors of Hungary, France, and Germany, and now he did not hesitate to meet the Tartars of Taïmúr.

A fearfully bloody and protracted struggle at length, however, terminated in the route of the 'Osmánlís, and the capture of sulṭán Bajazet.[7] After taking Ephesus and Smyrna, and ravaging the country, Taïmúr returned to Samarkand;[8] but he died not long afterwards, in his seventy-first year, while at the head of an expedition proceeding against China.[9]

Taïmúr defeats and captures Bajazet, near Angora.

The sovereign of the Tartars and Mongols has, with much reason, been compared with the great warrior of Macedon, who

A. D. 1405.

[1] Histoire de Timur Bec, par Sherif-ed-dín, trad. par Pétis de la Croix, liv. V., chap. xix.

[2] Ibid., chap. xx.

[3] Ibid., chap. xxiii.

[4] Ibid., chap. xxvii.

[5] Ibid., chap. xxxi., xxxii.

[6] Ibid., chap. xxxiv.

[7] Ibid., chap. lvi., compared with Hans Schildberger's Wunderbarliche und kurzweilige Geschichte, &c. 4to. Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, 1554.

[8] Ibid., liv. VI., chap. xxiv.

[9] Ibid., chap. xxx.

almost eighteen centuries before, traversed the steppes of Tartary and the plains of India. But, if the rise of Taïmúr, and his subsequent success, appear more surprising than the brilliant career of a conqueror, who had the inheritance of a kingdom as the basis of his great achievements, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that Alexander had to contend with well-organized and mighty empires, whilst the Asiatic leader was almost always engaged with undisciplined hordes, governed by chiefs who were, in most instances, hostile to one another.

Taïmúr compared with Alexander the Great.

Great atrocities marked the career of Taïmúr, while such deviations from the laws of humanity were the exceptions in Alexander's course. In many particulars, however, the conquerors were alike. An organized plan was pursued by each, and the territories subjected differed but little in extent. Both protected and encouraged the arts and sciences, and were remarkable for the judicious organizations of their territories. The extension of Eastern commerce shows the enlarged mind of the European conqueror, whilst the Tufukat, or Code of Laws,[1] distinguished the later monarch of the Eastern world.

Taïmúr's successors.

Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, and the Kiptshak, were lost almost immediately after the death of Taïmúr, but the rest of the accumulated territories of the sulṭán were divided and shared among his thirty-six sons and grandsons and their competitors. His descendants were the princes, designated the Great Moguls, who reigned over northern India for about three centuries.

Persia, &c., retained by his son.

Sháh Rokh, his son, retained Transoxiana, Tartary, Khorásán, and Persia. The three first provinces were held by his descendants[2] till these were expelled by the Uzbecks at a later period; but Persia, and the provinces lying to the westward, were contested by two races of Turkomans, the one called the black sheep, the other the white sheep. The latter race, however, under Uzun Ḥaṣán, acquired the ascendancy over the other tribe, and obtained the greater part of Persia.

A. D. 1502.

The descendants of Uzun contended for his extensive territories till these were themselves supplanted by Ismá'íl Sháh,

[1] Instituts Politiques et Militaires de Tamerlan. Longles, Paris, 1787.

[2] Arabshah, Continuation of Hist. Timur, p. 146.

the first of the Sophi dynasty. This prince, during the greater part of his reign, was almost entirely occupied in subduing the various provinces of the empire;[1] but, by establishing the Shí'ah faith in his kingdom, he laid the foundation of that enmity which has become national between the Persians and the Turks. The Sophi dynasty.

Notwithstanding the wars with the Uzbeks on one side, and the Turks on the other, the Persian monarchy was consolidated during the reign of Ismá'íl's successor, Sháh Tamasp, and the dynasty[2] continued unbroken till the accession of Nadir Sháh. A.D. 1736. Nadir Sháh and his successors.

This daring and talented leader, who as the general of 'Abbás III. had distinguished himself against the Turks,[3] having established a rigid system of discipline in the army, conquered Afghánistán and Kandahár. After these successes he penetrated into the Indian territories as far as Delhi, from whence he returned with booty[4] valued at thirty-two millions of pounds sterling. His death was followed by dissensions which caused the loss of the Afghán kingdom, but the various competitors at length acknowledged the authority of Kerim Khán, who held the supreme power, and ruled equitably and mildly till his death. Russia took advantage of the contests which followed the decease of Kerim Khán to take certain portions of the Persian territory under her protection. The sovereignty was at length acquired by the reigning dynasty, the Kajar, the second prince of which was Futteh 'Alí Sháh, the grandfather of the present sovereign, Sháh Muhammed. A.D. 1747. A.D. 1759. A.D. 1779. A.D. 1783. A.D. 1789. A.D. 1796.

Reverting now to the Seljukians: after the time of Málik Sháh their territories in Anadóli were divided into a great many small districts, as Karámán, Sárú-Khán, Aïdín, &c., which, under the 'Osmánlís, still retain their names and their limits.[5]

This people, the third branch which descended from the original Turks, continued for some time unknown, but they became in the sequel more important than either the Turkomán or Tartar races. Their history may be said to have commenced with Kayí, a chief of Khorásán, who fled from the Origin of the 'Osmánlí branch of Turks.

[1] Texeira, cap. XLVIII., p. 339.
[2] Hanway, Revolut. Pers., vol. IV., p. 40.
[3] Ibid., pp. 112, 121.
[4] Ibid., pp. 134, 150.
[5] See vol. I., pp. 309, 310, 314.

A.D. 1234. arms of Genghis Khán, A.H. 621, and conducted 50,000 of his tribe to the neighbourhood of Erzingán. Three sons of this prince, and their followers, afterwards returned to Turkistán; but the fourth, Ertoghrul, continued in the same place, and obtained of his countryman, 'Alá-ed-dín, the Seljuk sulṭán of Ḳóniyeh, the small track of Sulṭán Oṅí, as a fief.[1] Ertoghrul
A.D. 1288. died A.H. 687, and was succeeded by his son 'Osmán, who founded the Turkish empire. A dream that a tree grew out of his lap and overshadowed the earth led, it is said, to his brilliant career. The capture of the fortress of Melangena, now Ḳará Ḥiṣár, was his earliest achievement; Nice and Brúsah followed; and at a later period he even beleaguered Constantinople.[2] Urklan, his son and successor, became independent of the Seljukian sulṭán of Ḳóniyeh, and his reign was rendered remarkable by the introduction of coined money, and likewise by the formation of the corps of Janizaries.[3] The advantages of this organization soon became manifest. He forced the
A.D. 1330. Emperor Andronicus to take refuge under the walls of Constantinople; he also conquered Bithynia, and the greater part of Mysia. Subsequently, the Asiatic Greek provinces were subjected, Nicæa became the capital of Urklan, and Gallipolí
A.D. 1333. was also taken.[4]

Success of 'Osmán, the first Sulṭán of the Turks.

Conquests of Sulṭán Murád.

Murád or Amurad succeeded Urklan, and Adrianople being taken, two years later, it became his capital. This brought
A.D. 1359. on the first European league against the Ottomans. The
A.D. 1361. Hungarians, led by their king, and assisted by the Bosnians,
A.D. 1363. Servians, and Wallachians, crossed the Balkán; but being signally defeated by Murád, near Adrianople, the greater part of what is now called European Turkey fell into the hands of the conqueror.

A.D. 1386. At a later period he carried his arms into Asia, where a victory gained near Ḳóniyeh, led to the subjection of 'Alá-ed-dín, the Seljukian prince of Karamania. His career was termi-

[1] For this track, see vol. I., p. 321.

General Hist. of the Turks, from the beginning of the Nation, by Richard Knollys, Oxford, 1610, pp. 142, 143, 161.

[3] Yení-cherí, or the "new troops."

[4] General Hist. of the Turks, &c., by Richard Knollys, p. 183.

nated three years later by the dagger of an assassin, after he had gained a brilliant victory over the confederate Hungarians, Poles, &c., near Kossova.[1]

Sulṭán Bayazid extends his empire. A.D. 1389.

Bayazid (Bajazet), his successor, overran Greece, and extended his dominions towards the south-eastern provinces of Germany, as well as over the Seljukian principalities in Asia, with such rapidity, that he gained the name of Lightning (Ilderim).[2] He was attacking Constantinople for the second time, when he was called to defend his possessions in Asia against the famous Taïmúr.

Temporary restoration of the Seljukians. A.D. 1413.

The fatal battle already mentioned, which took place near Angora, led to the re-establishment of the Seljukian princes in Asia, and also to a series of contests for the succession amongst the three sons of Bayazid, which, after an interregnum of nearly twelve years, ended in favour of Múḥammed I., who regained the Asiatic territories by expelling the Seljukians from Karamania.

Success of Sulṭán Murád II. A.D. 1422.

Murád II., his successor, though loving and seeking the quiet of peace and retirement, was almost incessantly engaged in wars, partly in Asia Minor, but chiefly in Greece and Thessaly, and subsequently with the Hungarians, who were defeated in a great battle near Vascape (Varna).[3]

Nearly the whole of Greece was subdued by Murád; but the prince of Epirus, the well-known Scanderbeg, maintained his province by his fertile military genius and great intrepidity.[4] The reign of Múḥammed II. commenced A. H. 855, and became memorable by the overthrow of the Greek empire. Having taken Bulgaria and the fortresses of Sophia, Rutschuk, and Silistria, the Turks commenced making preparations for the siege of Constantinople. The fall of the splendid capital of Constantine took place after a resistance of fifty-three days, and it was accelerated by the use of siege artillery of vast calibre. The employment of an explosive power had been already known, according to the Turks, for some centuries. Their account states that the castle of Alexandria was reduced

Use of artillery by Múḥammed II. in taking Constantinople.

[1] General Hist. of the Turks, &c., by Richard Knollys, pp. 189–201.
[2] Ibid., pp. 203–211.
[3] Ibid., pp. 296, 297.
[4] Ibid., pp. 315, 316.

First use of gunpowder.

A. H. 244, 245, by means of a kind of gun, which had been excavated in the rock.[1] Among the warlike machines prepared for the siege of Constantinople, was one of those gigantic pieces of ordnance which still defend the passage of the Dardanelles. This immense weapon of destruction, which, by the explosive force of gunpowder, threw a stone ball of 100 pounds weight, was cast at Adrianople under the superintendence of a rayah, and being transported from thence by 150 yoke of oxen, it was placed in battery before the walls of Constantinople.[2]

The province of Servia, and the city of Otranto, in Italy, were also added to the Turkish dominions during the reign of Múḥammed; but his successor, Bayazid II., added nothing to

A. D. 1512.

the extent of the empire. During the reign, however, of the next monarch, Selim I., which proved to be short and cruel, though glorious, a part of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, were subjected.[3]

Conquests of Sulṭán Suleïmán in Europe.

Sulṭán Suleïmán succeeded and commenced his career by taking Belgrade from the knights of St. John; he subsequently captured Buda; after which, having defeated Lewis, king of Hungary, he overran his kingdom, and advanced to the gates

A. D. 1529.

of Vienna. He was compelled, however, to raise the siege of that city; but in 1562, Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, ceded to Suleïmán the greater part of Hungary, and paid him a tribute of 30,000 ducats. The successes of this prince were not confined to his land forces; his navy, then the finest in the world, participated largely in them. One of his fleets scoured the coasts of Italy, Spain, and Africa, and another was floated

Suleïmán's fleet proceeds from the Red Sea to India.

on the Red Sea. The timber for its construction being cut in the forests of Cilicia, was transported from the port of Adalia to Pelusium, and from thence carried up the Nile to Caïro. Here it was prepared in frame, and when ready to be put together and floated, the whole equipment, including cordage, guns, anchors, provisions, &c., was transported on camels to

[1] An officer of Artillery, the Ka'ia Beï of the Páshá of Widdin, read this circumstance to the Author, from the books of Acklat Minoree, and Halet Tary.

[2] General Hist. of the Turks, &c., by Robert Knollys, p. 343.

[3] Ibid., pp. 517, 526, 530, 531.

Suëz for this purpose. Seventy-five large ships, besides smaller vessels, being launched,[1] Suleïmán's admiral sailed down the Red Sea to Ṭór, Jiddah, Camaran, and 'Aden, from whence he proceeded through the Indian Ocean to attack the Portuguese at the island of Diu, in the gulf of Cambay; but although he had sixty-two galleys, with a number of smaller vessels, and upwards of 20,000 men in addition to the fleet and army of the king of Cambago, he failed in the attack, and retreated, leaving his tents, artillery, and 1,000 wounded men. After this discomfiture he returned to 'Aden.[2]

Military and civil organization of Suleïmán.

In the economy of his government, Suleïmán appears to have followed the examples of the earlier khaliphs, particularly those of 'Omar and 'Abd-el-'Azíz, in regulating most judiciously the civil, religious, and military polity of the empire. Poetry, as well as the arts and sciences, were also encouraged, and the laws concerning property were wisely established. Suleïmán was the most distinguished of the 'Oṡmánlí Sulṭáns, and was deservedly surnamed the Great.

A. D. 1566.

Selim II. conquers Yemen and Cyprus.

During the reign of Selim II. who succeeded him, Yemen and Cyprus were added to the Turkish dominions, and the Turkish navy was superior to the united Christian fleets in the Mediterranean. On the establishment of peace in Europe, the Sulṭán commenced a canal to unite the river Don and the Wolga.

Georgia and Dághestán subdued.

Murád III., or Amurad, the son of Selim, again increased the Turkish territories by the acquisition of Georgia, Dághestán, &c. His troops having afterwards crossed the Caucasus to support the khán of the Crimea, they made their way through Southern Russia and Bessarabia to Constantinople, having in fact, perhaps for the only time in history, rounded the Black Sea. During this reign diplomatic relations were established with the principal nations of Europe, and a commercial treaty with England was concluded by Edward Berton. This formed the basis of the existing friendly and advantageous mercantile relations of this country with Turkey.

A. D. 1574.

Political and commercial relations established with the rest of Europe.

Sulṭán Múḥammed III., on his accession, found himself at

[1] General Hist. of the Turks, &c., by Richard Knollys, p. 670.

[2] Ibid., p. 676, compared with Maffæi, Indica, pars II., lib. II., cap. XV.

Extent of the Turkish dominions in the time of Múḥammed III.

the head of a more extensive empire than that under Justinian; for, including the tributary principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, Ragusa, and the khánat of the Crimea, it extended from Barbary northward to Poland, and from the Adriatic Sea eastward to the extremity of Arabia.[1] A rebellion in Asia, supA. D. 1603. ported by Persia, and some reverses in Hungary, caused a diminution of the Turkish power in the next reign, that of A. D. 1623. Sulṭán Aḥmed. Mustafa I., 'Oṡmán II., Mustafa II., and Murád IV., were the succeeding sulṭáns. The reign of the last, which commenced at twelve years of age, was in the beginning unfortunate for Turkey. Asia Minor was ravaged, BaghA. D. 1624. dád was taken by the Persians, and 150 vessels, manned by Cossacks, appeared even before the walls of the seraglio.[2] But towards its close Baghdád and most of the Asiatic provinces were recovered. Ibráhím I., a prince given up to luxury, succeeded, and perished during a revolt of the Janizaries. Múḥammed IV., who followed, lost the greater part of Hungary to the Imperialists, and was afterwards deposed.[3]

Turkey was from this time in closer contact with the principal European powers, and wars with them, particularly with Russia and Austria, were frequent during the reigns of Suleïmán III., Achmet II., and Mustafa III. But the stirring campaigns of this period, in some of which Charles XII. and Prince Eugene shared, produced little change in the extent of A. D. 1718. the Ottoman empire previously to the peace of Passarowiez; when the Venetians and Poles recovered part of their territories, and the Austrians regained the whole of Hungary, with A. D. 1730. the exception of the Banát of Temeswar.

Chief cause of these wars.

During the reigns of Maḥmúd I., 'Oṡmán III., 'Abdu-l-Hamid I., Selim III., Mustafa IV., Maḥmúd II., and 'Abdu-l-Mejid I.; that is, from 1730 to the accession of the present sulṭán in 1840, frequent and by no means inglorious contests were carried on by Turkey, principally with Russia, which, however, have been followed by a considerable diminution of territory.

[1] See Sulṭán Suleïmán's letter to the Emperor Ferdinand, Knollys' Hist., p. 789.

[2] Cantemir, Oth. Hist., p. 243.

[3] Ibid., p. 284.

The war which commenced in 1736 was carried on by Russia and Austria jointly against the Porte, and terminated in 1739 by the double treaty signed at Belgrade and Nissa. The two powers restored to the Porte the provinces of Wallachia and Servia, which had been conquered by Prince Eugene; but Russia gained some advantages. These, at the subsequent treaty of Kuchuk-Kaïnarjí, were again increased; and, besides the great and little Kabarda, she acquired the protectorship of Moldavia and Wallachia, and that of the Crimea. In consequence of the campaign of Prince Potemkin, the Crimea was incorporated with Russia at the peace of Jassy. Austria had previously taken the fortress of Belgrade, and secured the possession of it by a treaty concluded at that place.

Treaties of Belgrade and Kuchuk-Kaïnarjí. A. D. 1739.

A. D. 1792.

A new enemy now appeared in the southern part of the Turkish empire; for the French, under their great leader Napoleon, invaded Egypt, and besieged 'Aḳḳá with a view to ulterior designs. These designs were, however, defeated by the well-timed efforts of the British and Turkish forces.

The French invade Egypt and Syria. A. D. 1798. A. D. 1802.

Another war commenced with Russia in 1806, in which England took a part. The British fleet passed the Dardanelles and threatened Constantinople at a moment when the city was quite unprotected; but the Turks, under the direction of Count Sebastiani, by extraordinary efforts, mounted upwards of 1,000 heavy guns in the short space of 36 hours; so that, the city being now protected, and the retreat being likely to be endangered, the British fleet repassed the Dardanelles with some difficulty. The Russians, however, continued their operations on the land side with much success, and even reached the Balkán; but the energetic exertions of Sulṭán Maḥmúd at length forced them to retreat beyond the Danube, and peace was concluded with England about the same time.

Russia and England make war against Turkey. A. D. 1806.

A. D. 1809.

Sulṭán Maḥmúd II. carried out, but on a more extensive scale, the reforms which had been projected by Selim III.; but the changes which were made in the organization of the army and in the civil departments of the state, were, as is usual with innovations, ill received by the people at large, and there were risings in Albania, Damascus, Baghdád, and Egypt, for the purpose of opposing the plans of the sovereign. Under these

Reforms, &c., of Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

A. D. 1812.

Effects of the battle of Navarino.

discouraging circumstances the sultán concluded a peace at Bucharest, by which the country beyond the Pruth, and the Eyalet of Childír near the Caucasus, were ceded to Russia. Some years later the fatal battle of Navarino was followed by the separation of the Greek provinces, and by another war, in which the young and imperfectly-organized troops of the sultán were opposed to a powerful Russian army, which had at the same time the command of the Black Sea.

Campaigns against Turkey in 1828, 1829.

The line of the Danube, supported by Varna, Schumla, and the grand mountain barrier of the Balkán, was bravely defended by the new levies till towards the close of a second campaign, when, Silistria and Varna being at length taken, Count Diebitsch, by a skilful manœuvre, passed the mountains, and occupied Adrianople, the second capital of European Turkey. Peace was, however, made, and five millions of ducats were paid to Russia as an indemnity for the expenses of the war.

By the treaty of Adrianople, and those which preceded it, the power of Turkey has been impaired, but less seriously than may, perhaps, be supposed. Her principal territorial losses were—in Europe, Greece, the remaining portion of Hungary, and the country beyond the Pruth: in Asia, a portion of country near the Caucasus: and in Africa, Algeria. It must be observed however, that the Porte still retains Egypt and Syria, with the rest of the countries lying between Eastern Barbary and the Danube; and thus occupies an important position between the western parts of Europe and the eastern parts of Asia, on her retention of which the peace of the world mainly depends.

Existing extent of the Turkish empire.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA.

Settlement of the Indo-Chinese and Egyptian races.—The similarity of the Monuments of Art denotes a common origin of the People.—First settlement in Bactria.—Spread of Religion and Knowledge from thence to Hindústán, to China, the Indian Archipelago, and America.—Resemblance of the People of the latter country to those of Central Asia.—The Syro-Arabian race, and extent of their Territory.—The Scythian people and their early Conquests.—Character, Government, &c., of the ancient Scythians.—Their settlement in Mesopotamia, and on the borders of Egypt.—Affinity of the European and Asiatic Languages.—Inroads of the Kimmerians, the Scythians, and Franks, into Europe.—Connexion of the Scandinavians and Normans with the East.—Settlements in Europe previous to the Irruption of the Black Sea.—Settlement of the Celts in different parts of Europe.—The Scandinavian worship handed down from Asia.—Colonies from Spain and Barbary settle in Ireland.—Central Asia connected with Greece through Asia Minor.—Relations of the latter country with Persia.—Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus derived their knowledge in part from Asia.—The Grecian Sages seek instruction in Asia.—Democritus.—Philosophy and Astronomy first cultivated in Asia.—Orpheus the supposed founder of the Greek religion.—Thales studied in Phœnicia and Egypt.—Pherecydes the Tutor of Pythagoras.—Solon visits Egypt and Lydia.—Ctesias.—Hecateus.—Hellanicus, the cotemporary of Herodotus, writes a history of Persia and Babylon.—Pythagoras visits the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, Persians, and Scythians, and returns to Greece.—Plato visits Egypt, acquires Eastern learning, and makes Philosophy attractive.—Aristotle derived his knowledge from the East.—Plato's philosophy was founded upon that of the Persians and Indians.—Democritus is instructed by the Magi and Chaldeans, and travels to India and Ethiopia.—Antiquity of the Magian and Indian tenets.—The Greeks improve upon Eastern Literature.—Herodotus and his Acquirements.—Isocrates and his Pupils.—Astronomy, Mechanics, Geometry, Mineralogy, Botany, and Medicine, derived from the East.—Hippocrates.—Galen.—Intercourse with the East, by Merchants and Travellers.—Journey of Marco Polo.—Genoese commerce.—Queen Elizabeth encourages Commerce with Babylon, &c.—The French Republic attempts to open a Commerce through Egypt.—Travels of Jenkins.—Benjamin of Tudela, and others.—The Author visits Asia, and descends the Euphrates in 1830.

Asiatic foundation of European history.

THE rise and progess of the European nations were little more than the continuation of the state of advancement previously attained in eastern countries; the history of the latter, therefore, becomes an introduction to that of the former. The languages of all, and the religion of most Asiatic races, are so

closely linked, that they must, according to Diogenes Laertius,[1] have had a common origin; and it can scarcely be doubted, that the noble structure of European civilization was based upon the science, commerce, and industry of Asia.

In the preceding pages the intercourse between the eastern and western nations has been occasionally noticed, but a more connected view of the subject will now be taken, with reference to the influence which that intercourse has had upon Europe itself.

The Taurus and its adjoining plains regulated the progress of the pastoral tribes.

The first great change, which was the consequence of the spread of the pastoral tribes from the banks of the Hiddekel and the Frát, was no doubt, in a great measure, brought about by the wants of the people and the physical structure of the earth. The progress of the human race from Shinar, in a northerly direction, till it encountered the first natural barrier, has already been noticed,[2] and elsewhere will be found a description of the Tauric chain, which probably influenced their subsequent progress.[3] The plains bordering this vast barrier afforded to the first wanderers an almost continuous and suitable line of country, stretching to the confines of the Indo-Chinese races in 143° E. longitude; whilst the plains of Arabia served to carry the Mizraim branch of the same people into Africa.[4]

Extent of country passed by the Indo-Chinese races.

The ancient remains towards the extremities of these lines are sufficient to prove that the social state of the people in those places was far advanced; and that their temples, excavations, and other works of art, were nearly alike. And since there has not been at any period a colony sent from either region to the other, this similarity of their monuments, which has been so frequently noticed by travellers, can scarcely be explained in any other way than by assuming a common origin for the people who had been so long and so completely separated. And may not the knowledge of arts and sciences which was manifestly possessed by the earliest inhabitants of eastern Asia, and by the people of Egypt, be considered as a proof that when those regions were first occupied, mankind was not in a savage, but, on the contrary, in a civilized state, such as may be supposed to have been the result of instruction derived from a common line of ancestors?

The Indian and Egyptian monuments testify a common origin of the people.

[1] Lib. I.

[2] See above, pp. 35, 36.

[3] Vol. I., pp. 67–71.

[4] See above, pp. 21, 22, 50, 51.

The circumstances connected with the settlement of the sons of Mizraim[1] are sufficiently well understood; but not so the eastern branch of the Cushites, in connexion with which several circumstances of interest, which have not been already noticed, may now be mentioned.

The banks of the Jaxartes were once the seat of a civilized people.

There is reason to believe that the tracts lying between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes were once inhabited by a people whose dominion extended over Bactria and Margiana, and who spread civilization from thence into other countries, at a period long anterior to the mytho-historical age.[2] M. Bailly, the celebrated astronomer, came to the conclusion that the source of the sciences, particularly of astronomy, was in this part of Asia, and that the Indians and Chinese had derived their religious and other knowledge from thence.[3]

The Indians and Chinese supposed to have derived their knowledge from I'rán.

It appears that the day on which the sun enters Aries was chosen for the foundation of Persepolis: it was observed also in connexion with some of the most remote events of Chinese history; and these facts may serve to prove that the duration of the solar year had then been determined,[4] and was made subservient to chronological purposes.

I'rán[5] afforded an easy intercourse with India and China during the earlier, and with western countries during a later, period of the world. The position of Aryavarta, the holy land of the Brahmins, and the admission of the Hindús themselves,[6] show that they derived their sciences from the north-west; and the similarity of their religion and language to those of the Persians, strengthens the belief that the region in question, the country of the Arians,[7] was the seat of their ancestors.

[1] See above, pp. 21, 22, 50, 51.

[2] Antiquités de la Nature et de la Langue des Celtes, par le R. P. Dom. P. Pezron, Docteur en Théologie, Paris, 1703.

[3] Lettres sur l'Origine des Sciences, et sur celles des Peuples de l'Asie, par J. S. Bailly. 8vo, Paris et Londres, 1777, pp. 18, 19.

[4] Ibid., p. 42–44.

[5] In its largest sense it extended from the Upper Euphrates to the Indus. Vol. I., p. 65.

[6] Institutes of Menu, book II., 17, 18; and Elphinstone's Hist. of India, vol. I., p. 388.

[7] Or Arias. This was the designation both of the Persian and Indian branch. Commentaire sur le Yaçna, par M. Eugène Burnouf, 4to, Paris; and Herod., lib. VII., cap. lxii.

The religion, like the philosophy of a nation, frequently determines its origin. That of the Magi, for instance, who followed the mysteries of Mithras, is more ancient than that of the Egyptian worship;[1] and the Magi gave birth to the Gymnosophists or Brahmins of India.[2]

The Brahmins settled in India.

The dominant tribes appear to have accompanied their leaders from Persia to India; the Brahmins themselves not being natives of the latter territory, but individuals who brought thither a foreign language and foreign sciences.[3] The sages in question were, in reality, only the preservers of ancient metaphysics, which, as well as the arts in general, had been handed down by a people of higher antiquity.[4] At a period anterior to regular history, a civilized empire existed, it is believed, in higher Asia; for massive foundations of walls, gold, silver, and copper vessels, diadems, weapons, ornaments of dress, which have been discovered in the Tartarian tombs, with instruments of bronze, such as knives, swords, spear-heads, statues, remains of miners' tools, and various domestic utensils, have been found in the steppes of Asia. Some of these have been deposited in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, and by their execution it is evident that they must have belonged to a civilized nation.[5]

Philosophy and the sciences derived from higher Asia.

Spread of ancient people to eastern Asia and America.

In addition to the Hindús, the people of Central Asia, including the Mongol races, are supposed, according to some authorities, to have spread into the Indian Archipelago, and even to the New World, which they may have reached by the way of Behring's Straits.

It is admitted that at the time of the discovery of America, two distinct races were found inhabiting that continent. One appears to have come from the north, and to have constructed the yet existing remains. Three-fifths of the various dialects

[1] Aristotle de Philosophiâ, lib. I.

[2] Clearchus apud Diogenem Laertium, lib. I.

[3] Lettres sur l'Origine des Sciences et sur celles des Peuples de l'Asie, par J. S. Bailly. Paris et Londres, 1777, p. 89.

[4] Ibid., pp. 152, 153.

[5] An Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America, by J. Delafield, Cincinnati, 1839, p. 85, compared with View of the Russian Empire during the Reign of Catherine II., by William Tooke, F.R.S., Wogan. London, 1801. Vol. I., pp. 256, 257.

of the American Indians resemble the Mongolian languages of northern Asia; and the remaining two-fifths have an affinity to the dialects of Scythian origin. With respect to the other race, from a careful examination of their language, mythology, hieroglyphics, astronomy, architecture, religion, and customs, as well as the cranial formation, ample evidence is deduced that they came from Southern Asia.[1] As the arts and sciences just mentioned correspond with those which were common to Hindústán and ancient Egypt, the American people must have descended from some race which had imparted their peculiar ideas and manners to these two oriental regions. Egypt and Hindústán appear to have been occupied by the branches of one powerful family, which established in each country its peculiar system of astronomy, and there built cities, and erected temples and pyramids, which they covered with hieroglyphic carvings, whose remains are splendid monuments of their greatness.[2]

Affinity of the American language and people to those of Scythia.

Supposed common origin of the Indians and Egyptians.

Almost coeval with the dawn of history, another race, the Syro-Arabian, appears to have occupied the tract between Assyria and Egypt. This, which is considered as the principal Semitic race, is particularly known by its two leading branches, the Nabatheans, who extended across the peninsula, and the Chaldeans. It has been seen,[3] that one portion of the latter was seated in Babylonia; whilst others, such as the Beni Kháled, preserved their warlike habits by continuing a nomad life. The steppes of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Arabia, belonged to this race;[4] and besides preserving the Semitic language, and handing down the great truths connected with the early history of mankind, they applied themselves to medicine, natural history, mathematics, and other branches of learning, which found their way from thence to Europe, particularly through Barbary and Greece.

The Syro-Arabian a Semitic race.

Their state of advancement.

The other great section of mankind, the people of Túrán, are first noticed in early history as the ancient Scythians; and according to Justin, they conquered the greater part of Asia,

People of Túrán, or the second section of mankind.

[1] Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America, by John Delafield, J. R., Cincinnati, 1839, p. 25–32.

[2] Ibid., p. 102–104.

[3] See above, pp. 31, 40, 52, &c.

[4] Ibid., p. 53.

about 1500 years before Ninus.[1] At the height of their power the territories of this people embraced about 110 degrees of longitude, or 5000 miles from east to west, and more than 200 miles of latitude northward from the borders of Persia.

Their frugality and martial spirit.

Virtues, which the Greeks acquired by learning and philosophy, were natural to the Scythians; whose laws were calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and wickedness, and at the same time to cherish that martial spirit for which they were so justly famed in history.[2] Scythia had a regal government, and the crown was hereditary, but the monarch might be deposed, or even put to death, if he violated the laws. The people were satisfied with covered waggons, drawn by oxen or horses, which served for dwellings, and likewise to convey their families and furniture from place to place. Like the Egyptians, they embalmed the bodies of distinguished individuals, and their interments were conducted with great pomp and solemnity.[3]

The Scythians used covered waggons as dwellings.

Bodily strength, and moderation of this people.

The Scythians possessed great bodily strength, being inured to labour; but although prone to war, their passions were under such control, that they made no other use of victory than to increase their fame. Theft was considered such a crime, and so severely punished, that their flocks wandered from place to place in perfect security; while they subsisted on their milk and were clothed with their skins.[4]

The spread of such a people could not fail to have an influence on those countries in which they settled: their migrations were extensive; and one of the earliest of these took place under Finiusa,[5] the chief of a Scythian tribe, who is said to have proceeded into Shinar, where he established schools in which the sciences and languages were taught; and he invited Gadel, son of Eathon and Cavik Jar, son of Neamha the Hebrew, to superintend them. He afterwards returned to Scythia, leaving

[1] Lib. II., cap. iii.

[2] Herod., lib. IV., cap. xlvi.

[3] Justin, lib. II., cap. ii.; Herod., lib. IV., cap. xlvi.

[4] Justin, lib. II., cap. ii., compared with Thucydides, lib. II., p. 200.

[5] From this prince, according to Delafield, the name of Phœnicia had its origin.

his son Niul in Mesopotamia. The latter proceeded to Egypt, and received as a dowry with the daughter of Pharaoh, a territory along the Rêd Sea, called Capacerunt.[1]

Niul favours the escape of the Israelites.

Not being an idolater, this prince is said to have favoured the passage of the Israelites through his territory; and having given umbrage to his father-in-law in consequence, he avoided his wrath, by embarking on the Red Sea. After the death of Pharaoh he returned to Egypt, and was succeeded by his son Gadelus, whose grandson Sru, with his followers, proceeded to Spain, and thence to Ireland.

Scythia supposed to have been connected with Egypt.

This fabulous account at least shows the belief that in ancient times there had existed a connexion between Scythia and Egypt, which appears to have embraced other countries also. The affinity between the Persian and Hindú dialects, and again, between these and the western languages, particularly those derived from the Scandinavian German, added to the resemblance between the mythology of the latter country and that of the Persians and Hindús, seem to prove that both the religion and the people were derived from, or at least connected with, a common stock.

The Kimmerians settle in Europe.

Amongst the earliest people noticed were the Kimmerians, who came from Mæotis and settled between the Don and the Donau,[2] and were succeeded in the sixth century B.C. by the Skythinians or Scythians, to whom as the more permanent possessors of the country there will be occasion to revert. Still greater interest, however, belongs to another tribe, which is stated to have come into this part of the world after the Trojan war. It appears that one portion of this Asiatic race remained on the upper Don, under a chief named Turchi, whilst the remainder were led by another called Franco, to the banks of the Rhine, where they commenced building a city, which was to have been called after their leader, but which does not, however, appear to have been completed.[3] Both the Franks and

Franks settle in Germany.

[1] An Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America, by J. Delafield, Cincinnati, 1839, p. 76–78; and Keating's History of Ireland, London, 1733.

[2] Herod., lib. I., cap. ciii., civ.

[3] Fridegarius Scholasticus, Hist. Franc. Epist.

the Dardanians[1] seem to have been connected with the history of Troy;[2] for it is stated that some of the Trojans were led by Antenor into Europe, and having at length reached the upper part of Italy, they settled between the Alps and the Adriatic Sea, and gave the name of Troya to a part of this tract. Again, there was at one time near Asburg, in Cleves, a city called the holy or lesser Troja. Another writer connects the Franks with the fugitives from Troy, who came, it is said, into Europe by way of Mæotis and the Tanais, after the fall of that celebrated city.[3] Moreover, it appears that a belief of a descent from the Trojans prevailed among the Scandinavian pirates;[4] and, according to a similar tradition, the ancient Normans built a palace in Sweden, called Trojenburg, also a city named Troja, which was situated between the river Hackeguaw and the lake Hartgrepos Lagetrog.[5] Near to the latter is the farm-house called Troja-mala, and the Troja forest.

The Franks descended from the Trojans.

Also the Scandinavians and Normans.

It is very probable that part of Europe was peopled by Asiatic tribes antecedently to the change which took place in the basin of the Mediterranean,[6] in consequence of the irruption of the Black Sea through the Bosphorus, and the subsequent passage of the waters into the Atlantic by the Gaditanian straits; the Greek islands being the remains of the submerged country, over which the wanderers had passed. But of other branches which spread westward from northern Scythia, till arrested by the Atlantic, there are more particulars. One of these Scythian tribes has been known by various names, as Saces, Sacks, or Sacæ, Celtæ, Gauls, Galatai, Cimbrians, and Kimper.[7] Traces of this race, whose name Celts, signifies potent, valiant, and warlike, are found at various places between

Europe peopled from Asia before the irruption of the Black Sea.

The Celtic tribes settle in

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. V., cap. xxx.

[2] Tradunt multi eosdem (Francos) de Pannoniâ fuisse degressos, writes the Frank historian Georgius Turonensis.

[3] Ptolemy, lib. III., and Dio Cassius, lib. LV.

[4] Dudo, Willemus Gemmeticensis Orderic Vitalis, ibid.

[5] These traditions were related to the Author by a learned Swede.

[6] Cosmos, by Alex. von Humboldt, vol. II., p. 117.

[7] Antiquité de la Nation et de la Langue des Celtes, autrement appelés Gaulois, par le R. P. Dom. P. Pezron, Docteur en Théologie. Paris, 1703, pp. 8–12.

the Danube and the extremity of Spain;[1] but previous to their departure from the region situated between Media and Bactria, they were called Gomerians.[2] Without, however, going back to the sons of Gomer, it would appear that an immigration into Europe took place about 590 B. C., when Bellavese[3] led a portion of this people from the shores of the Black Sea into Italy. Their colonies were also found in the lower part of Germany, along the Danube, extending into Pomerania, and likewise into Illyria, Helvetia, and Gaul. From the latter country, they invaded the British islands, and originated the Picts or Caledonians, Welsh, and Irish: the branches of this stem were numerous, and continued to be powerful throughout Europe, till they were broken by the Roman power.[4]

various parts of Europe.

The government of the Celts was monarchical: the Curetes, Druids, Bards, &c. interpreted the laws, and administered the sacred rites. Spacious groves, and those singular altars of massive unhewn stones that are found in many parts of the countries just mentioned, belonged to their primitive ceremonies, which, with the assistance of the Dews and images of darkness belonging to the ancient Scandinavian worship, appear to have handed down the mythology of Zoroaster, or rather that of Ahrimán.

Government of the Celts in Europe.

Colonies from Asia appear to have reached the most western portion of Europe by two different routes; the earlier people entered Ireland through Germany to the north, and the later, called Milesian, at the south-western extremity, having come thither by sea from the Mediterranean. The numerous circular entrenchments throughout Ireland are connected with the

Asiatic colonies enter Ireland by the north as well as the south.

[1] It has been observed that a resemblance exists between the names of the ancient provinces of Spain and certain words of Persian origin. Thus Turdetani, Lusitani, Basitani, Carpetani, &c., answer to Khoristán, Farsitán, Kurdistán, Dáhistán, &c. Hence several philologists have inferred the Asiatic origin of the first inhabitants of the Peninsula. Histoire comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Française, par Adolphe de Puibusque (Paris, 1844), compared with Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, by J. C. Prichard, vol. III., p. 44-47.

[2] The Kimmerians, already noticed, whose seat is mentioned by Ptolemy, lib. VII., cap. xi., xiii.

[3] Meaning in Sclavonic, White-beard.

[4] Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, by J. C. Prichard, vol. III., p. 49-62.

former race, and traditionally with the Danish invasions. But as the conquests of this people do not appear to have extended either to the south or the west of Ireland, and as the remains go further back than the invasions in question, in the eighth century, it is not impossible that the chains of forts may have derived their name from the supposed Asiatics, who are called in Irish history, Tuatha De Danánn:[1] by this people they may have been constructed as inclosures for their flocks, and also in part for the protection of their families.

The Tuatha De Danánn people.

Passing over the traditional history of Boath, Gadelian, and the Milesian race, it appears that Lughaidh, with a view to recover the Irish possessions of his cousin Milesius, proceeded thither with a fleet and army of Gadelians; and about 1300 B.C., according to Keating, overcame the Tuatha De Danánn. Many local circumstances confirm the belief of a connexion between Spain and the south-western coast of Ireland, and an impression prevails that at one time a colony came thither also from Barbary. During a visit made to Ireland in 1821 by Sadi Omback Benbeï, then envoy from Morocco, this individual overheard some people in the market-place at Kilkenny making remarks on his person and dress in a dialect which was intelligible to him: he recognized it as one which was spoken in the mountains to the south of Morocco,[2] and with which he had been familiar as a boy.

Traces of a colony from Barbary.

Besides the preceding, other Asiatic tribes subsequently came into Europe; namely, the Massagetæ, the Gets, the Sarmatians, and finally, the Alamians, led by fourteen different chiefs, who, with their followers, settled between the Dnieper and the Don. To these succeeded the various Hunnish tribes whose inroads and conquests have already been noticed. These were followed in succession by the Bulgarians, Hungarians, and others; so that from about 80 B.C. to the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century one horde after another poured into Europe from central Asia; thus probably connecting, through the ancient Scythians, the remains of the central Asiatic empire with the western nations.

The Huns, Bulgarians, and Hungarians, settle in Europe.

[1] Royal Genealogies, by James Anderson, D.D. Lond., 1776, fol. p. 777.

[2] The circumstance was related to Professor Hinks, LL.D., of the Munster College, by the individual himself.

Besides the population thus drawn from Asia, there were other sources of civilization which could not fail to have a lasting influence on the development of the human mind. A thirst for knowledge carried the ancient sages either into Asia, as the original seat, or to Egypt, which had become the depository of the learning of the east. From the remotest period Asia Minor has served as the high road between Asia and Europe, and having been peopled chiefly from Armenia and Assyria, two of the provinces of I'rán, it continued in a great measure dependent upon the latter, even when its political importance had almost ceased. The establishment of numerous Grecian colonies on the shores of this territory at a later period, made, therefore, but little change. The mass of the people continued as before more Persian than Greek.[1] Asia Minor was no less distinguished for its wealth and civilization, than for the number of great men to whom it gave birth, and who imparted the knowledge which they had drawn from the east to their neighbours in the west.

Knowledge sought in Asia and in Egypt.

Asia Minor connects Persia with Greece.

Our early associations too frequently foster the belief that the brilliant productions of Greece were entirely original, although most of the early authors of the country itself, as well as those who afterwards examined the subject dispassionately, were aware that the most remarkable works were but the reflex of the eastern literature, &c., obtained from Asia, either directly or through Egypt. Herodotus says,[2] "I think Melampus was a wise man, who introduced many things into Greece, which he had previously learnt in Egypt, and amongst others the mysteries of Dionysius, which he taught with some alterations of his own. At all events," adds this candid writer, "I am sure that the Egyptians have not borrowed this or anything else from the Greeks, for if any knowledge or institutions exist in Greece similar to those of Egypt, we may be certain that they were borrowed from the latter country."

Philosophy and the sciences obtained from the East.

Diodorus Siculus, taking the same view, but stating it still more strongly, gives a list of those Greeks distinguished by their wisdom and learning who had gone to study the laws and

Several Greek sages study in Asia.

[1] The Carians, according to Thucydides, spoke Persian as fluently as Greek.

[2] Lib. II., cap. xlix.

sciences of Egypt.[1] It is recorded in the sacred books of the priests, that Orpheus, Musæus, Melampodes, Dædalus, Homer, and Lycurgus of Sparta, travelled to Egypt; and at a later period, Solon, Plato, Pythagoras, Eudoxus (the mathematician), Democritus of Abdera, and Inops of Chios, also resorted thither.[2] Some memento of each individual has been preserved in that country; and in some cases, likenesses are shown, and even places named after them or the science they pursued. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that they had been to Egypt, and acquired everything for which the country was, at that time, celebrated.

The hymns of Orpheus;

It is said that Orpheus borrowed from thence most of the hymns to the gods, as well as his orgies, and the fables respecting the lower regions.[3] But be this as it may, the ceremonies of Osiris and those of Isis and Ceres differ only in name.[4] The same author states[5] that Melampodes imported the service of Dionysus (Bacchus), the fables relating to Saturn, those of the battle of the Titans, and almost the whole Grecian mythology from Egypt. Pythagoras, he tells us,[6] borrowed much information from the sacred books; and the remarkable fact is added, that he was indebted to the Egyptians for his knowledge of geometry, as well as of arithmetic, and his system of metaphysics.

the Grecian mythology;

Democritus is said to have acquired extensive knowledge of astronomy during the five years he resided in Egypt;[7] and Inops, who lived a long time with the priests and astronomers of that country, imported from thence into Greece the signs of the zodiac, the fancied orbital motion of the sun, and many other circumstances.[8]

astronomy and the other sciences imported from Egypt.

Diodorus Siculus likewise proves that Greek sculpture owed its origin to Egypt;[9] and Jamblichus[10] goes so far as to deny that civilization derived any benefit from the Greeks; but it may be observed that this author was much prejudiced against

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. I., sec. ii., cap. xxii., xxxvi.
[2] Ibid., cap. xxxvi.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.
[7] Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos., lib. IX., seg. xxxiv. *et seq.*
[8] Ibid. [9] Lib. I., sec. ii., cap. xxxvi.
[10] De Mysteriis, lib. I.

them, in consequence of their upholding paganism in opposition to Christianity.

Diogenes Laertius, who was well acquainted with the history of philosophy, literature, and civilization generally, begins his book by stating that most authors maintain that philosophy had its origin among nations foreign to the Greeks; for it was cultivated among the Persians by the Magians, among the Babylonians and Assyrians by the Chaldeans, among the Indians by the Gymnosophists, and among the Celts by the Druids, who were likewise called Semnothu or prophets.[1] Aristotle[2] and Sotion[3] say that Phœnix, Ochus, Zamolxis the Scythian, Atlas of Libya, and Vulcan, the son of Nilus, an Egyptian, were the first philosophers, and their followers were called priests or prophets. Clemens of Alexandria repeats the words of Diogenes Laertius, adding many curious details; and Plato, in speaking of the origin of astrology and Sabaism, says that astronomy was invented by the barbarians, but had been improved by the Greeks.[4]

Philosophy, literature, &c., derived from eastern nations.

Sabaism and astronomy invented by the barbarians.

An individual, however, bearing the name of Orpheus, and belonging to a much earlier period, claims attention before this philosopher, as having had a great influence on the poetry of the Greeks.

According to Plato, the first religion of the Greeks was very simple; and the sun, the moon, and nature in general, were worshipped among them as among the barbarians.[5] Philo Judæus adds, that their rites were composed from the religions of different nations; the idolatry, fables, and superstitions of the Greek mythology dating from a later period. Orpheus, who introduced foreign doctrines and ceremonies,[6] may be considered the founder of the religion of the Greeks, as well as of their poetry; and it has been supposed, with much probability, that the actions of several individuals have been ascribed to Or-

Sabaism the ancient religion of Greece.

[1] Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos., lib. I., seg. i., ii.
[2] Magic., lib. I., apud Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. i.
[3] De Successionibus, lib. XXIII., apud Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. i.
[4] Epinomis, pp. 987, 988.
[5] Plato, De Legibus, pp. 886, 887.
[6] Aristoph., Ranæ, v. 1030; Plato, Protag., p. 216.

Orpheus probably a mythical name.

pheus himself.[1] Cicero,[2] however, considers the name to be fabulous; but the opinion just mentioned appears to be highly probable. An individual bearing the name of Orpheus, was one of the principal Argonauts, and this person would, on returning home, have an opportunity of introducing in Greece the doctrines which may have been brought from central Asia by means of the great mercantile route leading thither from Trebizonde. It appears that Orpheus and his master Linus were worshipped as demigods by the Scythians as well as the Greeks; and it is asserted by Diogenes Laertius[3] that the former belonged to Scythia. He is said to have been the most ancient philosopher;[4] yet it may easily be imagined that the name in question was applied to all those persons who, about the same period, took an active part in introducing philosophy into Greece from the more enlightened countries of the east.

Orpheus and Linus worshipped in Scythia.

Jamblichus says,[5] that the hymns of Orpheus were derived from Egypt. This Orpheus, however, seems to have been a later person than the Scythian above mentioned; and he is said to have been initiated by the priests of Egypt into their religious rites.[6] He founded the mysteries of Ceres in Sparta, and also those of Hecate at Ægina,[7] in imitation of the mysteries of Isis in Egypt.

The mysteries of Ceres and Isis based on those of Egypt.

Philosophy of Linus the Scythian.

Linus, who was the master, or, according to some, the brother of Orpheus, and the instructor of Hercules in music, is also said to have invented the sphere, and to have first propounded the belief that everything emanated from one source, and returned to the same.[8]

Names of Musæus, Hercules, Hermes, &c., from the East.

But whether Orpheus were a Scythian or a European, there is reason to believe that the earlier mythological names, as Musæus, Hercules, Hermes, Apollo, Vulcan, &c., were known in the east long before they were in use among the Greeks.

[1] Varro, apud Augustin de Civitate Dei, cap. XXIV., p. 383. Antwerpia, 1701.

[2] De Naturâ Deorum, lib. I., pp. 38, 39. [3] Lib. I.

[4] Tertullian, de Anim., cap. II., p. 569.

[5] De Mysteriis, lib. I. [6] Diod. Sic., lib. I., cap. xx., xxxvi.

[7] Pausanias, in Lacon, lib. III., cap. xiii., xiv.

[8] Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. iii. Ed. Amsterdæmi.

But instances of a more direct intercourse with Asia may now be mentioned. Thales of Milet, whose mother was a native of Phœnicia,[1] learned the art of navigation in that country, and having made the Greeks acquainted with the Little Bear, by which the Phœnicians directed the course of their vessels, he was considered the first who had observed that constellation. Callimachus unintentionally makes this fact clear by stating that Thales first observed the stars on the Plaustra, by which the Phœnicians are guided in navigation; adding, that some ascribe to him the work of Phocus of Samos on nautical astronomy. This book is lost; but the circumstance of ascribing it to Thales goes far to show that it had a Phœnician source.

A work on astronomy ascribed to Thales.

Thales had no preceptor,[2] or at least none is mentioned; but it is admitted that he studied geometry in Egypt, and measured the height of the pyramids by their shadows. In addition to founding the Ionian school of philosophy, he introduced much of the knowledge of the east into Greece—as the use of the solar year, and the calculation of eclipses; he also compared the size of the moon with that of the sun.[3] The belief of the immortality of the soul, as propounded in Egypt,[4] was introduced into Greece by Thales and his contemporary Pherecydes;[5] and it was subsequently adopted and warmly supported by Plato. The theory of Thales, that water is the origin of all things,[6] is as old as the philosophy of the east: it was not only believed by the ancient Persians, but it prevailed amongst the Bedawín; and the oriental nations peopled the world with demons many centuries before the time of Thales. As it is clear that Thales studied in Egypt,[7] we may fairly conclude that his ideas, and those of his contemporaries, were borrowed from that country and others lying more eastward.

Use of the solar year and calculations of eclipses derived from the East.

Opinion in the East that water is the origin of all things.

[1] Clemens of Alexan., Stromat. I., p. 300; Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. xxii., xxiv.

[2] Clemens of Alexandria, Stromat. I., p. 300, *et seq.*

[3] Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. xxiv.

[4] Herod., lib. II., cap. cxxiii.

[5] Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. cxvi.

[6] Aristotle, Metaph., 1, 3.

[7] Josephus, Contra Apion, lib. I., p. 283.

Pherecydes the tutor of Pythagoras,

Pherecydes the philosopher, who should be distinguished from the Athenian historian of the same name, was either a native of Scyros, or, according to some authorities, of Syria or Assyria;[1] and he was the tutor of Pythagoras in the sixth century B.C.[2] Suidas,[3] Philo of Byblus, Clemens of Alexandria,[4] Hesychius of Milet, Eustathius, and Cicero,[5] agree in stating that he acquired his philosophy in Phœnicia; and Cedrenus adds, that, like Thales and Pythagoras, he visited Egypt and Chaldea in pursuit of knowledge.[6] According to Theopompus, Pherecydes was the first among the Greeks who wrote on the nature of the gods.[7] He also wrote a work on cosmogony, intitled Ἑπτάμυχος, which contains the Chaldean theories on ether, the earth, time, and the four elements.[8] Galen assigns to this author the work "De salubre virtus rationis," which is commonly printed with the works of Hippocrates; and if this be correct, it would clearly prove that medicine has an oriental origin.

and his philosophy.

Solon studies in Egypt and visits Crœsus.

Solon, the Athenian legislator, who died in the fifty-fifth Olympiad, or 549 B.C., went to Egypt; and after being hospitably received by Amasis,[9] he proceeded to visit Crœsus, who though a sovereign of Asia Minor, was surrounded by an oriental court.[10] Herodotus states,[11] that a thirst for knowledge caused those journeys, and that the one to Egypt had the particular object of collecting materials for a history, which, agreeably to ancient custom, was to be written in verse. On returning from Egypt, he expressed his conviction that neither himself nor any other Greek had any knowledge of antiquity.[12] It is difficult to ascertain how far the institutions of Solon were influenced by the philosophy of Egypt, but although the

[1] Cicero, Tusculum, lib. I., 16; Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. cxvi.
[2] Clemens of Alexandria, Stromat. I., p. 300; Suidas, Lexicon, in Pherecydes.
[3] Lexicon, in Pherecydes.
[4] Stromat I., p. 300, *et. seq.*
[5] Tusculum Disputat., lib. I., 16.
[6] Synopsis Hist., I., p. 94; Josephus, Contra Apion, lib. I., p. 283.
[7] Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. cxvi.
[8] Preface to Mas'údí, p. 35.
[9] Plato, Timæus, vol. III., p. 21.
[10] Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. l., li.
[11] Lib. I., cap. xxix., xxx.
[12] Plato, Timæus, vol. III., p. 22.

intended history was not completed, the moral influence and example of Solon, and his impressions as to the superiority of oriental learning, could not have failed to promote its advancement among the Greeks. Much of the knowledge he acquired; though not written, was preserved traditionally, and one fragment is given by Plato.[1]

Admitted superiority of oriental learning.

Ctesias, during his residence of seventeen years as physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, had great opportunities of ascertaining the state of the eastern countries, and he wrote twenty-three books on the history of western Asia. The first six contained an account of the Assyrians, and of the times preceding the Persian conquest; and the remainder contained the history of the Persians. As his account differs from that given by Herodotus, in his first, second, and third books, opinions regarding this author are very conflicting. But in comparing the extracts preserved by Diodorus Siculus[2] with the Sháh Nameh, it is found that his account approaches that of the Persian writers more nearly than that of Herodotus; and as he had the use of the royal archives, his materials must have been of the best description. His Indian history, however, had not the same advantage, and is therefore more questionable; yet there is much to show that an intercourse must have existed between Persia and India, and, therefore, indirectly between the latter and Europe.

Position and intercourse of Ctesias with the east.

Hecateus was born 549 B.C.,[3] and died 497 B.C.; consequently he was one of the earliest Greek historians and geographers. Herodotus[4] and Agathemerus[5] inform us that he received instruction from the Egyptian priests; and, according to the latter, he subsequently visited Persia. On returning to his native place, Milet, he persuaded his countrymen to abandon the conspiracy which had been formed to throw off the Persian yoke. The arguments he used, namely, the power of the sovereign and the number of kingdoms which were subject to his authority, show that he was well acquainted with

Hecateus studies in Egypt and Persia.

[1] Timæus, vol. III., pp. 22–25. [2] Lib. II., cap. iii., *et seq.*

[3] Larcher's Herodotus, tome II., note 505; Charles and Theodore Müller fix the same year.

[4] Lib. II., cap. cxliii. [5] Hudson's Minor Geographers.

the extent of the vast empire then under either Cyrus or Cambyses.[1] This traveller and pupil of the oriental school should be considered the father of Greek history, and the fountain from which so much relating to the geography and history of the east[2] was borrowed; and so highly was he esteemed, that Cereidas of Megalopolis[3] professed his readiness to die, because he hoped after death to meet Pythagoras and Hecateus. No less than 380 quotations from this author are collected in the "Fragmenta Historicum Græcorum, Paris, 1841."

and was the first Greek historian.

Hellanicus studies in Egypt and visits Persia,

Hellanicus, a contemporary of Herodotus, and one of the most influential of the Greeks, wrote a history of the east, but little more regarding his life has come down to us. It appears, however, from Plutarch,[4] that he visited Egypt, where he received instruction in history from the priests. It is probable, though not quite certain, that he also visited Persia, for the fragments which remain regarding the Getes agree with the accounts given by Herodotus[5] of this people. It is a curious circumstance that Hellanicus speaks of a Historia Sacerdotum of the Greeks; therefore something like a hierarchy must then have existed among them. Besides a work on ethnography, which showed the extent of his knowledge of eastern nations, and which has been quoted under various titles, Hellanicus wrote a history of Persia, and another of Babylon; and it is very curious that he followed a system which may be considered peculiar to the Arabs and Shemitic people generally, of expressing the relationship of two nations or tribes, by calling their rulers or founders, brothers; thus they would say, Saxo, Francus, and Hessus, were three brothers, and sons of Germanicus, who was the brother of Anghis.

and writes a history of Persia and Babylon.

Pythagoras visits the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Magi,

Pythagoras was acquainted with the Egyptian language, and visited the Chaldeans as well as the Magi.[6] It is even stated, that he travelled as far as India, and that he was a disciple of Zamolxis or Zalmoxis the Scythian.[7] He was circumcised in

[1] Herodotus, lib. V., cap. xxxvi.
[2] Diog. Laert., lib. I., seg. x.
[3] Apud Ælianum Var., Hist. xiii., 20.
[4] De Iside et Osiri, p. 364, D.
[5] Lib. IV., cap. xciii.-xcvi.
[6] Diog. Laert., lib. VIII., seg. iii.
[7] Clemens of Alexandria, Stromat. I., p. 303, C.

Egypt, in order that he might be initiated into the mysteries of Bhuddism; for, as it will presently be shown, he afterwards founded this religion in Greece. He was likewise initiated in other oriental mysteries:[1] and he conscientiously and implicitly followed the most trifling regulations of the eastern priests. He carefully abstained from certain kinds of food, both meat[2] and drink, and wore a particular dress; the bent of his mind was towards religious obedience, rather than the pursuit of philosophy, and he possessed an inquiring spirit. His religious tendency appears to have become a fixed principle during his sojourn with the priests of various establishments in the east. There is little doubt that during his prolonged residence in these countries, he had acquired the eastern languages, and these gave him ready access to stores of knowledge which had not then much deteriorated.

and studies the eastern philosophy.

On returning to his native country, Pythagoras founded a Bhuddistic order, the influence of which, as a learned institution, could not fail to be very great among the Greeks, who were then without any literature of their own: the school of Pythagoras, therefore, held nearly the same place in Greece, as that of the prophets held in other countries.

He founds a religious system and school of philosophy in Greece.

Pythagoras has been called the father of geometry, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and natural philosophy; and to this sage has been attributed many discoveries in the arts, as well as the institution of the priest caste. The supposed inventions were, however, chiefly if not entirely borrowed from the easterns;[3] but as learned men subsequently studied the Pythagorean philosophy in Grecia Magna for several centuries, the belief was established that the tenets inculcated were those of the founder of that school.

It is not known whether eastern books were brought to Greece by Pythagoras, or whether he merely translated passages for the use of his pupils. His Golden Verses (Aurea Carmina) appear so completely Bhuddistic, that possibly, the original, in

The Golden Verses supposed to have been of eastern origin.

[1] Diog. Laert. lib. VIII., seg. iii.

[2] Cicero, de Naturâ Deorum, lib. II., p. 16.

[3] Clemens of Alexandria, Stromat. I., p. 303, C. Lutitiæ, 1629.

a Sanscrit or Tibetan version, may yet be found in some monastery of that religion in China or elsewhere.

Pythagoras was the next after Homer who wrote a work on the use of plants, the origin of which he ascribed to Apollo and the gods generally. Another work on the same subject was written by Democritus: both philosophers were prepared for the task by previous study under the Magi of Persia, and the learned men in Arabia, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

Plato studies under the Egyptian priests.

Plato, after studying under Socrates, went at the age of twenty-eight to prosecute his studies at Megara; and subsequently he acquired the Pythagorean philosophy under Philolaus and Eurytus, two of its most distinguished disciples. He soon, however, saw the advantage of seeking knowledge at its source; and, with this object in view, he proceeded in the first instance to Egypt, where he continued for some time studying under the priests.[1] Subsequently he reached Persia,[2] but he was prevented by existing wars from visiting India;[3] so that he must have acquired the Indian philosophy in Persia.[4] He died at Athens about 348 B. C., being in his eighty-first year.

In numerous passages of his works, Plato acknowledges that he was indebted for many things to the Egyptian priests, of whom he always speaks in high terms.[5] It is, however, to be observed, that the philosophical theories which he found scattered through Greek literature were, for the most part, of oriental origin; and it is probable, that if his own system were closely analysed, little would be found that was not originally eastern. Plato was a man of powerful genius, although what he says of the Greeks in general, respecting their having borrowed astronomy and star worship from the barbarians,[6] and also respecting their improvement of whatever they imported,[7] may be applied to himself. He purified and refined upon the oriental philosophy, using in his writings beautiful language, and an attractive style; so that, through his works, wisdom

Grecian astronomy and star worship brought from the East.

[1] Diog. Laert., lib. III., seg. vi. [2] Pliny, lib. XXX., cap. i.
[3] Diog. Laert., lib. III., seg. vii.
[4] Clemens of Alex., Stromat. I., p. 303, C. Lutitiæ, 1629.
[5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. [7] Platonis, Epinomis, p. 988.

and truth passed from nation to nation in the most pleasing form.

Philosophy improved by Plato.

Previously to his time, eastern philosophy had been clothed in the forbidding garb of dogmas, by Hermes, Zoroaster, and other sages, who called themselves prophets: its precepts were committed to memory;[1] and, probably, it was only understood by the priests. The dogmas being given as positive commands, no room was left for the exercise of reason; but in the works of Plato the same ideas are conveyed under the form of a dialogue between friends, the result of which was to give pleasure while conveying instruction. The conformity of Plato's tenets to those of the Hindús is manifest from the following passage in Clemens of Alexandria:—"It is evident that the Greeks honoured the barbarians most highly in considering them as their teachers and the givers of their laws, and even calling them gods. They (the barbarians) think that good souls, as Plato says, having left their celestial habitation, submitted to come into this lower region, where, taking upon them bodies, they became participators in all the ills which are contracted in this life: in their care of the human race they framed laws, and taught philosophy, than which no greater good ever came or will come to the human race.[2]"

Plato's knowledge of the East acquired in Egypt and Persia.

The preceding words evidently allude to the inauguration of Krishna, and it would appear, from what is added by the commentator, that he understood them in this sense. Now, as Plato did not reach India, it is evident that he must have acquired a knowledge of that philosophy either in Egypt or Persia.

The immortality of the soul known to the Easterns.

A belief in the immortality of the soul is admitted to have passed to the Greek from the Egyptians, and there is reason to believe that it came to the latter from more eastern countries. Noah himself could not have been ignorant of this great truth, even if it can be supposed to have been forgotten or lost during the ages immediately preceding the deluge, when mankind had reached the greatest state of corruption.

What has been observed regarding Plato, may equally be applied to the most distinguished of his pupils, Aristotle. The

[1] Clemens of Alexan., Stromat. I.

[2] Stromat. I., p. 303, A.

Aristotle's natural history drawn from Asia.

work of the latter on natural philosophy, the description of exotic animals, and of the Nile, the works on magic and ether, and the whole book, De Cœlo, bear the impress of an oriental origin. This is particularly shown by two circumstances, namely, the description of the elephant and the rites of the Magi, since both must have had an eastern source. Aristotle collected much information by conversing with natives of the east; and his contemporary, Eudotas, asserts, that he had frequently seen him in the society of persons, from whom he obtained information, adding that much of his knowledge was drawn from sacred works, and likewise from his predecessors who had studied in the east.

His philosophy derived from the East.

The principles contained in the book, De Cœlo, had been known for a thousand years in the east, and the acquaintance of Aristotle with the eastern animals and plants, which he describes, must have been from his own personal inspection, or that of some individual at their native places. The celebrated work on logic was supposed to be almost entirely translated from Ocellus, who is known to have derived his philosophy from the east.

Plato's philosophy compared with that of Aristotle.

Plato's philosophy is that of the Indo-Chinese nations, whilst that of his pupil approaches the philosophy of the Shemitic people. The latter having the laws of the human understanding (logic) as a basis, may be said to begin by the study of nature, particularly as revealed in the science of astronomy. Aristotle thus lays the foundation of metaphysics; and, that the doctrines and principles of the Chaldeans were followed by this philosopher may be proved indirectly by the fact, that the Arabians, who ever retained among them the philosophy of the Chaldeans, and who followed it exclusively before the works of Aristotle were translated into Arabic, afterwards readily adopted those works when introduced into their country, to the exclusion of the works of Plato. The Múḥammedan theologists and lawyers being prepared to receive the tenets of the philosopher of Stagira, with which, from their previous studies, they were already familiar.

Plato's philosophy had its origin

It would appear that Plato's philosophy had its origin in the regions of Persia and India; for he and other philosophers

considered the tenets of the Magi as the perfection of wisdom.[1] Following the Indians particularly, Plato despises the present, for the sake of a future life; and like them he rests philosophy on the imagination rather than on the reason.

in Persia and India.

The philosopher Democritus formed an early and close link between Greece and Assyria, having been brought up and instructed by the Magians and Chaldeans, who accompanied Xerxes to the former country, and who were, it appears, for some time inmates of his father's house.[2] It is supposed that he was one of the youths, who, by command of Xerxes, were instructed in the religion and philosophy of Persia, with a view to their introduction into Greece. Orpheus, however, was the first who introduced magism and medicine,[3] but it appears that Osthanes was the chief instrument, and that magism made great progress in that country, after the wars of Xerxes.[4] It is certain, also, that Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato, passed the sea, and exiled themselves from their native land, in order to bring to it the philosophy of the east.[5] It is stated by Diogenes Laertius,[6] that when Democritus was of age, he increased his knowledge by travelling to India and Ethiopia, as Pythagoras had done, and as Plato had intended to do. Moreover, the author in question, as well as others, mention certain Egyptian doctrines as being of Indian origin; and even the Egyptians themselves, in some instances, admitted that they had learned them from the Hindús. It would, therefore, appear from this admission, that, in the opinion of the Egyptians, the Magian and the Indian were at that time the most distinguished schools of philosophy, and those in which a learned education should terminate.

Democritus taught by the Magi and Chaldeans.

Magism makes progress in Greece.

Egyptian doctrines of Hindú origin.

Democritus appears to have been taught astronomy by the Chaldeans, and when Anaxagoras published the opinions of the latter, he showed that they were much more ancient than his time, and admitted to whom they belonged; but in acquiring a technical knowledge of theology from the Magi, he adopted their superstitions as well as their philosophy.[7]

Democritus introduces eastern astronomy, &c., into Greece.

[1] Pliny, lib. XXX, cap. i.
[2] Diog. Laert., lib. IX., seg. xxxv.
[3] Pliny, lib. XXX., cap. i.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Lib. IX., seg. xxxv., &c.
[7] Pliny, lib. XXX., cap. i.

His works, however, on astronomy, geometry, music, botany, &c., were considered the bases of these sciences by the Greeks; and the principles being once established, or laid down, it was easy to make improvements: nor is it difficult to perceive that, in most instances, such improvements were the result of careful attention to eastern literature, though, naturally enough, they have been ascribed to the individual who first introduced them. For instance, to Œonopides, of Cos or Coos, the cotemporary of Democritus, was attributed the discovery of the obliquity of the ecliptic, whereas he learned this important fact from the Egyptians.

Herodotus travels to collect materials for history.

Halicarnassus, now Boudroun, the birth-place of the distinguished Herodotus, was more of a Persian than a Greek city. It was for a time under Lydia,[1] and it again reverted to the power of the great king.[2] The travels during which Herodotus collected materials for his history, included Tyre,[3] Palestine,[4] Syria, Mesopotamia, Media and Babylonia,[5] Colchis, the Phasis, and the coast of the Black Sea. He also remained for a considerable time in Egypt, where he visited every town of importance.[6] It is supposed that he must have acquired the Persian language, as he frequently compares the authorities of that kingdom with those of Greece and Lydia.

The account given of eastern history bears the stamp of oriental tradition, which, though tolerably correct as to isolated circumstances, has, in many instances, been either mixed up with other matters, or the same event has been applied to different individuals, or to different periods of time. For

He confounds Phraortes with Dejoces.

example, Herodotus[7] relates of Phraortes, the predecessor of Dejoces, nearly all that the Persians say of the latter (Kaikobad). The revolt of the Medes against the Assyrians was, like all eastern revolutions, caused by the machinations of a powerful governor, who attempted to form a separate dynasty.[8] The precision of Herodotus, however, regarding the history of Cyrus[9] (since borne out by inscriptions), and

[1] Herod, lib. I., cap. xxvii.
[2] Ibid., cap. clxxiv.
[3] Ibid., lib. II., cap. xliv.
[4] Ibid., lib. II., cap. cvi.; lib. III., cap. v.
[5] Ibid., lib. II., cap. civ.
[6] Ibid., lib. II, cap. xxix., xxxii.
[7] Lib. I., cap. xcv.
[8] Ibid., lib. I., cap. xcvi., xcvii.
[9] Lib. I., cap. cvii., cviii, &c.

many other facts which could scarcely have been detailed from memory, show that he had the use of original oriental materials for the chief part of his invaluable history. But as these were probably difficult of access, and oral testimony more common, it is probable that a large portion of their information reached the Greeks through the latter medium. It may be observed, that rules of operation in science were frequently known to the Greeks before their investigations had reached them. Thus, Thales learned to calculate eclipses before the principles of astronomy had been brought into Greece. This was particularly the case with medicine, as the priests only communicated its most important precepts to their Greek pupils. In philosophy they propounded axioms; in astronomy they gave the leading principles in short sentences. In general, the priests, as shown in the cases of Solon and Herodotus, read a subject from their books, when their pupils, if so disposed, committed what they heard to writing.

His materials were partly written, partly oral.

Manner in which the Egyptian priests gave instruction.

The historians who succeeded Herodotus were more anxious about style than fidelity, schools of rhetoric being the favourite establishments; and Isocrates was compared to the famous wooden horse of Troy on account of the number of distinguished pupils who proceeded from his school. As regarded ancient history, however, the Greek writers of this time mostly contented themselves with making extracts from the labours of their more diligent predecessors, who had travelled for the purpose of collecting traditional history. Even the Cyropædia and the Anabasis are confined to barren facts, without any attempt being made to show what had brought them about. Geography, one of the eyes of history, is almost entirely overlooked; yet, owing to the importance of the subjects, these works have lived, and will continue to live, notwithstanding their defects.

Rhetoric supersedes history.

Defects of ancient history.

The eastern origin of many sciences is sufficiently evident: astronomy, in particular, was first reduced to a system in the celebrated school of Alexandria; but it had existed long previously, and the popular knowledge which the Egyptians possessed of this science might have served as the basis of that

Astronomy derived from the East.

which was taught in the new school, even if the works of Hipparchus had not existed.

Ptolemy first established a system of astronomy.

Ptolemy, who was one of the most distinguished astronomers, brought into a system all the discoveries which had been previously made; and having verified the facts by observations, his work, giving the result, became the text-book of all subsequent astronomers for the next thousand years.

Astronomy declines after the time of Pythagoras.

The fragments preserved by the Greeks apparently give but a faint idea of the actual state of this science among eastern nations. It is possible that the Copernican system may have been known to Pythagoras; but as the knowledge of this system would have overthrown the ancient religions, the priests naturally kept it to themselves, and thus it was almost lost during the decline of knowledge which took place in the east from the time of Pythagoras. Without, however, entering more into the question, it may be sufficient here to observe, that the progress which it is admitted had been made by the Indo-Chinese and Egyptian nations, as well as at Babylon, establishes the fact that astronomy has an undoubted claim to an eastern origin.

Mechanics and geometry derived from the East.

Mechanics owed many great improvements to Archimedes, who, although not one of the Alexandrian school, had studied the science in Egypt, where, for the transport of ponderous weights and the construction of vast edifices, it was in constant application.

It is admitted, also, that geometry was first brought into practical use in this kingdom: it is not, therefore, surprising that Euclid was enabled to publish a new and complete work on the subject almost immediately after the foundation of the Alexandrian school. As this science was unconnected with religion, mystery was not necessary, and for this reason it is more than probable that the Greek philosophers who resorted to Egypt had every facility given them for its acquisition; and, in fact, before the time of Euclid, they were acquainted with many of its most important propositions.

Mineralogy was unknown to the Greeks, except so far as they derived a knowledge of it from the east, where metals and

the precious stones are much more abundant than in Europe,[1] and where they have long been well known and classed.[2] That the ancients were acquainted with the mineral kingdom, is evident from many passages in the book of Genesis, and from other parts of the sacred volume.[3] Some stones were considered as talismans, and were sacred to the planets, while others were supposed to possess medicinal properties. According to the Dabistan, every plant could be represented or depicted by different stones and metals; and the Book of Precious Stones, compiled by Múḥammed Ibn Manṣúr[4] in the seventh century of the Hijrah for the use of the Sháh of Persia, an original and valuable work, clearly shows the eastern origin of mineralogy.

The Easterns were well acquainted with mineralogy.

Work of Ibn Manṣúr on precious stones.

Botany was noticed by Pythagoras and Democritus;[5] and in ascribing the discovery of the use of plants to the gods, Pythagoras indirectly acknowledges that his materials were derived from Egypt. The work of Theophrastus on plants is written in accordance with the religious ideas of the ancient Asiatic nations; and his vanity in adding the Egyptian synonymes, in order to display his erudition, of itself establishes the fact that this branch of knowledge had been previously cultivated in Egypt.

Botany studied by Pythagoras and Democritus.

Dioscorides, who is supposed to have been the physician of Antony and Cleopatra, in his work on medicinal herbs, seldom fails to add their barbarian names. The medicinal properties are, in most cases, correctly defined, and the writer seems to have been better acquainted with the flora of Egypt and of some parts of Asia than he was with that of Greece and Italy.

Dioscorides and medicine.

Even before the time of Hippocrates some physicians appear to have maintained that blood was the principle of life,[6] and the theory is advocated in the Ḳorán. In Genesis, also,

Blood the principle of life, according to Hippocrates.

[1] Pliny, lib. XXXVII., cap. iv., v., &c.

[2] Vol. I., pp. 75, 76.

[3] Gen. chap. II., v. 12; Exod., chap. XXVIII., v. 9, 17-20. See also Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezekiel, &c.

[4] Translated about thirty years ago by Von Hammer.

[5] Pliny, lib. XXV., cap. iii.

[6] Hipp., De Naturâ Hominis.

the blood is called the life.[1] Hippocrates, however, attempts to prove that life is the result of mixture, and that the four elements, fire, water, air, and earth, form ingredients which, in the animal frame, are represented by four humours, blood, mucus, and black and yellow bile. Pythagoras, Plato, Hierophilus, and Galen were of the same opinion, as were also the Chinese, the Chaldeans, and, in fact, all the other nations of antiquity, and the theory was connected with the worship of the stars.[2] There is, therefore, no doubt that the opinion of Hippocrates and his knowledge of medicine were derived from the east, although we have no account of his having travelled thither. The amount of geographical and ethnographical[3] science which he displays, particularly his knowledge of the Scythians,[4] which even exceeds that of Herodotus, is, however, very great. He was evidently perfectly acquainted with Egypt and Western Asia as well as his own country; and the Greeks of Alexandria subsequently acquired and followed the system of medicine which he had developed. Galen does not admit that Hippocrates derived his knowledge chiefly, or even partially, from the east, while he mentions the medical skill of the ancient Egyptians. It is, however, right to observe that the learned and talented Galen, whose books contain almost everything that was known to the ancients about medicine, asserts that Hippocrates was the first to propound the theory of the four elements. The warm and cold medicines of Galen were intended to counteract the irregularities arising from the excess of one or the other of those elements, and this treatment prevailed throughout the Greek practice of medicine. We find similar ideas among the Chinese: the heart (Lis) is placed under the sign of heaven, and has the nature of fire; its action is greatest in summer: the liver, Lie or Xipr, is the celestial sign for spring; the bladder answers to the element of water, and belongs to the north, cold; the lungs are under the celestial sign grungús, and answer to the earth, as well as

Opinions of Hierophilus and Galen.

The geographical and medical knowledge of Hippocrates was derived from the East.

Medical system of Galen, like that of the Chinese.

[1] Chap. IX., v. 4. [2] Preface to Mas'údí, by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

[3] The character of Asiatics, contrasted with that of Europeans, drawn by Hippocrates himself, gives evidence of his enlarged mind.

[4] Hipp., De Ære et Locis.

the five metals, Vám Hó Hó, corresponding to the same number of planets.[1]

In addition to the preceding circumstances, the reader may be reminded of the influence which the Anabasis is admitted to have exercised upon modern warfare, as it previously had done upon the movements of the conqueror of the world, and of the nobler result which followed from the conquests of Alexander: these united Europe with Asia in intellectual intercourse, and have produced more important consequences than any other event recorded in the profane history of mankind. Influence of Alexander's conquests.

It has been seen that the intercourse with the east, which commenced with Alexander, was continued by the wars of his successors, and again by those of the Parthians and Romans. To the latter succeeded the wide-spreading conquests of the Arabs, the enterprises of the crusaders, and the western spread of the Mongol and Tartar hordes, which, in some measure, amalgamated Asia and Europe by means of numerous colonies coming from the former into the latter continent. The last considerable body of easterns was that of the 'Osmánlí Turks, who established themselves in Europe in the fourteenth century. Continuation of eastern intercourse after the time of Alexander.

Subsequent intercourse between the east and the west has been chiefly confined to the important but peaceful operations of the merchant or the journeyings of travellers. Combining the character of merchant and traveller, and taking advantage of the information obtained by Carpini, Ascelin, and Rubruquis, in 1254, the celebrated Venetian, Marco Polo, after visiting the khán of the western Tartars, and rounding the Caspian Sea, reached Bokhárá in 1260, and being successful in his speculations, he made his way to the court of Kublai, the great khán of the Mongols. Here he so completely ingratiated himself into favour that he was employed on different embassies, which made him acquainted with nearly one-half of Asia, and also with many of the islands of the Indian seas. Merchants and travellers visit eastern countries. Marco Polo reaches Bokhárá, and

He visited Malacca, Ceylon, Malabar, and Ormúz, and returned to Italy after an absence of nineteen years, bringing returns by way of the Persian Gulf.

[1] Apud Cleyer de Medicinâ Sinicâ, p. 9, compare Hipp., De Naturâ, cap. cxi.

with him such a fund of information about Asia, collected from personal observation as well as that of others, that he has justly obtained the title of the Herodotus of the middle ages.

Vasco de Gama rounds the Cape.

It is believed that his work materially influenced the views of Columbus in his search for a passage to India, and also those of the mariner Vasco de Gama, who, in proceeding thitherward, first doubled the Cape of Good Hope. At a time when so little was known of the east, the narrative of this persevering traveller naturally appeared quite marvellous; but time and a better acquaintance with these countries have established its fidelity.

At this period the Venetians were carrying on a lucrative commerce with India by the Red Sea; whilst their rivals, the Genoese, reached the same part of the world from the shores of Asia Minor by way of the Black Sea, the Crimea, Kaffa, Azov, Astrakhan, Khiva, and Tashkend.

Jenkinson's overland journey.

Emulating the success of the Venetian and Genoese trade to India by these routes, Jenkinson and others were despatched from England, in 1557 and in subsequent years, to open a trade with China through the Caspian Sea. But the real state of the eastern countries being little understood, none of the parties even communicated with those who carried on the trade through central Asia.

Charter for trade with Babylon.

A charter was given to the Levant Company in 1585, by Queen Elizabeth, to trade to Babylon, &c.; and, in 1599, another company was formed to trade to India, and establish factories in China, Japan, India, Amboyna, Java, and Sumatra; when Mildenhall, Hawkins, Sir Thomas Roe, and others were despatched overland, in consequence, to the court of the Great Mogul, in order to establish commercial relations with that power.

Benjamin of Tudela's travels.

Various ancient travellers likewise contributed to this object. One of the most remarkable was Benjamin of Tudela, who, between 1160 and 1173, in his persevering search after the sons of Israel, visited, besides several countries in Europe, the principal parts of Syria, Persia, and Arabia: he has described the places he has seen with manifest fidelity.

Edrisi and Abú-l-fedá.

The geography of Edrisi, arranged like that of Ptolemy

according to climates, and that of Abú-l-feḍá, both of them valuable works, subsequently appeared; and, still later, one by the traveller Ibn Batuta, who spent thirty years (from 1324 to 1354) in visiting different countries. As a Muslim, who could every where claim hospitality, the difficulties of the journey were greatly diminished, if compared with those experienced by Christian travellers. Having visited the regions from Timbuctoo to the eastern coast of China, he may be considered the most extensive of all travellers.[1]

Rauwolf, Balbi, Fitch, &c.

The line of the Euphrates was a good deal frequented at a later period. Rauwolf descended the river in 1574, and the Venetian jeweller Balbi in 1579; also, Fitch, Eldred, and others did so in 1583, with merchandise. Pococke commenced his travels in 1640, and Niebuhr visited Mesopotamia in 1762; Olivier travelled between 1793 and 1798, and the author of the present work between 1829 and 1832.

Expedition of the French into Egypt.

With a view to the extension of the eastern trade which the French had long carried on extensively from Aleppo, a formidable expedition quitted Toulon and landed at Alexandria in 1798. The city founded by the king of Macedon for a like purpose was selected, on account of its advantageous position, by the modern Alexander; and Napoleon Bonaparte proposed to make it once more the emporium of eastern commerce. Some of the most talented scientific men of whom France could boast accompanied the expedition, and were forthwith employed in elucidating the ancient monuments, in ascertaining the capabilities, and at the same time developing the resources, of the country. The height of the Red Sea, as compared with that of the Mediterranean, was carefully determined, and a water communication was projected between those seas, while *Barràges* and other works were planned to command the fertilizing effects of the Nile. The battle of Aboukir arrested these projects; while the march into Syria and Persia was cut short by the noble defence of 'Aḳḳá; and the French army at length capitulated in consequence of a well-timed combination of the British forces arriving almost simultaneously both from India and Europe.

Scientific objects contemplated.

Improvements projected in Egypt.

[1] Travels of Ibn Batuta, translated by Professor Lee, of Cambridge.

Denon's great work on Egypt.

Although the project itself was defeated, the French expedition has been attended with many advantages. The great work of Denon is of itself worth the whole expedition. An increased commerce has been one result of this undertaking, which has also been the means of extending our knowledge of eastern nations and facilitating our intercourse with them.

Subsequent plans of Napoleon for an expedition to India.

It would appear that Napoleon, as emperor, did not abandon the plans he had formed as general; and the projected march towards India, which had been foiled before the walls of 'Akká was intended to be renewed under more favourable circumstances. His first project was to have followed the daring march of Alexander from the shores of the Mediterranean towards the banks of the Ganges. His later intention was to pursue the steps of Trajan and Julian.

Having acquired a better knowledge of the country, Napoleon proposed to land an adequate force at the mouth of the Orontes, where a trusty individual, provided with a secret signal, was to await the arrival of the armament, in order to guide the army to Mar'ash. This city was chosen as the place of the first operations; the adjoining forest being capable of supplying timber for the construction of the flotilla, by which the troops were to descend the Euphrates. This being accomplished, Basrah was to have been fortified as a place d'armes, and base of future operations: the details of this project were made known officially to a gentleman who was the author's informant.

The great continental war, however, at that time called Napoleon to another field of enterprise; but his favourite project was still cherished. The hope of obtaining the riches of India, and of acquiring ships, colonies, and commerce, still haunted his imagination; and the following was part of the secret treaty of Tilsit:—

Secret articles in the Treaty of Tilsit.

"France and Russia in conjunction to march an army of 70,000 men to the banks of the Indus.

"Austria to allow the French troops to march through her territories, and to assist their descent down the Danube to the Black Sea.

"A Russian force of 35,000 men to assemble at Astrachan;

25,000 regulars, and 10,000 Cossacks. This force to be conveyed across the Caspian Sea to Aster-ābád, there to await the arrival of the French troops.

The combined army to rendezvous at Aster-ābád.

" Aster-ābád to be the rendezvous of the combined army; to contain the magazines for military stores and provisions, and to be the central point of the line of communication between France, Hindústán, and Russia.

" The French division of 35,000 men to embark in boats on the Danube, and to sail down that river to the Black Sea.

" On their arrival, to proceed in transports supplied by Russia across the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov to Taganroc; to pass thence up the right bank of the Don, to the small Cossack town of Piali Izbianca; to cross the Don there, and march by land to the city of Czavitzin, on the right bank of the Wolga.

" To embark on the Wolga and descend to Astrachan.

" From Astrachan to embark on the Caspian for Aster-ābád.

" On the junction of the French and Russians at Aster-ābád, the combined army immediately to begin its march, and proceed by the cities of Meshíd, Herat, Furrah, and Kandahár to the Indus." The computed duration of the march of the French division from the place of embarkation on the Danube to the river Indus was 119 days.

Proposed route for an army from Aster-ābád.

" Aster-ābád is a town in the province of Mázanderán, close under the Elburz mountains, and the only difficulty for artillery is said to be from the town to two miles beyond Yeavest (altogether about fourteen miles), partly forest and partly mountain. But an easier road than this exists from Aster-ābád by Kislauh; and the author of this plan considers that, by taking the eastern road by Aster-ābád through the lands inhabited by the Yemsol and Gohlan tribes, the steep passes of the Elburz might be avoided.

" After reaching Shahrud, on the road to Meshíd, the force might divide, one division proceeding by the direct road to Meshíd, and the other by Jah Jerm and Kuchan: this latter is two or three days farther, and the marches longer; but good water is abundant, while the country is better peopled and cultivated."

CHAPTER XVII.

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE OF THE EAST.

State of Oriental Literature considered at four different periods.—Asiatic Civilization during the first period.—Thales and other Sages acquire Knowledge in the East.—Intercourse between Asia and Europe.—Second Period: Literary intercourse commenced by Alexander the Great.—Library and School of Alexandria.—The people of the East were prepared for Christianity.—Influence of the change of Religion upon Literature.—Spread of Learning and Civilization from Alexandria.—Rome becomes the centre of the Christian world.—Third period: Rise of the Arab nation.—The Arabs resort to Literature as an occupation, and become the medium of modern Civilization.—Study of the Ḳorán, and practical use of Astronomy, Geometry, Grammar, and Jurisprudence.—Learned men employed at Baghdád.—History, Novels, and learned works.—Music and Literature cultivated by the Arabs in the eighth century.—Bede's knowledge of Eastern Countries, and use of Arabic names, &c.—The Benedictine Monks.—Their friendly relations with the Arabs.—The Monks spread a knowledge of the East.—The modern Sciences cultivated at Baghdád.—Pursuits of Al Mámún.—Rare Works collected. Sanscrit and other Works translated.—Cultivation of Astronomy.—The Abbot of St. Gallen.—Arabic Manuscripts collected and preserved in Europe.—The Moors introduce Arabic Learning into Europe.—Rhymes of Olfrid.—European Versification like the Arabic.—Provençale Poetry, and Rhymes of Boethius.—Lyric and romantic Poetry.—The Italians adopt the Arabic Poetry.—Mathematical Sciences studied in Spain.—First use of Indian Notation.—Arabic studied in the Schools in France and Spain.—Spread of Arabic Learning in Europe.—Learned Arabs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.—Progress of Oriental studies in Africa.—Gerhard of Cremona translates the Almagest and other works.—Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo, encourages Oriental studies.—Abú-l-Senna and other works translated.—First translation of the Ḳorán.—Hermannus translates Aristotle's works.—Constantinus introduces Arabic medicine into Italy.—Travels and Acquirements of Constantinus.—Adelard of Bath, and his translation of Euclid, &c.—Astronomical Tables prepared.—Adelard's Treatise on the Astrolabe.—Arabic Seminaries in France and Spain.—Samuel, a Jew of Fez.—Translation of El Battáni's works.—Roger of Hereford.—Daniel Morley.—The Emperor Frederic II. encourages Eastern Learning.—His Circular to the Colleges, &c.—Michael Scot and his Translations.—Alphonso encourages the study of Astronomy.—Fourth period: Superiority of Western Literature over that of Eastern Countries.

PURSUING the account just given of the intercourse between Asia and Europe in early times, the literature and the sciences of

those continents will now be noticed. The introduction of oriental studies in the west is intimately connected with the general history of mankind, and the account of their progress may be distributed in four different ages.

Eastern and western literature divided into four periods.

The first comprises the period from the dawn of history to the reign of Philip of Macedon. The second extends from that of Alexander to the rise of Múḥammed. The third relates to the great change brought about by the Arabs, with its influence on the learning of the middle ages; and the fourth, to the state of literature in modern times.

State of Asia during the first epoch.

Without going back to the ages of tradition and fable, it may be observed that towards the latter part of the remarkable period which first claims attention, western Asia was distinguished by the number as well as the power of the empires which it contained. One was the Scythian, which spread over central Asia; another was the Assyrian; a third, the Babylonian; and others were seated in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt.

The civilization of Asia and Africa preceded that of Europe.

Whilst Europe was in comparative darkness, Asia and Africa had probably lost but little of their earlier and more advanced civilization. The valleys of the Euphrates, the Oxus, and the Nile, had no doubt witnessed the energies of the earliest cultivators of the soil; while corn, fruits, domestic animals, and implements of husbandry passed from the east to the west, probably following the tide of migration along the shores of the Baltic, and those of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, carrying knowledge and civilization in their train. Although as it were lost for a time, enough remains to show the early existence of oriental learning, and to enable us to trace its progress into Europe, where it became the basis of modern literature and science.

Colonies and civilization came by two routes into Europe.

Thales and other ancient sages sought knowledge in Asia.

During the part of the first period, extending from about the thirteenth to the fourth century B.C., are found the names of Linus the Scythian, Thales, Pherecydes, Solon, Pythagoras, Hecateus, Hellanicus, Herodotus, Plato, Democritus, Hippocrates, Ctesias, Theophrastus, and Aristotle. All these sages were connected, personally or otherwise, with eastern

countries;[1] and the philosophy of I'rán and India was, by their care, elaborated into the more perfect system which was afterwards diffused through Europe.

Mercantile and religious intercourse between Europe and Asia.

Through the Greek colonies in Asia, especially those established near Ṭarábuzún, a friendly intercourse was maintained between that part of Asia Minor and Greece, which continued up to the time of Alexander. It may also be observed, that to commercial communications were joined those of a religious character. Flotillas annually carried pilgrims from Greece towards those parts of Asia Minor which were considered sacred; and at one period this circumstance gave to the literary men, even of Sicily, great facilities of obtaining information from the east. Philistus, for instance, who was born in the 86th Olympiad, must have had literary intercourse with Egypt, since he wrote several works on subjects relating to that country,[2] apparently without having visited it. Græcia Magna also became the seat of a philosophy,[3] based upon the tenets of Pythagoras and the doctrines disseminated by Pherecydes.

Literary intercourse between Greece and Egypt.

Influence of the Cyropædia and Anabasis,

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the "Cyropædia" and the "Anabasis" have long held high rank with relation to Asiatic history, or that there were other influential circumstances connected with Asia in operation about the same period. During the campaigns of the younger Cyrus, for instance, the Greeks served on both sides. They had also been employed in the east from the time of Psammeticus,[4] when, as well as subsequently, mercenaries returning after several years' service under Egyptian or Persian monarchs, could scarcely fail to introduce into Greece some of the civilization enjoyed by the Asiatic peoples. Such a train of circumstances was therefore well calculated to prepare the world for the great changes which took place in the second period: this last may be divided into two portions, each of which claims particular

and of the Greek mercenary service upon Europe.

[1] See above, p. 516–530.

[2] De Rebus Ægyptiacis, lib. XII. De Baccho, de Theologiâ Ægyptiarum, lib. VI., de Syriâ et Lybiâ.

[3] Diogenes Laertius, lib. I., seg. cxvi.

[4] Herod., lib. II., cap. clii., cliii., and cliv.

attention, on account of the influence of the events occurring in it on the intellectual improvement of mankind.

Literary intercourse with Asia commenced by Alexander.

The earlier portion commences with the literary intercourse between the east and west which took place towards the latter part of Alexander's reign; when the interests and pursuits of the people in Persia and Asia Minor were, to a great extent, amalgamated. The works of Hecateus and Herodotus were at this period beginning to excite an interest in the affairs of the east: this was, no doubt, increased by the writings of Ctesias, which relate to the same part of the world; and subsequently by the works of Aristotle. The great library at Alexandria containing three hundred thousand volumes in Chaldaic, Coptic, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, &c.,[1] and the well-known school in that city, not only exercised a lasting influence on the literature of Europe, but prepared the world for the momentous events of the second period.

Promoted by the library and school of Alexandria.

The world prepared for Christianity.

The conquests of Alexander and his successors, the Parthian wars, the amalgamation, to a certain extent, of different nations; the decline of paganism, hastened by the rise of the Neoplatonic and Gnostic systems of philosophy, added to the revolution which took place in eastern Asia among the Bhuddists about 63 B.C., were so many events by which mankind was prepared for the reception of Christianity.

The eastern people prepared for a change.

The intercourse of the west with Asia had already produced some change in the ancient superstitions which, except among the descendants of Heber, had obscured the pure light preserved in the family of Noah. The monopoly of knowledge by the priests had been partly broken down by the Macedonian conquests; and about this period Bhuddism appears to have spread over the greater part of western Asia, and to have imparted among the Chaldeans[2] some conception of a Trinity in the Godhead. During the succeeding period, several philosophers touched upon the necessity of a revelation from Heaven; and this was in due time vouchsafed by the dispensation of Christianity. The first prophets belonged to the east, and imparted their doctrines in the eastern languages; and the

Christianity came from the East.

[1] Cedrenus, p. 136.

[2] Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, art. Trinity.

apostles, as well as the most ancient fathers of the Church, both Greek and Latin, were citizens of the east. Justinus was a native of Sichem; Tatianus was a Syrian; Theophilus belonged to Antioch; Clemens and Origen were of Alexandria; Tertullian and Cyprian of Carthage; and Ambrosius was a native of one of the African provinces. The advent of Jesus Christ is, however, only noticed here because it connects chronologically the change which took place in the time of Alexander the Great, with the progress of literature and science at a later period of the history of the world.

Influence of religion upon literature.

Many of the Babylonian, African, and Syrian writers contributed largely, by their works, to the advancement of learning in Europe. The two sciences, astronomy and medicine, originated in Chaldea or India. Grammar and the philosophy of language, which were so much studied at Alexandria, were also Asiatic. Both had been cultivated by the early Arabs,[1] from whom the taste probably passed to the inhabitants of Syria and Asia Minor.

The philosophy of language, &c., introduced through Alexandria.

The civilization which was already flourishing from the frontiers of China to Alexandria, now began to extend from its principal seat on the coast of the Mediterranean, over the north of Africa, the south of Europe, and north-western parts of Asia; and zeal for the Christian religion united the civilized nations in its cause, but at the same time separated them widely in other respects. Rome became the centre of the Christian world, which had its beginning in Palestine; constant intercourse was maintained between the Holy See and the bishops and monasteries in different parts of the east, and intercommunication between the various religious establishments was the means of spreading the literature of which they became the depositories.

Learning and civilization spread westward from Alexandria.

Rome becomes the centre of Christianity.

In the succeeding, or third period, a new nation, that of the Arabs, rose in the east: having conquered Persia, Mekrán, Syria, Egypt, Barbary, and Spain, these people shook the power of the Church in the east. Their success was at first prejudicial to literature, but the Arabs discovered, almost as soon as they had adopted settled habits, that man requires

Third period: Rise of the Arabs.

[1] Vol. I., p. 691–693.

occupation for his mind, and that the excitement of their previously active life in the field or the desert, required to be replaced by other pursuits. Happily, literature was their choice, and it was cultivated with a degree of spirit and success unexampled in any other nation. This was in a great measure the consequence of their ardent temperament, which had previously united their efforts in the cause of religion, and created that zeal by which so much had been achieved: for the subjection of the world was the result of religious enthusiasm rather than of the ambition of the leaders of a servile nation. The overwhelming conquests of the Arabs were chiefly the work of the Bedawín, whose exchange of their erratic habits for a settled life, was accompanied by a radical change in their manners and ideas. The precepts of the Ḳorán constituting the basis of the civil and international law of the Arabs, a new science, that of law (Fík'h), founded on those precepts, was in consequence originated.

Literature cultivated by the Arabs.

Change experienced by the Arabs on adopting a settled life.

The cultivation of history, poetry, and law gave to the Arabs a taste for other studies. Commencing with what may be called the hereditary astronomy of a nomad race, the Arabs appear to have turned their attention to mathematics, geometry, and medicine. In these sciences they collected much from the nations whom they had subjected, as the Persians, Syrians, and Copts; they borrowed from the Greeks, Hindús, and others with whom they came in contact, all that was valuable in their literature or traditions; and thus they became the centre of civilization, and the link between the ancient and modern civilization of Europe. So numerous were their works, that the celebrated scholar Scaliger maintained, that if all the Greek scientific authors were to be lost, the Arabic versions of Hippocrates, Ptolemy, and others would supply the deficiency.

The Arabs become the link between ancient and modern civilization.

The first account of the Ḳoran having become an object of study and comment, occurs in the life of 'Omar. It appears that when the empire had rest after the conquest of Persia, the disputes about the meaning of passages in the Ḳorán became so serious, that the khaliph was obliged to send his armies to make fresh conquests, in order to preserve peace in the nation.

Study of the Ḳorán in the time of 'Omar.

It was under the same khaliph that the Sowád was surveyed,

Practical use of astronomy and geometry.

and an almanac brought into use, the computations for which were made by the assistance of Selmán, and a Persian prisoner whose name is not given, but who is said to have been of royal blood. These may be considered the earliest attempts of the Arabs to make use of geometry and astronomy, for purposes of practical utility.

Early use of Arabic grammar.

'Alí, the fourth khaliph, is considered as the father of the Arabic grammar; and the author of the "Fihrist"[1] relates, that the autograph of a work on grammar, written on Chinese paper, by Abú-l-aswad, existed in the third century of the Hijrah, amongst a splendid collection of manuscripts.

The khaliph Moawiyah employs learned men.

Under Moawiyah, the first khaliph of the house of Omaïyah, we find that historians, physicians, and translators of foreign languages were employed. 'Obayd Ibn Sorayah, a Jorhamite, came, according to the Fihrist, from San'á to the court of Moawiyah, who made inquiries concerning the kings of the Ajemí (Persia), and the confusion of languages. 'Obayd answered so much to his satisfaction, that, at the khaliph's request, the information was committed to paper, and the Sháh Nameh (Book of Kings), the best history of the Persian kings, was the result.

Ancient Arab historians.

The Fihrist also mentions some more ancient historians; as Ziyád, who lived at the time of 'Othmán, and bequeathed his works as a precious inheritance to his sons. Also Al-bekrí, a Christian of eastern Arabia, and some others: these last were, however, strictly speaking, rather genealogists than historians.

Another historian, Ibn al-Katámí, who lived in the time of Moawiyah, is mentioned in the Fihrist; and Mas'údí confirms the statement, by adding that Mo'awiyah had some slaves who translated history and novels for the amusement of the khaliph. Al-hakam and his sons were distinguished physicians during this reign; and it appears both from Al Mas'údí and El Kiftí, that in the first century of the Hijrah, the khaliph 'Omar had a library, from which books on medicine were transcribed, in order that they might be generally useful.

History and novels translated to amuse the khaliph.

Learned works translated, and money coined in Arabia.

The first translation of astronomical and philosophical works into Arabic, was made by Stephanus, under the patronage of Kháled (Walid), the grandson of Moawiyah, whose attainments

[1] MS. in the Royal Library at Paris.

in these sciences were considerable;[1] and, according to Beládin, dinars were coined at Damascus during this reign. It is also stated that the khaliph possessed a splendid globe which was made for Ptolemy in Egypt, and, consequently, previous to the invasion of the Arabs.

Cultivation of music

Music appears to have been cultivated by this people at the time of, as well as immediately after Múḥammed; and Ibn Mosajjij, who flourished under Moawiyah, was one of the first who accommodated Persian and Greek airs to Arabic words. He was followed by other proficients in the art.

and literature by the Arabs.

This brief notice of the beginning of Múḥammedan civilization, will be sufficient to show that the Arabs were a literary nation as early as the beginning of the eighth century; and even at this period there was some intercourse between the learned men of England and those of Arabia.

Bede the cotemporary of 'Abd-el-Málik.

His knowledge of eastern countries,

The Anglo-Saxon Bede, who was born in 672, and died in May, 735, devoted his life to study and teaching in the monastery of St. Paul, at Jarrow, and his learning attracted students from all parts of Europe. He was the cotemporary of 'Abd-el-Málik, the sixth khaliph of the house of Omaïyah, and the Saracens are constantly mentioned in his works. In the commentary on Genesis, their victories are noticed;[2] and again, in his work, De Sex Ætatibus Mundi, he details their expedition to Sicily, also their conquests in Africa, and the siege of Constantinople, A.D. 717, as well as the circumstance of their pillaging the coast of Sardinia. He evinces throughout his works a considerable knowledge of the east; and, from other circumstances, it may be inferred that Asiatic learning was known in England soon after it began to dawn in Damascus. The use of the Arabic article Al in one of his works, shows that Bede must either have used an Arabic original, or a translation from that language; and his tract, De Indigitatione, is undoubtedly oriental, since numbers are shown by the fingers, in the manner practised by merchants in the east. One is expressed

probably derived from Arabic sources.

[1] Flügel, Diss. de Arabicis Scriptorum Græcorum interpretibus. Misenæ, 1841, p. 6.

[2] Bedæ Venerabilis Expositio Genesin, lib. III., cap. xvi., xx. Londini, 1693.

by bending the little finger of the right hand; two, by bending the little as well as the third finger; three, by bending the two latter in addition to the middle finger; four, by bending the middle and third fingers, leaving the little finger extended. This system is very ancient in the east; and authors on archery, in that part of the world, make use of it in describing the manner of stringing the bow. The usual position is called the 'ikd, sixty-three, *i. e.*, four fingers bent on the palm of the hand, with the thumb resting on the fore-finger. In an Arabic work on archery,[1] the system of indigitation is explained in exactly the same manner as by Bede. But although the system itself comes from the east, it was known in Europe before the time of Bede, and Hieronymus mentions the number thirty as symbolical of a wedding.[2]

His system of indigitation similar to that of the Arabs.

The treatise of Bede on the astrolabe betrays its Arabic origin by the frequent use of the word Al Mucantarat,[3] which is pure Arabic, and when compared with such corruptions as the word Avicenna for Ibn Sinna, we may conclude that Bede derived his information from original writings rather than from translations. Oudin[4] and Mabillon[5] consider Bede's translation of the book, Ibn Abú-s-salt, on the astrolabe,[6] to be genuine, and a great part of it has been quoted by Hermanus Contractus, who died in 1052, which of itself proves the antiquity, if not the authenticity of the book.

Bede uses Arabic names and terms.

The various allusions to Arabic history which are dispersed through the writings of the venerable Bede, and the many questions elucidated by him, of which he could only have had notice from the Arabs, make it more than probable that the monks of his order (the Benedictines) had already opened the mines of Arabic learning for the benefit of Europe.

Connexion of the Benedictine monks with Arabia.

In his book, De Elementis Philosophiæ, Bede notices the

[1] Preserved in the library of Gotha.

[2] Nam et ipsa digitorum conjunctio, quasi molli osculo se conflectens et fœderans, maritum pingit et conjugem.

[3] Bede, App. Basil, 1563, vol. I., p. 468.

[4] De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, Leip. 1722.

[5] Acta Benedictinorum, Paris, 1762, I., p. 539.

[6] MS. in the library of Modena.

Book of Nimrúd, which appears to have been a translation from the Arabic.[1] In the Fihrist[2] of Ibn 'Abú Ya'kub, the original, in Arabic, is mentioned; and there is a copy of it in the Medical Library at Rome.[3]

Works supposed to be translated from the Arabic.

A friendly intercourse was maintained with Arabia at this period, or at least soon afterwards. Eginhard has recorded that Radbertus, who died in the year 807, was ambassador from Charlemagne to Hárún-el-Rashíd; and that, accompanied by some noble Franks, and monks of Jerusalem, he proceeded, according to Agobardus, from Arles to Africa, and through Egypt to Baghdád. In returning, the embassy visited Carthage, and brought from thence the bones of St. Cyprian, which were afterwards deposited in the episcopal church of Agobardus. The clepsydra, and the curious clock already mentioned,[4] were brought on this occasion as presents from the Commander of the Faithful to the Protector of the Roman Church. It is also mentioned by Andros, presbyter of Ratisbon, in his Chronicles, that Constantine, the patriarch of Jerusalem, was in correspondence with Charlemagne. The zeal of the latter for the revival of literature and science was shown by the establishment of numerous schools and universities: amongst others, those of Paris, Corbie, Fontenelle, Ferrières, St. Denis, &c.; and, in Germany, those of Fulda, Metz, St. Gallen, with many others in the principal monasteries. Under Charlemagne, Italy also became renowned for the schools of Monte Casino; and one for the study of the Greek language was likewise founded by him at Osnaburgh. In addition to these public institutions, Charlemagne established an academy for adults in his own palace, which became the model for the three universities of Paris, and of which he wished to be a member, without any distinction of rank.[5]

Friendly intercourse between Europe and Arabia in the ninth century.

Embassy to Hárún-el-Rashíd.

Arabian presents sent to Charlemagne.

Establishment of schools and universities by Charlemagne.

During the reign of Charlemagne, and under his protection,

[1] Albertus, Magnus Speculum. [2] Vol. III. MS. of Leyden.

[3] Histoire des Sciences Mathematiques en Italie, I., p. 245.

[4] See above, p. 459. Eginhartus, Vita et Gesta Caroli Magni, Colonia, 1521, p. 108.

[5] Dell' Origine, Progressi e Stato d'ogni Litteratura, dell' Abbate D. Giov. Andres, 4°. Parma, 1783, vol. I., cap. viii., pp. 101–104, compared with Gaillard's Histoire de Charlemagne, Paris, 1782, tome III., pp. 157–267.

Establishment of Benedictine monasteries.

the Benedictine monks assumed an important place. Their monasteries were intimately connected by a common object and a common language—the Latin. There was, in consequence, a frequency and rapidity of communication, which could scarcely have existed at that period, had it not been facilitated by the wealth and the extraordinary power of the monastic establishments, and of individuals who were distinguished by their energy and devotion to the cause of learning. Veneration for their piety procured them a welcome reception wherever they appeared, even amongst a barbarous soldiery when in a state of hostility with the country to which they belonged. The Benedictines had their head-quarters in Scotland, and, encouraged by Charlemagne, Scotch emissaries founded monasteries in St. Gallen, at Ratisbon, and at Vienna; the first being the most influential establishment, and the second almost equally remarkable, from having sent Albertus Magnus into the world; while the third imparted knowledge under the name of the Schotten Stift. The monks copied with great rapidity books, which were sent from Italy to Belgium, from France to Germany, and from Spain to England[1]; and there were few Benedictines who had not visited Rome, Venice, Paris, Ratisbon, and the cities of Belgium. When tolerably safe, Spain and Jerusalem were included in their wanderings, which were rendered easy to them by the hospitality of their reception in every convent. Their progress was also facilitated by their knowledge of Arabic. As early as A. D. 873, Hartmot, the abbot of St. Gallen, caused some of the monks to study this language, as the great source of information.[1]

Their influence on civilization.

The monks become the means of spreading knowledge.

The monks are induced to study Arabic.

The modern sciences, music, poetry, history, &c., studied in Baghdád.

Reverting to the Arabs—Al Mámún was the first who acquired from them that knowledge from which the modern sciences are derived. It has been seen[2] that, in the city of the khaliphs, the Arabic language, poetry, music, history, antiquities, and the Korán, including those branches of learning

[1] Chron. Magnum Bruhlianense, tome I., p. 752, MS. of the library of St. Gallen, case Furchen, lib. 702, fol. 325; and MS. on Oriental Writers and Professors of St. Gallen.

[2] See above, pp. 460 461; and Dell' Origine, &c. d'ogni Litteratura, dell' Abbate D. Giov. Andres, vol. I., cap. viii., p. 119.

which the study of that book required, more particularly jurisprudence, or law in its most comprehensive sense, were the studies of Mámún. His master in the latter was the celebrated Al Kesáy, and for philology and literature, the famous Yezídí; and, having acquired these branches of learning, he assembled the most distinguished men of the empire at his court. The Fihrist (MS. in the Royal Library at Paris) contains his treatise on the prophetic mission. He wrote another on the praises of the khaliphs who succeeded Múḥammed; also a work on the unity of God, and the principal Múḥammedan dogmas. It is supposed that the work on falconry,[1] afterwards translated for the use of the Emperor Frederic II., was also by Mámún,[2] and it formed the basis of one on the same subject by Frederic himself, which was printed in 1596.[3]

Studies and works of Al Mámún.

After Al Mámún had converted Al Fadhl to the faith of El Islám, the disciple, in return, drew the attention of the khaliph to astronomy and mathematics, by which sciences, in addition to those of medicine and philosophy, he became so well known in Europe. He collected Arabic, Persian, and Greek works from the cities which had been taken by the Múḥammedans; and the fact, that the last two books of the conic sections of Apollonius of Perga were particularly sought for, proves that the collections were made on systematic principles. An astronomical establishment was attached to the library; and, besides others elsewhere, a regular observatory was subsequently established in the capital. The principal literati whose names have reached us as being employed in translating works for the khaliph, were—Yahíya Ibn Bitrék, who translated Galen, de Theriaca, and Ptolemy; Ibn Na'ima 'Abdel-el-Mesíh, who translated the Philosophia of Alexander Aphrodisiensis; also his commentary on the first four books of Aristotle's Physicæ: to these at least twenty individuals might be added as translators from the Greek into Arabic. Those employed

The khaliph cultivates astronomy and mathematics.

Rare works collected by Al Mámún, and

literary men employed to translate them.

[1] De arte accipitrariâ Moamii.

[2] There are copies of the translation at Paris and Bologna, and a fragment of the Arabic text in the library at Gotha.

[3] Reliqua librorum trider secundi, de arte venandi cum avibus, cum Manfredi regis additionibus.

by Al Mámún to translate from Persian into Arabic are less known, although their labours were more important. After Ibn Al Mokaffa', who was anterior to the khaliph, the family of the Naubakh, from which his vezír was descended, were the most prominent in this field. Next may be mentioned Músá and Yusúf, sons of Kháled; then 'Alí Al Taïmé, who translated the astronomical tables called Al Zíj: also Al Hasar Ibn Sahl, probably the person who was appointed by Al Mámún governor of 'Iráḳ: to these may be added the translators of the Khodáïnámeh.[1]

Astronomical tables prepared for use.

Sanscrit and other works translated for the khaliph.

The most important works were doubtless those translated from the Sanscrit, partly before, but chiefly in the time of Al Mámún, since it was through this medium that some knowledge of the Indian learning and philosophy was first received. According to the Fihrist,[2] the translators from the Sanscrit were Mikak, the Indian, who was under the protection of Is-ḥaḳ Ibn Soleïmán the Háshemite; and Ibn Dahan, another physician in the Barmakite hospital. Subsequently other valuable works were translated into Arabic by the learned men of Háran, from the ancient Chaldee and Syriac: and the literary treasures thus collected from many parts of the world, were, after the usual ordeal of discussion by the learned Arabians, deposited in the great library in Baghdád.

Cultivation of astronomy, &c.

At the same time due attention was paid to the important science of astronomy, careful observations being made at the different observatories, particularly by the Jew, Sind Ibn 'Alí, and the celebrated Múḥammed Ibn Músá Al Khowárezmi; Al Yorithmis, Habsh, and others were also employed in correcting the astronomical tables. The khaliph, however, died before the task was accomplished, but not before he had completed his greatest scientific work, by measuring an arc of the meridian, near Raḳḳah on the plains of Sennár.

Subsequently to the golden age of Arabic literature in the time of Al Mámún, the study of that literature was encouraged

[1] The Poetical History of Persia. See the names in Al Mas'údí, vol. II., p. 27.

[2] Vol. III. MS. of Leyden.

by the Abbot Bernhard of St. Gallen, about 883 A.D. In 900, that monastery had to lament the death of the great orientalist, Hartmanner the younger, who had been the intimate friend of Alfred of Weissenburg,[1] and a disciple of the learned St. Nother, who lived under Charlemagne and Charles the Fat.[2]

The abbot of St. Gallen encourages the study of oriental literature.

We may fairly conclude that the study of the Arabic language was equally an object of importance in the other Benedictine monasteries: in these were prepared the numerous MS. translations from the Arabic, which are still to be found in European libraries, particularly in those of Venice, Halle, Gottingen, Padua, Berlin, Paris, Oxford, and the British Museum. Unfortunately the productions belonging to the early period of Arabian literature are seldom distinguished from those belonging to the corrupted age of the Turks and Persians, and but few of the former have been preserved.

Arabic MSS. prepared in the monasteries.

There exist, however, Soyáti's History of the Khalïphs;[3] Baron Hammer's Gemälde Saal, oder Lebensbeschreibungen grosser östlichen Herrsher;[4] and Al Mas'údí's Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems, now translated by Dr. Aloys Sprenger, M.D.[5] Also Abú-l-fedá, Annales Muslimici; Abú-l-faraj, Historia Dynastiorum; and finally Price's Chronological Retrospect.

Arabic MSS. preserved in Europe.

Another source of Arabic literature may now be noticed, namely, that which found its way into Europe through the Moors of Spain. Its progress is detailed in a compendium of literary history by Abú-l-Hásim Saïd Ibn Ahmed, and also in the MS. translation by Don Gayangos, of Al-makkam's Múḥammedan Dynasties in Spain. According to the latter author, the philosophical sciences were not cultivated in Spain previously to the invasion of the Arabs, A.H. 92. Subsequently, when the kingdom enjoyed peace under the Omaïyades, men of talent devoted themselves to literary pur-

Europe receives Arabic learning from the Moors.

[1] Chron. Magn. Bruhlianense, tome I., fol. 752.

[2] Metzlar de viris de St. Galli.

[3] MS. of the British Museum, No. 7324, folio 118, recto, and No. 7325, folio 138, recto.

[4] Leipsic, 1837, ii. p. 219.

[5] Allen and Co., Leadenhall-street.

Various branches of learning cultivated in Andalusia.

suits. Towards the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, in the days of Amír Múḥammed, sulṭán of Cordova, the learned men of Andalusia cultivated various branches of the sciences. This appears to have been the case up to the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah, when the Sulṭán Al-Hakem, son of the celebrated Abd-er-Raḥmán, gave fresh encouragement to science by inviting learned men to his capital from Baghdád, Caïro, &c. Indulging the exquisite taste for literature, which he had acquired during his father's lifetime, he collected even a richer and more extensive library than that of Baghdád.

Poetry is introduced into Europe from Arabia.

Poetry, the favourite pursuit of the Arabs, soon found its way into Europe through Spain, and still earlier by another route. The first poet was Olfrid, a Benedictine monk of Weissenburg, and the pupil of the Archbishop of Cologne, who lived about A. D. 870. The rhymes of Olfrid and his song of victory against the Normans,[1] written towards the close of the ninth century, are the most ancient rhymes on record in Europe;[2] excepting, perhaps, the collection of military songs, said to have been ordered by Charlemagne in order to animate and instruct his soldiers, which contained much of the history of France.[3] These verses, as well as those of the Provençals, bear a strong resemblance to the poetry of the Arabs, the last syllable only being rhymed.

The rhymes of Olfrid resemble the Arab poetry.

Giammaria Barbieri,[4] Andres,[5] and Gingeni prove that rhyme came from Arabia, chiefly through Spain, to other parts of Europe. As the bravest warriors were frequently the best poets, the melodious Arabic rhymes were first heard by the Spaniards amidst the terrors of war; for poetical effusions were sometimes recited even during the combat. Therefore, when necessity compelled the Spaniards to study Arabic, they naturally

The Moors introduce poetry into Spain.

[1] In Schilter's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum, vol. I.

[2] A fine edition of this poem, the Krist, was published by Graff, Königsburg, 1831, 4°.

[3] Gaillard's Histoire de Charlemagne, tome III., pp. 165, 166.

[4] Dell' Origine della Poesia Rinata, opera di Giammaria Barbieri, publicata da Gir. Tiraboschi, Modena, 1790.

[5] Origine e Progressi d'ogni Litteratura, Parma, 1783.

imitated the rhyme and music which were so captivating to a southern nation. This effect is shown by Alvarus of Cordova, who complains[1] that the Spaniards were so infatuated by the beauty of the Arabic style and language, that although scarcely an individual was capable of writing Latin, numbers were so strong in Arabic, that they restricted the termination of their verses to one letter, so as to end with the full sound of the rhyme upon it, agreeably to the genius of their favourite Arabic language.

Resemblance of the European to the Arabic versification.

This extract from Alvarus shows that versification came from the Arabs to Europe: it shows also the progress of Arabic studies among the Christians. In the present day, writes Sir William Jones, scarcely any Arab can read twenty couplets, however learned he may be, without the help of a dictionary, nor does he understand a poem, or a commentary on a poem.

Similarity between the Provençale and Arabic poetry.

Provençale poetry succeeded that of the Franks. The inhabitants of Provence were in contact with the Arabs, or Moors, and their continual struggle with them for liberty, caused that unfavourable representation of the latter people which is given in their poetry. But although the intercourse did not lead to a profound knowledge of the language of the Arabs, it does not follow that the rhymes of the Troubadours were not derived from the latter people, although the vanity of the Provençale nation prevented them from admitting the fact. The poem of Boethius is as like an Arabic Kasídah as European language would allow; and the rhyme falls usually on the last syllable.

Rhymes of Boethius and prose of the Provençeaux.

The most ancient rhymes found by Raymond in the Provençale language are those of Boethius, which are without date, but certainly are not older than the tenth century; and the most ancient prose he discovered does not go back beyond 842 A. D. The celebrated hymn beginning "Veni Sancte Spiritus," is as early as A. D. 996. The next in point of age is a poem of A. D. 1100, entitled La Noble Leyczon.[2]

Not only versification, but the modern lyric, and even

[1] About the middle of the ninth century.

[2] Choix des Poesies des Provençeaux, Ub. vol. II.

Lyric and romantic poetry appear to be of Arabic origin.

romântic poetry, whose essence is rhyme, are of Arabic origin. The epic would be too long for the lively Bedawín, who are lyric poets by nature; even the Ḳorán and their official writings being in this style. It has been said that the romantic love and veneration for the fair sex which characterize the Provençale poetry are unknown to the Arabs. But, on the contrary, there is scarcely one Kaṣídah in Arabic which does not express the most ardent feelings of love; and Sir William Jones tells us[1] that it was invariably the custom either to begin with expressions of love, or else introduce them in the middle of the poem; and the Suffees described even their love to God under the symbol of affection for a mistress.

The Italians adopt Arabic poetry.

After the French and the Troubadours, the Italians—those at least who lived in the north of Italy—were the first to use the language of the latter, and to begin to write in verse. The Spaniards were late in using their own language for this purpose, the literature of the country having been previously confined to the Arabic; so that it was only when they had the example of the Provençeaux in cultivating the vulgar language, and had become in some degree independent of the Arabs, that they began to have a literature of their own.

Mathematical sciences studied in Spain.

About the third century of the Hijrah, the Arabs of Spain commenced the study of the philosophical and mathematical sciences, which, in the fourth century of the Hijrah, were introduced into Europe, particularly by Gerbert, who died A.D. 1003. Before his elevation to the papal chair, he travelled through Italy, Belgium, and Germany; and in order to study mathematics, he went to Spain, and visited Barcelona, if not Seville also.[2] The astrolabe is described by him in Arabic terms, and it is a remarkable circumstance that Gerbert speaks of a work, De Multiplicatione et Divisione, written by Josephus Hispanus. This may possibly have been the first book in Latin, giving the Indian system of notation and algebra. There is, however, a Latin MS. in the British Museum which bears the same title.[3] It is an explanation of the Indian system of notation; and

First use of the Indian system of notation.

[1] Comm. Poesiæ Asiaticæ, p. 81.

[2] Gerberti Literæ, Paris, 1611, p. 21, &c.

[3] Arundel, 343. It is considered as of the twelfth century.

it may possibly have been the work of Josephus Hispanus. As the names of the figures are added in Arabic, there is little doubt of its eastern origin; indeed, Leonardo da Pisa, who received from the Arabs the numerals now in use, calls them Indian.[1]

Schools established in Spain and France for the study of Arabic literature.

Towards the end of the tenth century schools were established in the Christian towns of Spain and the south of France, for the study of Arabic literature and philosophy. Avicenna's (Ibn Sinna's) works on logic and metaphysics were used in the Sorbonne, the greatest school of theology in Christendom; and Averrhoes' (Ibn Roshd) works were studied at Paris, during or immediately after his lifetime.

Decline of the khaliphat and spread of Arabic learning.

The commencement of the era of the crusades was that in which the eastern literature and science began to be generally cultivated in Europe. At that time almost every country had institutions, in connexion with which flourished those distinguished men by whom the sciences of the Arabs were considerably advanced. Among these were Avicenna, who died A. D. 1037; Mesné in 1015; Al-bisímí in 1039; Ibn Rodhrson in 1061; Al Hezen, the author of the Optics, in 1038; Ibn Jezla in 1100; Avenzohar in 1162; Averrhoes in 1198; and Maïmonides in 1208.

Learned men of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Progress of oriental studies in Spain.

Spain was particularly distinguished at this period for her progress in oriental acquirements. Savawrda, a Jew, flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century as a professor of Arabic learning in the north of Spain. In 1134 he translated a work on astrology, which has the following postscript:—"Perfectus est liber in electionibus horarum laudabilium editione Hali, filii Hamet Ebram; translatus de Arabico in Latinum, in civitate Barshinona, Abraham Indio Ispano, qui dicitur Savawrda, existente interprete et perfecta est ejus translatio anno 1134." Ebram in the above title does not mean Jew, as might be supposed, but it is a corruption of Imrám, as the name is spelt in Arabic and in Kiftí.

Gerhard of Cremona was a learned mathematician, astronomer, and physician, who died, according to Pipini, at Cremona,

[1] Dell' Origine, Progressi e Stato d'ogni Litteratura, dell' Abbate D. Giov. Andres, 4to, Parma, 1783, vol. I., cap. x., pp. 226, 227.

Gerhard of Cremona translates the Almagest of Ptolemy.

in 1187, in his seventy-third year, and was buried in the monastery of Sta. Lucia, to which he bequeathed his books. There is a translation of the Almagest in the Medicean library, made by him in 1175.[1] Although no MS., however ancient, writes his name Carmonensis, the uncertainty of Gerhard's patronymic has been favourable to his fame, for both the Spaniards and the Italians have claimed him; and he is in consequence better known than any other oriental scholar of the middle ages, though by no means the best of the number.[2]

Gerhard's translations from the Arabic.

One of his works[3] has been printed in various editions, particularly the ninth book, on which several Latin commentaries have been written, as being the text-book of practical medicine in the middle ages.

The Synonyma of Rasis is the most ancient Arabic and Latin dictionary extant, of which the MS. Arabic glossary to Rasis, in the library of Leyden, may have been the original text.

The study of Arabic literature at Toledo was particularly encouraged by Raymond, who was a native of Agens. He entered the order of St. Benedict, and was brought to Spain by St. Bernhard. He was made archbishop of Toledo in 1130, and died in 1150. Among the orientals who were encouraged by Raymond, were Marcus, an archdeacon of Toledo; Dominicus Gondisalvus; Jonius Hispalensis; and probably also John, archdeacon of Toledo, who is perhaps the same as Marcus. To John, archdeacon of Toledo, a translation of Algazeli's Logic is attributed, in the catalogue of the library of St. Mark, Venice. Albertus Magnus says,[4] that Avendar, a Jewish philosopher, translated into Latin the Arabic works on logic; and in another passage he states,[5] that he also translated the works of Aristotle from the Arabic.

Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, encourages the study of Arabic, &c.

[1] See Jourdain, p. 127.

[2] His works and translations are, Canon Avicenna, Aboali filii Davidi compendium Rasis, and the Almagest. There is a splendid copy of his translation of the latter in Burney's Collection in the British Museum, No. 275.

[3] "Abubecri Rasis Almonsarius; practica ejusdem antidotarium et liber divisionum."

[4] Op. Lyon. 1651, vol. I., p. 41.

[5] Speculum Naturæ, lib. II., cap. vi.

If this Avendar be identical with Avendeneth, or Mendeath, he was one of the orientalists encouraged by the archbishop in the translation of Avicenna's work De Animâ; and several of his writings are dedicated to this patron of eastern learning.[1] According to the above we may ascribe to Avendar all the works on logic quoted by Albertus. These are, the logic of Avicenna, of Algazeli, of Alfarabi, and a version of Joannes Damascenus ad Grisarorium.

Avicenna's De Animâ translated by Avendar.

In some copies of Avicenna's work De Animâ, this translation is attributed to Gondisalvus, one of Raymond's archdeacons. It appears from the introduction in one of the MSS. of Paris quoted by Jourdain,[2] that Avendar translated it from Arabic into his own language, and that Dominicus Gondisalvus rendered it in Latin. A Jew was hired to explain the meaning of the text, and the scholar put it into Latin. This practice accounts for the numerous mistakes and bad orthography of the translations of the middle ages. All those attributed to Dominicus Gondisalvus of Segovia are in reality by Avendar; as the metaphysics of Avicenna,[3] those of Algazeli,[4] Avicenna's book De Cœlo et Mundo, and Alphoranius De Scientiis.

Double translation of Avicenna's De Animâ.

Marcus, who was also encouraged by the archbishop of Toledo, first translated the Ḳor̤án in 1215: of this there is a fine copy in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and there are two copies in the Royal Library at Paris.[5] This translation is preceded by a notice on the life and religion of Múḥammed, which is tolerably correct; then follows the translator's preface, in which it is stated that when the present archbishop was ordained bishop of Toledo, he caused the Ḳor̤án to be translated from the Arabic by Marcus, who also translated a work of Galen.[6]

First translation of the Ḳor̤án, and of Galen's work by Marcus.

[1] Royal Library of Paris, Sorbonne, 1187. Compare Anc. Fonds, 8802.

[2] Recherches sur Aristote, p. 504.

[3] F. Library, Paris, 6443.

[4] MS. of Tunis, 6552.

[5] Anc. Fonds, MSS. Latins, No. 3394. St. Victoire, No. 253. Compare Jourdain's Recherches sur les Traductions Latines d'Aristote, p. 110.

[6] Which is inscribed "De notibus liquidis a Joannino Honaim, de Græco in Arabicum; a Marco Toletano de Arabico in Latinum conversus." MSS. Latins, P. of the Royal Library Paris, 6865, and Sorbonne, 786.

Hermannus translates Aristotle's Rhetoric and Ethics.

But the most learned translator of the thirteenth century was Hermannus, a German. He studied Arabic at Toledo, and flourished about the middle of the century. He translated the Rhetoric of Aristotle, which he dedicated to John, bishop of Burgos, councillor of the king of Castille.[1] Hermannus was assisted by Arabic scholars, and not by Jews, and he accomplished his task with the greatest ability. He also translated the Ethics of Aristotle, of which Robert of Lincoln made another translation from the Greek. Hermannus acknowledged the superiority of the latter, but the earlier version was from the Arabic. He also translated Aristotle's poetry, following the edition of Alfarábi. Hermannus' translation of the Ethics was made at Toledo in 1240, and printed at Venice, 1489.

Other works of Aristotle translated.

Constantinus introduces Arabic medicine into Italy.

Whilst the orientalists who were educated in Spain, and those of St. Gallen, rendered the mathematical and astronomical works accessible to the Latin reader, Constantinus, a native of Africa, introduced Arabic medicine into Italy, and founded the school of Salerno. His translations from the Arabic were the more welcome, as Celsus and Pliny were then the only medical works in Latin. It has been said that Constantinus travelled thirty-nine years in the east, and went as far as India; also that he studied grammar, dialectics, natural philosophy, mathematics, music, and medicine, at Baghdád. These facts, however, have been doubted, but it appears certain that in 1072 he entered the monastery of Monte Casino, after he had been secretary to Robert Guichard, and that he wrote several medical works, and translated many from the Arabic.[2]

Travels and acquirements of Constantinus.

[1] This translation was printed at Venice, 1481, and is in the Royal Library, Paris, Sorbonne, 1175.

[2] His translations are, i. Liber Pantegni, *i. e.*, Ars ingens medicinæ universalis, libri viginti, auctore Isaac Israelita (Is-ḥak Ibn Soleïmán, a Jewish physician of Egpyt, who died A.D. 932), et interprete Constantino, monacho Cassiensis. Royal Library at Paris, 6885.

ii. The Aphorisms of Hippocrates, with the Commentary of 'Alí Ibn Rodhisán, a physician of Egypt, which he translated at the request of his pupil Elancon, from an Arabic MS. MS. of the Royal Library, Paris, 6808. Hippocrates, Aphorismes translati.

iii. Isaac's book, De Urinis. Harleian Library, British Museum, 3140, Royal Library, Paris, 7034 and 6871, A. iv.

The works of Constantinus, published in two volumes at Basle, 1536, may equally be considered as translations from the Arabic.[1]

Adelard of Bath studies in Spain.

The first English orientalist on record is Adelard of Bath, a Benedictine monk, who lived about the year 1100; but the only notice of his life is that contained in the introduction to his "Questiones Naturales."[2] He states that he remained long abroad, chiefly residing in France, and lecturing on the sciences which were then taught in the university of Paris. Seven years before his return to England, it seems that he decided upon studying the works of the Arabs, and he went for that purpose to the Moorish part of Spain; but not, as stated by some authors, to Arabia itself, which, it may be observed, was at that time frequently confounded with the provinces occupied by the Moors in Spain.[3]

His translation of Euclid.

Campanus's translation of Násir-ed-dín's demonstrations.

Adelard has become remarkable in Europe by his translation of Euclid's geometry, of which work, however, there is a second version, containing also Campanus' translation of Násir-ed-dín's Demonstrations. But the latter translation must have been added at a later time, since Násir-ed-dín lived subsequently to Adelard. There is a copy extant, without the translation of Campanus, which once belonged to Gregory XI., and is now in the British Museum. It is evidently of Arabic origin, and more ancient than the Demonstrations of Campanus. The existence of two different translations of Euclid's Geometry is confirmed by the marginal notes to another MS. of Euclid,[4] in which the Demonstrations of Campanus are compared with the earlier work by Adelard.

Astronomical tables Al Zíj, and those of Al Khowarezmí.

The latter notices, in his Questiones Naturales, a book called Al Zíj (astronomical tables), of which there is a Latin translation; and he translated

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iv. Seven books of Isaac, called Viaticum. Harleian Library, 3140.

v. Isaac, De Febribus, ibid. This was printed among the Auctores de Febribus. Venice, 1594.

[1] His Antidotarium was translated from the Latin into Greek, and there is a copy of this translation in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

[2] Besides the printed text there are several fine MS. copies of this work.

[3] See Albertus Magnus, in his book De Cassidibus Arabiæ Hispalensis.

[4] Harleian, 5266.

the astronomical tables of Al Khowarezmí, of which there is a copy in the Hatton library, at Oxford.[1]

These tables are also called Ezichiaferim, or Ezieh Za'far, one of the names of Al Khowarezmí. Besides the astronomical tables, Al Khowarezmí wrote a treatise on the astrolabe, another on chronology, and his celebrated work on algebra; which science is supposed to have first found its way into Europe by the translation of Rudoph of Bruges about A.D. 1144.

Adelard's last work on returning to England.

Adelard returned to England during the latter part of the reign of Henry I., and wrote his work "Per difficiles questiones naturales,"[2] which is remarkable for its rhyming prose in imitation of the Arabic style. It is written in the form of a dialogue between Adelard and his nephew. The greater portion of his works, however, still remain in manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge.

Treatise on the astrolabe and use of Arabic words.

The Arundel collection[3] contains a work by Adelard on the astrolabe, which is remarkable for the correctness with which the Arabic names are spelt. He generally follows the English pronunciation in transcribing Arabic words; thus he writes Jafar, and not, as was usual in his time, Geafar or Gafar.

Arabic seminaries in France and Spain.

During the time of Adelard, and previous to his age, schools for learning existed in various towns in the south of France and north of Spain, particularly at Toledo; in which not only converted Arabs, but Christians and Jews appear to have been Professors. Among the last was Samuel of Fez, who came to Toledo in 1080. In 1085 he became a Christian. His book against Isaac was translated into Latin in 1338 by Buenhambre, a Spanish Dominican, and may be found in the twenty-first volume of the Bibliotheca Patrum.

Samuel, a Jew of Fez, writes in favour of Christianity.

As early as 1143, Peter of Toledo, assisted by two friends, Robert Ketenensis and Hermianus Dalmata, who were studying in Toledo,[4] made a translation of the Kórán. The former, who is also called Retenensis, is presumed to have been the trans-

[1] Under the title of Ezieh Elkaurezmí, hoc est tabula Chowarezmicœ ex Arabico traducto.

[2] Printed and published at Milan in folio as early as 1470.

[3] No. 377.

[4] Bib. Patrum maxima, vol. xxii., pp. 1030, 1033.

lator of Ptolemy's planisphere,[1] and also of the large work, Al-Zíj of Beten, or El Battáni. But there is a better version by Plato Tibertinus, one of the most correct and industrious translators of that period. He says there is no better author on astronomy, either in Greek or Arabic, than El Battáni. This version by Plato Tibertinus has been printed, and there is a MS. copy in the Royal Library at Paris.[2]

Translation of El Battani's works.

Two learned Englishmen may be mentioned in connexion with this period, Roger of Hereford and Daniel Morley. The former, in 1178, observed an eclipse of the sun at his native place. From a fragment of an astronomical work which he wrote[3] it appears that he knew Arabic well, and had been at Toledo. The astronomical tables of Hereford are mentioned by Bate of Mechlin. Daniel Morley, who was Hereford's friend, occupied himself particularly with philosophy, and acquired the name of Philosophus. He went to Paris, and from thence to Toledo, where he studied the Arabic sciences. On his return to England he brought a large quantity of books, and one Arabic MS., entitled "De Rerum Naturâ," which is in the British Museum.[4]

Roger of Hereford, the astronomer.

Daniel Morley, the philosopher.

The liberality of Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, which had given a fresh impulse to the pursuit of eastern literature, was renewed with additional vigour, and extended to other parts of Europe by Frederic II. This prince was born in Sicily, spoke Arabic fluently, and was in frequent contact with the Arabs. He had a predilection for Muḥámmedans, and many Saracens attended his court, the sons of Averrhoes being among the number.

The emperor Frederic II. encourages eastern learning.

Frederic endeavoured to counteract the narrow-minded views of the Pope, and the injurious influence of his authority in retarding the advancement of learning, by introducing Arabic philosophy and civilization into his empire. His library was rich in works of all languages, and Latin translations were sent to the universities, accompanied by precepts enjoining what

[1] P. 234, edition of Nurnberg, 1537. [2] Sorbonne, No. 1264.

[3] Anni collecti omnium planetarium, compositi a Magistro Rogero Herefordiense, anno, &c.

[4] Arundel, No. 377.

Circular issued by Frederic to encourage oriental acquirements.

should be taught. In a circular letter he enlarges upon the delights of learning, the enjoyment he derived from it, and he urges its cultivation upon the learned, whom he exhorts to communicate their knowledge to their less-instructed brethren; adding, that if the mind be not cultivated, life is spent unprofitably. The emperor's circular contains also the following remarks: "Looking attentively over the books in our library, we noticed various ancient works on logic and mathematics, which were written by Aristotle and other philosophers in the Greek and other languages; which not having yet been translated into Latin are inaccessible. As it is our pleasure that these works should be made useful to the public by means of translations, we have ordered some distinguished men, who are familiar with both languages, to prepare literal translations."

His object of utility to the people.

The emperor concludes in these remarkable words:—"Therefore, O learned men, who present to the thirsty drink from the fountains of antiquity, accept these books as a present from your friend the emperor, and make use of them in your lectures, in order that the germs of virtue may grow luxuriantly, and the darkness of error be dispelled. Admonished by your sovereign, and encouraged by the intrinsic value of the presents themselves, you are to make them public for the use of the students, and that they may be a monument to our name."

Michael Scott and his translations.

The largest portion of the labour of the translations fell to Michael Scott (probably a Scotchman), who had been a pupil at the school of Toledo in 1207, and was previously at Oxford and Paris; both of which he quitted in order to exchange scholastic theology for the Arabic literature. His progress in this study, as well as his proficiency in astronomy, philosophy, and all the natural sciences, had gained the favour of Frederic.

But although he was the translator of Aristotle, and a great scholar, Scott owed his reputation more particularly to his pretensions in astrology and magic.[1] He wrote the preface to a work on magic, which was translated by a Jew from the Arabic in 1255. This work is in the library at Dresden, and the character appears to be that of the Mugârebeh; it is therefore

[1] Bocaccio and Dante, Inferno, canto XX.

probable that the Jew learned Arabic in Spain, where that character was used.

The principal works translated by Michael Scott are—Abú-el-Sinna's History of Animals; and a work on physiognomies by Theodosius Philosophus.[1] These were dedicated to Frederic II. He also translated a work on falconry for the emperor. Principal works of Michael Scott.

The encouragement thus given did not cease with the death of Frederic, or of his son Manfred, for Charles of Anjou continued to support the cause of learning; and his example was followed, at a later period, by Alphonso X.

This prince had a predilection for astronomy; and finding but few works on this science in Latin, he caused several of those by Arabic astronomers and astrologers to be translated into Spanish. But instead of employing learned Europeans who had mastered the Arabic language, as Frederic II. had done, Jews were selected to translate Arabic works under his own eye. It is said that he was assisted in his undertaking by forty men, and that he spent forty thousand ducats in collecting materials: but the tables which were the result of these labours, have not been much valued by astronomers. The Secret of Secrets, and nine other works, are enumerated as having been translated for Alphonso.[2] Alphonso X. encourages the study of astronomy.

Although an impulse had been given to learning by Frederic II. and his successor, its progress continued to be slow, Impulse given to learning by Frederic II.

[1] Pitts mentions several other works. These are as follow :—

Aristotle's work, De Coloribus;

Alchymistisch Siebengestirn, Hamburg, 1695: this book contains a treatise on alchemy, by Aristotle, which is said to have been translated by order of Bishop Honorius from the Hebrew;

Aristotelis Secretum Secretorum, ad Alexandrum;

De Regium Regimine; De sanitatis conservatione; De physiognomiâ;

Ejusdem de signis tempestatum, ventorum et aquarum;

Ejusdem de miniralibus;

Alexandri Aphrosdisii clarissimi peripatetici de intellectu;

Averrois magni commentatoris de animæ beatitudine;

Alexandri Achilliqua bonis mensis de universalibus;

Alexandri Macedonis in Septentrione monarchi de mirabilibus Indiæ ad Aristotelem. Bologna, MS. No. 1901.

The last is a very curious letter, said to have been written by Alexander the Great to his tutor Aristotle, giving some account of the wonders of India.

owing chiefly to the delay in translating as well as transcribing ancient works: but from the reigns of these princes may be dated the decided change which marks the fourth period.

The thirteenth century was one of activity.

The thirteenth century has, but scarcely it would seem with justice, been considered a retrograde period; for, the necessity of improvement having been felt, universities were established, and students assembled in quest of instruction both from Arabic and Greek sources: that century was therefore, particularly towards its close, a period of activity, if not of marked advancement.

Charles V. encourages scientific studies.

Charles V., the reigning monarch of France, was one of those who, from position as well as education, was enabled to further the cause of science. He established a library in the Louvre; and translations of classical works were made under his auspices in the university of Paris.

Roger Bacon and his pursuits.

Roger Bacon, who appears to have been one of the students of that university, returned with a degree to Oxford, where it was readily confirmed. The invention of an explosive substance nearly resembling gunpowder, the discovery of the principles of the telescope, and the pursuit of alchemy have, more than his other acquirements, given celebrity to this individual His Specula Mathematica, and other works which have been printed, show the vast extent and variety of the information which had been acquired by the learned Franciscan; and the Opus Magis is remarkable for a display of knowledge, which far surpassed that of his age.

His learning caused his incarceration.

Bacon's favourite pursuit of astrology and alchemy, however, in an age of ignorance, caused him to be suspected of being in league with infernal spirits; and, instead of being honoured as the brightest ornament of his age, he was doomed to pass eleven years in prison.

Michael Scott, who has been already mentioned, and another individual of the same name who died in 1294, Sir Michael Scott, of Balweary, or the wizard as he was called, are proofs that during the same period learning was also cultivated to a considerable extent in Scotland.

Sir Michael Scott of Balweary.

Use of Arabic numerals, &c., in Europe.

The use of the Arabic numerals, and the practice of Arabic medicine, became more general during the succeeding century; but it is the fifteenth century which, in connexion with the

period now under consideration, claims particular attention. A decided change commenced with Petrarch; and the revival of classical literature, which followed in Italy, was accelerated by the settlement in that country of several Greek scholars, who had been exiled from Byzantium. The cultivation of poetry in Spain as well as other parts of Europe, the establishment of great public libraries, particularly that of the Vatican, and the discovery of the art of printing were, at the same time, the means which contributed powerfully to the advancement of learning.

Euclid printed at Venice A. D. 1482.

Lorenzo de' Medici was one of those who gave encouragement to literature; and at Venice, Campanus' translation of Euclid was printed in 1482, with diagrams prepared on copper to illustrate the text. Before the end of the century many scientific works were printed in Greece and Italy; and, a little later, at other places in Europe.

Learning encouraged in France in the sixteenth century.

During the first quarter of the sixteenth century, classical learning was encouraged in France by Francis I.; and before the middle of this period, it formed a branch of education at the British Court. Considerable progress was also made in the mathematical and physical sciences during this century, in which flourished the distinguished astronomer Copernicus.

Its rapid progress in modern times.

More modern times claim Lord Bacon, Spenser, Shakspeare, Descartes, Milton, Newton, Leibnitz, Euler, and La Place, with many other individuals distinguished for literature and science; and within the same period, in addition to the cultivation of the classic works of Greek and Latin authors, the Chaldee, Hebrew, Syriac, and other oriental languages, have attracted particular attention. The grammatical structure of these tongues has been carefully studied, and the languages themselves successfully compared with one another. The practical use of steam power and of electricity may be mentioned as two of the greatest benefits which have been conferred on man. The former propels vessels along rivers and across the ocean; and, on land, transports travellers and merchandize with almost the speed of a hurricane.

Steam vessels and locomotive engines.

The other power, more mysterious in its nature, though as yet in its infancy, has almost annihilated space, and, in one

The electric telegraph.

sense, completely annihilated time; since, by moving with a velocity exceeding that of the earth's revolution on its axis, a communication in a westward direction may arrive at its destination at an instant which, in local time, is earlier than that of its departure.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ANCIENT AND MODERN COMMERCE.

Proposed Notice.—Ancient Commerce of India.—Trade overcomes the difficulties caused by Wars, &c.—Various branches of ancient Commerce.—Trade of Egypt and the Ishmaelites.—Commerce of Arabia with Tyre.—Routes from Tyre to Palmyra and Babylon.—Route to Central Asia.—Trade of the Hindús, eastward and westward.—Trade with Asia in the time of Pliny.—Routes to Eastern China and India, through Bálkh, &c.—Commerce on the Southern Shores of the Euxine.—Limited extent of the Greek Commerce by Sea.—Commerce of the Rhodians, Phrygians, Milesians, and Carians.—Greek Colonies in Asia Minor.—Limits of their Voyages.—Commerce of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Gauls with Britain.—Nature of this Trade.—Early Trade of the Hindús, and Merchandise in demand.—Trade from the Persian Gulf, Fárs, &c., to China.—The earliest Navigation was probably that of the Persian Gulf.—Early Navigation of the Persians, the Arabs, and Hindús.—Commerce in the time of Nebuchadnezzar.—The black Jews settle in Malabar.—Arab Vessels in the time of Nearchus.—Commerce encouraged by Alexander's successors.—Route from Egypt to India.—Discovery of the Trade Winds.—Direct voyages made to India, in the time of Augustus, from the Southern Coast of Arabia.—Múḥammed enjoins Trade as a religious duty.—Mercantile cities of the Arabs.—Extensive range and intercommunication of their Commerce.—Meḳkah becomes one of the centres of Trade.—Prosperity of the Arabs in the time of the Abassides.—Effects of Luxury.—Mutawakkel establishes Trading Factories.—Learned Men accompany the Caravans.—Precious Stones and other valuable Commodities are exchanged throughout the Arabian Empire.—Furs, &c., brought from the Northern Regions across the Caspian and Black Seas, and European goods sent into Khorásán.—Trade in Silk, Pearls, Carpets, rich Cloths, &c., partly by barter, partly by coin.—Exports of Glass, Carpets, Cloth, &c.—Swords were not sent abroad.—Costly stuffs, Cloths, and other fabrics.—Embroidered stuffs representing Historical and Geographical subjects.—Commerce from Baṣrah to India, China, and Africa.—Change of system in Trading with China.—A Hindú Physician sent by land to Hárún-el-Rashíd.—Eastern Commerce carried on by Jews, through the Red Sea, &c.—Route through Aleppo to India, and through Barbary to Baghdád.—Arabian Trade chiefly confined to Eastern Countries.—Trade by a circuitous route between Constantinople and India.—Venice becomes a trading Port.—Rise of Commerce in England.—Merchants

settle in Constantinople.—Rapid progress of Venetian Trade.—Genoa becomes a mercantile Republic.—Trade of this Port with India through the Black Sea.—Colonies established on the Shores of the Euxine.—Trade of the Genoese with Europeans.—England shares indirectly in Eastern Commerce.—A Company called the Merchant Adventurers established in England.—Scale of Duties fixed for foreign Trade.—Exports from England to Flanders, &c.—The Venetian Trade opened with India through the Red Sea. Bruges becomes a mercantile Depôt.—Prosperity of Commerce in France.—Discovery of the Western Coast of Africa.—Discovery of America.—Rise of Antwerp.—Trade drawn to Lisbon.—Various routes to India.—The River Euphrates becomes the principal line.—Voyages of Rauwolf, Balbi, and Newberrie.—Patent of Queen Elizabeth for Trade by this Route.—Application of the Merchants for a Loan.—Voyages of Fitch and Newberrie along the Euphrates.—Queen Elizabeth keeps a fleet of Boats on the Euphrates.—Consequent cheapness of Goods from India.—Establishment of the East India Company.—Colonial Trade of England, and its advantages.—Increase of Exports and Imports during Five Centuries.—The Turkey or Levant Companies of England and France.—State of the Trade of the Levant, of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, and Mesopotamia.—Trade of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs.—Partial and proposed Navigation of the Euphrates.—Facilities and advantages of opening the River Euphrates.—Openings for commercial enterprise on the Rivers of Mesopotamia.

Proposed notice on commerce.

PASSING from the subjects contained in the preceding pages, it is intended to devote the present chapter to a brief view of the commercial intercourse by which the nations of the earth have been bound together for their mutual advantage.

Origin of trade.

The exchange of the simple necessaries of life for the supply of wants common to all, was speedily extended to that of articles of luxury; and the wants gradually created became, in time, such necessaries, that, in order to obtain them, every impediment, whether arising from physical causes or religious prejudices, was overcome: thus the merchandise imported at the present day into Asia continues to pass to its various destinations, notwithstanding the hostility of the Arabs, the fierce spirit of the warlike Turkománs, and the still greater difficulties presented by the exclusive systems of the Coreans and Japanese.

Its progress notwithstanding all impediments.

From the earliest period of history, Asia and its products have been the great attraction of the western hemisphere, and its eastern and middle portions have consequently been the seat of an enriching trade; to which the resources of Hindústán,

Capt.n R. Moresby, I. N. del. — G. Hawkins, Junr. lith.

Day & Haghe, Lith.rs to the Queen.

ELATH or EZIONGEBER — MOUNTAINS of EDOM and MOAB,
and Valley of Arabah or Jordan.

and the adjoining territories, have given an activity that is still maintained.

The present subject will now be considered under the following heads:— Various branches of commerce to be considered.

1st. The commerce of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians.
2ndly. The land trade through Arabia and Asia.
3rdly. Trade by water from and to India and China.
4thly. The Ophirian voyage.
5thly. Trade under the Roman emperors, &c.
6thly. Trade of the Arabs.
7thly. Modern trade.

Early commerce of the Egyptians.

The position of Egypt was equally favourable for trade by land through Arabia, and for that commerce which is said to have been opened at a remote period by water with the western coast of India. But if such voyages were, as has been supposed, achieved by the Egyptians, in the reigns of Sesostris or Psammetichus,[1] it would appear that in these enterprises, as well as in the land trade, that people were ere long superseded by their neighbours in Palestine and Arabia.

Caravan trade through Arabia.

The circumstances attending the sale of Joseph, and the journeys of Abraham, show that the peninsula of Arabia was traversed at both these periods for commercial purposes, the products of Asia and Arabia on one side, being exchanged for those of Africa on the other.[2] The caravan routes of Africa[3] converged upon middle Egypt, and from thence proceeded into Syria by way of Foscat, Balbeïs, Gaza, Ramleh, and Tyre.[4]

Trade of Egypt with Tyre and eastern countries.

It has been seen that Phœnicia was first peopled by Cushites from the shores of the Erythrean Sea or Persian Gulf,[5] and that its commerce was not only extended westward, but into countries in the opposite direction by land, thus connecting, for the first time, the eastern and western regions of the old world. Tyre, the great emporium of trade, did not, however, export merchandise; the commodities of foreign nations were, on the

[1] Diod. Sic., lib. I., cap. ix., xx.
[2] See vol. I., p. 651.
[3] See above, pp. 92, 93.
[4] Ibn Ḥaukal, ed. Ouseley, p. 75.
[5] Vol. I., p. 281, and above, pp. 46, 92.

contrary, brought to the Tyrians in Phœnician ships, or by the nomad tribes, who served as carriers.

Trade of Arabia Felix with Phœnicia.

Arabia Felix, as the centre of trade, had several lines of communication with the southern coast. One of these extended from Máreb to Ṣan'á and the port of 'Aden. A second struck eastward, nearly parallel to the southern coast to Maṣḳaṭ, but sending a branch previously to the port of Ḍhafár. A third route struck northward into the interior from Máreb, passing Wádí Dowaser and El Yemaméh, to Gerrha (El Kátif) on the Persian Gulf. From this port again there was a line to Abadan and Babylon; also two caravan routes to the southern coast of the peninsula, one to the eastern and the other to the central part of Ḥaḍramaút, both apparently conducted by the Minæans.

Other caravan lines through Arabia.

Route of the caravans from Máreb to Petra.

From the brief notice of Strabo,[1] it would appear that the merchandise collected in Yemen from the southern part of Arabia, was carried from thence to Petra. This route, which was probably nearly that of the pilgrims of the present day, seems to have proceeded from Máreb and Ṣan'á, in a line almost parallel to the shores of the Arabian Gulf, passing by Meḳḳah and El Haura,[2] and from thence by Tebuk and Teima to Petra and Gaza. The Tyrians also, who had colonies on the Persian Gulf, communicated with these; and particularly with Gerrha,[3] which they reached through the desert by Jebel Shammar.

Commercial route from Tyre to Zelebi.

Another and still more important route passed from Tyre to Ba'albek, Damascus, Palmyra, and the Euphrates at Zelebi, where it divided; one branch striking through Mesopotamia to Babylon and Susa, whilst the other passed by Nineveh, Móṣul, and Hamadán to Raï, and from thence by Dámaghán to Níshápúr (or Nísábúr), Merv, and Bactra (Bálkh), in order to communicate with the distant parts of the east.

Early trade of the Hindús.

The Hindús were always a trading people, having been amongst the first of the Asiatics who fostered commerce. At the earliest period of which there is any record, their merchants appear to have moved with perfect security from place to

[1] Lib. XVII., pp. 1127, 1128.

[2] Albus Pagus of Strabo, ibid.

[3] Supposed to be Tyrus and Aradus, vol. I., p. 647.

place[1] with valuable goods, chiefly consisting of precious stones, jewels, and various beautiful manufactures in ivory, muslin, cotton, and other cloths,[2] which had been prepared with much taste and skill, by the people of the country, for home and foreign consumption.

Silk, furs, &c., imported through Asia.

The spread of mankind through India into the more eastern countries had prepared the way for such commerce, which was carried in different directions through the steppes of Asia. Raw silk from China was carried by the route of Persia to the more western countries, together with woven silk; furs of the most costly description from the Bulghars and Khazars,[3] with the best kind of iron; all of which were brought from Seres.[4]

Goods imported from Tibet, China, and India.

Long before the time of Mas'údi, there were carried by the same route many of the perfumes of Tibet and China, as well as the numerous productions of India; or, at least, those which were in demand in the countries to the westward, such as silks, cottons, spices, &c. This commerce was well defined in the time of Pliny, and it may, therefore, be inferred that it existed long before his day. The chief articles exported from India were ivory, crystal, amethysts, diamonds, gold, onyx, sardonyx, cinnabar, myrrh, nardus, pepper, with other spices, and a particular kind of linen.[5] These were carried into Persia, and the countries lying to the westward; and we know that a political as well as a commercial connexion, had existed between the Persians and the Indians, since the time of the conquest of the northern part of India by the elder Cyrus.[6]

Nature of the merchandise imported.

Bactra (Bálkh), and the surrounding territory, were the principal seats of the ancient trade, from whence, as has been mentioned in a previous part of this work,[7] there were two

[1] The Ramayana of Valmecki, translated from the original Sanscrit by William Carey and Joshua Marshman, vol. III., p. 97.

[2] Arrian, Hist. Indica, cap. xvi.

[3] Die Handelszeuge der Araber unter den Abbassiden, durch Africa, Asien und Ost Europa; Von Fr. Stuewe. Berlin, 1836, p. 54.

[4] Pliny, lib. XXXIV., cap. xiv.

[5] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxiii.; lib. XII., cap. xvi.; lib. XXIX., cap. i.; lib. XXXVI., cap. ii.; lib. XXXVII., cap. v. vii.

[6] Xen. Cyropæd., Hutchinson, 1812, p. 349.

[7] See above, p. 309.

principal routes to China.[1] One proceeded eastward to Badakshan, from whence it took a north-easterly direction by Káshkar to the celebrated mountain pass of the Stone Tower. Here it turned eastward by Ouchi and Aksou, and keeping nearly parallel to the great chain of the celestial mountains, it passed through the desert of Gobi to the capital of Serica,[2] supposed to be Pekin and the neighbouring gulf of Petchelee; which was reached after a continuous journey of seven months from the Stone Tower.[3]

Various routes through Bálkh.

Another route appears to have taken a south-easterly direction through Attock to Delhi and Benares, whence it turned north-eastward through Tibet, until it met the former near Pekin.

Another route proceeded from the lower part of the Panj-áb to Níshápúr, which place is about twenty-four days' journey from the Oxus. Near Níshápúr the line was joined by one which came from the country of the civilized Massagetæ of Herodotus; that is to say, from Shásh, Ferghánah, Belasíghun, and Samarkand, descending the valley of Soghd to Bokhárá, and from thence by Merv, once the capital of Khorásán, to Níshápúr. Leaving this city the road takes a westerly direction for ten days to Dámaghán, and eight days more bring the caravan to Raï. The latter, as a free mercantile city and commercial republic, might then be considered the greatest emporium of trade in the world, and it was still an important place in the third century of the Hijrah.[4]

Early commerce of Raï, &c.

[1] St. Martin has shown that in early times there were colonies of Chinese in Armenia who were probably merchants; but at all events there was considerable intercourse between the celestial empire and the south-western territory of the Black Sea. Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie, Paris, 1819, vol. II., p. 15–55.

[2] D'Anville's Ancient Geography, vol. II., pp. 93, 94.

[3] Ancient History of the Indies, with a special consideration of their influence on the Western Countries, by Joachim Lelewel, Warsaw, 1820, p. 198, compared with Ptolemy, I., 12; VI., 13–16; and Ammian. Marcell., XXIII., 6.

[4] See Kitáb-al-boldan, an Arabic MS., No. 617, of the East India Company's Library.

At Raï, the route was crossed by another coming from the shores of the Caspian Sea, which took a southerly direction onwards through Iṣpahán to the Persian Gulf. The principal road, however, continued in a westerly course, having afterwards a branch to Tábríz, and from thence to Ṭarábuzún, whilst the other, as just noticed, passed through Hamadán and Mósul, &c., to Phœnicia. Raï was considered midway between Bálkh and Ṭarábuzún, from which port at a later period goods were shipped for the coast of Cappadocia to supply Asia Minor, as well as for some of the ports of the Mediterranean, and the more distant parts of Europe.[1]

Secondary route through Iṣpahán.

Advantageous position of Raï.

From the story of the Argonauts and the Iphigenia of Tauris, it may be inferred that the Greeks were in connexion with the caravan trade by the route which has just been traced; and in this way the productions of India and China, as well as those of the more northern territory of the Massagetæ were at their command. Thus, as the various drugs of India, &c., were obtained almost at first hand, the early acquaintance of the Greeks with their use was the natural consequence of their connexion with this overland trade.

Products of China and India brought to Greece.

The Greek commerce by sea was however restricted to the southern shores of the Mediterranean, the coast of Italy, and that of Asia Minor. The earliest Greek navigators were the Pelasgians, who about 960 B. C. are said to have extended their colonies to the islands of the Archipelago, the coasts of Asia Minor and Italy, as far as the extremity of the Adriatic Sea. They were succeeded by the Thracians; and these were in turn superseded by the Dorian colony of the Rhodians, who drove the ships of the Thracians from the sea, and extended their own commerce as far as the coasts of Cilicia, Italy, Sicily, and Spain. They also carried on an extensive trade with Egypt, from whence they drew their principal supplies of corn, &c.[2] On the decline of the Rhodian power, the empire of the sea passed into the hands of the Phrygians, the Phœnicians,

Limited trade of the Greeks by sea.

Early trade of the Thracians, Dorians, and Rhodians.

[1] Herod., lib. II., cap. xiv., xv., shows that an intercourse had existed between Egypt and the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea.

[2] Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, par Peter Daniel Huet, évêque de Soissons, 8vo. Paris, 1716, chap. xix., pp. 111, 112.

and the Egyptians, who held it until towards the end of the eighth century B.C., when it was again restored to the Greeks by the Milesians.

Numerous colonies of the Milesians.

Milet, called by Pomponius Mela, the first town of Greece both for peaceful and warlike pursuits, became also the greatest with regard to the number of its colonies, which according to Pliny,[1] amounted to eighty. The Milesians extended their commerce principally towards the north; but they also established colonies in the south, and opened the trade of the Nile, founding the town of Naucratis on its banks, and that of Abydos in the interior of Egypt. Sinope, Ṭarábuzún, and other large towns, were also originally Milesian colonies. In time, however, their commercial superiority yielded to the growing power of the Carians, who continued masters of the sea until overcome by the Peloponnesian Greeks, whose dominion lasted up to the time of the expedition of Xerxes, 480 B.C.; and, before this period, the discoveries of the Phocæans had, about 600 B.C. opened to this people new sources of commerce.

Commercial colonies in Italy, France, and Spain.

They had carrird their trade to the coast of Italy, where they had founded Nelia and Legaria, and to the southern part of Gallia, where they built Massilia (Marseilles). They also reached Spain, where they founded the town of Artemisium or Diamme, now Denia in Valentia. But among the Greeks themselves, little was effected in commercial enterprises by sea during the early period of their history. The Corinthians appear to have had a few colonies on the coasts of Sicily and Illyria, Syracuse being among the former; while the Athenians, at various times, established the greater number of the Greek colonies existing in the Archipelago, on the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, as well as in Cyprus, Sicily, and Italy. But it seems well ascertained that, prior to the invasion of Europe by Xerxes, the commercial enterprise of the Greeks had never carried them beyond the boundaries of the Mediterranean and the Pontus Euxinus.[2] This is, however, contrary to the opinion

Colonies established in Asia Minor, Sicily, &c.

[1] Lib. V., cap. xxix.

[2] Mémoire sur les Révolutions du Commerce des iles Britanniques, depuis son commencement jusqu'à l'Expédition de Jules Cæsar, par M. Melot, tome XXXVIII., p. 246-290, de Mémoires de Littérature tirées des

of some authors,[1] who consider that the British isles were known to the Greeks long before that event.[2]

The British islands known as the Cassiterides.

A very early commerce was carried on with certain islands, bearing the name of the Cassiterides, situated near the coast of Britain, which Camden identifies with the Sorlings:[3] the existence also of Britain itself was well known to the Phœnicians, who traded not only with the Cassiterides or tin islands, but also with the southern coast of the principal island, which appears to have been included with the others in the general designation of Cassiteridian islands.[4] The position of the islands was, however, carefully concealed by the Phœnicians on account of the great advantages which they derived from the discovery. It is difficult to fix the epoch of their first visit to these shores; but it is supposed to have been about the time of Moses.[5] Strabo[6] mentions salt, with utensils of earthenware, and all kinds of iron and copper tools, as the articles carried to Britain by the Phœnicians in exchange for skins, leather, and tin: he also describes these islands as abounding in grain and cattle, and as having mines of gold, silver, and iron, all of which, with slaves and hunting-dogs, were objects of their commerce: the dogs were used by the Gauls and some of the nations of the Levant for warlike purposes.[7] Strabo also considers that the Phœnicians first reached the British islands from Cadiz.[8]

Trade of the Phœnicians with Britain.

Salt, iron, and copper exchanged for tin, &c.

The destruction of Tyre and the rise of Alexandria lessened the trade of the Phœnicians, and the western commerce was gradually usurped by the Carthaginians. The latter appear to have rediscovered the British islands about 200 B.C., and to have

Registres de l'Academie Royale de Sciences, Inscriptions, et Belles Lettres, 1749.

[1] Defence of the British History, by John Price; and the Antiquities of Ancient Britain, by Aylett Sammes.

[2] Mémoire sur les Révolutions du Commerce, &c., par M. Melot, Mémoires de la Littérature, &c., tome XXIX., pp. 265–295.

[3] Britannia, ed. Gough, 1806, vol. IV., p. 565.

[4] Herodotus, lib. III., cap cxv.; D'Anville, Géographie, &c., tome I., p. 91.

[5] Eusebius, Chron., attributes the discovery of the Tin Islands to a Phœnician Hercules, in the seventy-third year of Moses.

[6] Page 175, ed. of 1571.

[7] Ibid., p. 305.

[8] Ibid., p. 175.

Trade of the Gauls with Britain.

again opened the trade; but less fortunate than the Phœnicians, their secret was soon discovered, and the commerce with Britain was carried on by the Gauls of Duriorigum in Venets, the ancient inhabitants of Britany, now Vannes. This took place probably about 120 B. C., when Narbonne was built; to which town, as well as to Marseilles[1] the British tin speedily found its way.[2]

Fleet of the Hindús in the time of Semiramis.

Reverting to eastern commerce, which there is little doubt was likewise maintained by sea from a very early period, it is stated that Strabrotatus built four thousand ships of bamboo to encounter those of Semiramis in battle on the Indus;[3] and from the circumstance of this river having been covered with vessels at the time of Alexander's invasion, the antecedent existence of a commerce by sea, may safely be inferred. A chain of ports on the western side of the Indian peninsula is mentioned in the Periplus,[4] particularly Patala, Barygaza now Baroach, Perimula, Tropina, Antomela, Muziris now Mangalore, and Nelkynda, from whence trade was carried westward. Taprobana was another emporium of Hindú commerce, being admirably situated for the purpose of trade between India, Persia, Arabia, and Africa.[5]

Early commerce of the Indians by sea.

Corn, rice, butter, oil of sesamum, coarse and fine cotton goods, cane honey or sugar, were regularly exported to Africa from Barygaza and the adjoining coast;[6] and it has been already mentioned that Eudoxus discovered the prow of a vessel, presumed to be of Indian construction, on the coast.[7]

The Hindús reach the Arabian Gulf.

Moreover, we find from Strabo that a vessel from India reached the Arabian Gulf, having on board, of all the crew, only one man, and he perishing from thirst and hunger.[8] The

[1] Strabo, p. 257, ed. 1571.

[2] Mémoire sur les Révolutions du Commerce, par M. Melot, 1749, Mémoires de Littérature, &c, tome XXV., p. 57–83.

[3] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. xiii., xiv.

[4] Maris Erythræi, p. 27–34.

[5] Montfauçon, Bibl. Patr., vol. II., p. 336; and Periplus, Maris Erythræi.

[6] Periplus, pp. 8, 10, 18.

[7] Pliny, lib. II., cap. lxvii. From the figure of a horse, which is almost an universal ornament of the vessels of Surat and Bombay, being carved on this prow, Captain Ormsby, of the Indian Navy, has with much probability inferred that it was the remains of a Hindú bark.—Asiatic Journal, new series, vol. XXIV., p. 110.

[8] Lib. XVII.

Persian trade with India consisted of copper and different kinds of costly woods, which were brought in large vessels from Barygaza to the Persian cities; while the inhabitants of 'Omán carried, in return, pearls, purple cloths, wine, dates, and slaves, to Barygaza and Arabia; using small wooden boats which were tied or sewn together.[1] The position of Taprobana, or Ceylon, is particularly mentioned at a later period in connexion with China. It is stated that an Arab merchant proceeded from El Baṣrah, by sea, to 'Omán, and from thence to Kolah, which is midway to China, and the commercial mart of the Muslim vessels of Seraf and 'Omán. Here, it is added, they now meet the merchants of China, who come for the purpose in their own vessels to this island; while, formerly, they proceeded the whole way to the coasts of 'Omán, Fárs, and El Baḥreïn; also to El Ob'oll'ah and El Baṣrah; which last had the name of Farj-el-Hind.

Vessels from 'Omán and Seraf trade with China.

When the geographical position of the Persian Gulf is considered, and especially the fact that it bathes the coast of Babylonia, there can be little doubt that it was the first sea navigated. We find from the Old Testament that the Chaldeans had ships as early as the time of Isaiah;[2] and this was probably long subsequent to the first establishment of trade in those parts. When, also, it is recollected that on the coast of Persia were situated some of the most ancient nations—as the inhabitants of Susiana, and those of the territory lying between Babylonia and India—it is natural to infer that a mutual intercourse must have subsisted both by land and water between the inhabitants of those countries. The testimony of Plato, about the close of the fifth, or the beginning of the fourth century, B.C., that the Persians were invincible by sea, owing to their numbers, power, wealth, and knowledge of navigation,[3] sufficiently bears out the words of the prophet. The Persians, who were at this period masters of the Assyrian[4] and Babylonian empires, and were in possession of the estuaries of

The position of Persia favourable to trade.

Commerce of the Persians by sea.

[1] Periplus, Mar. Erythr.

[2] Chap. XLIII., v. 14.

[3] Menexenus, vol. V., pp. 239, 240.

[4] The monuments recently brought from Nineveh establish the fact of the use of vessels during the early part of the Assyrian monarchy.

the Euphrates, Tigris, Pallacopas, &c., carried on the commerce then existing with India, China, and Africa; and, as a trade so extensive must have been the growth of time, it is evident that its origin is of high antiquity.

The Arabs succeed the Phœnicians.

Opinions have differed concerning the people to whom is due the priority of the navigation of this inlet, some considering that it originated with the people of Kach'h, and others with the Arabs. As navigation commenced with the Phœnicians or Erythreans, it is probable that the Arabs who succeeded them, may claim priority over the Persians as well as the Indians.

They have always been pirates or traders.

The Arabs constantly appear in history as pirates or merchants. From the merchants of Midian,[1] being the bearers of spicery, balm, and myrrh, products of India, it may be inferred that they had some intercourse with that region by sea anterior to the time of Moses. Be this as it may, it can scarcely be doubted that navigation among the Arabs goes back at least to the Ophirian trade; when, if their vessels were not used by Solomon, the men probably formed part of the crews employed to man his ships. In any case, however, the constant succession of coasting voyages, stage by stage, along the shores of the Red Sea, must have taught the Arabs the management of vessels.

Nebuchadnezzar encourages trade.

Subsequently to the Ophirian voyages[2] an eastern trade may be traced in the Persian Gulf, where Nebuchadnezzar built Teredon, apparently to facilitate this object;[3] and it was during the wars of this prince that the Israelites, whose posterity is known as the black Jews of Malabar, are supposed to have made their way to the latter territory, after having been expelled from their own country.

Commerce of Tyre with Arabia.

From the animated description of the prophet Ezekiel,[4] it is evident that Tyre had long maintained an active commerce in the harbours of Arabia, as well as on the adjoining seas. It is elsewhere stated that Arabia abounds with mariners, pilots, and merchants, who exported native commodities to Barygaza, or

[1] Gen. chap. XXXVII., v. 25, and chap. XLIII., v. 11.
[2] See above, p. 122–128.
[3] Euseb., Præp. Evan., lib. X.; Euseb., Chron. XLIX.
[4] Chap. XXVII.

Baroach, and other parts beyond the straits;[1] there is also some reason to believe that the Arabs had even circumnavigated Africa.[2]

Trade of the Arabs in the time of Alexander.

Vessels, apparently of Arabian construction, were found by Nearchus on the coast of Mekrán;[3] and, in the Periplus, they are constantly mentioned,[4] as well as by Agatharchides,[5] who, in the second century before our era, gives the first historical evidence of the establishment of Arabian colonists in the ports of India.

Commerce encouraged by the Egyptians.

The Egyptian sovereigns were not slow to perceive the advantageous position of their country, and measures were early taken for the improvement of commerce with other parts of the world; more particularly with the dependent territories of Palestine, Cœlo-Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, &c. Indeed, the successors of Alexander, although at variance with each other in all other respects, were unanimous in the promotion of commerce, in which they carried out the plan traced by their great master. Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second monarch, was particularly distinguished for the measures which he took to increase the trade of his country; in furtherance of which object he founded a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, called Berenice, after his mother. As an additional means of attracting the trade which had hitherto chiefly passed by land from Elath to Rhinocorura, and thence by sea to Tyre, he caused a canal to be opened from Coptos on the Nile to the Red Sea, in which he kept a fleet. He had other vessels on the Mediterranean side of the isthmus of Suëz, and a communication was constantly maintained between the two seas.[6]

The periodical winds ascertained.

The commerce thus opened, which received a great impulse from the happy discovery made by Hippalus of the nature of the monsoons,[7] appears to have continued until the time of the Romans. During the vigour of the republic, commerce appears to have been neglected; but the subsequent extent of the Roman dominions, and a growing taste for the productions of

[1] Periplus, Maris Erythræi, p. 10.
[2] Vol. I., p. 652.
[3] Arrian, Hist. Ind., cap XXXVIII.
[4] P. 19–33.
[5] Apud Hudson.
[6] Strabo, lib. XVII., p. 791.
[7] Peripl. Mar. Eryth., p. 32.

other countries, gradually drew attention to it, and caused it ultimately to be pursued with energy and success.

Valuable trade of the Romans with India.

It was in the time of Augustus that a direct voyage to India occurred. Taking advantage of the south-west wind, now called Hippalus, one hundred and twenty vessels were despatched by Ælius Gallus, from Myos Hormos towards India, to bring back cargoes during the north-east monsoon. Immense profits of about one hundred per cent.,[1] caused the Romans to pursue this commerce to an extent which afterwards became severely prejudicial to the empire, in consequence of the vast sums transmitted in payment for luxuries.[2] Subsequently, as a means of facilitating the trade, the line of the Nile was substituted for the upper part of the Red Sea. For this purpose the merchandise was put in boats, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria at Juliopolis, from whence it was carried up the Nile, in twelve days, to Coptos; it was afterwards conveyed on camels, in twelve days more, about two hundred miles, to Berenice,[3] on the Red Sea, where it was embarked. This took place about the middle of summer, and thirty days carried the fleet either to the port of Ocelis, or that of Cana (formerly Coptos), both on the southern coast of Arabia, a little beyond the Straits of Báb-el-Mandeb. The remainder of the voyage was completed in forty days to Muziris, in Lemyrica, now Concan, to which port the Indians brought their goods. From thence the fleet returned, laden with costly articles of the east, with the next or north-east monsoon.[4]

Route of this commerce.

The Arabs continue the Indian trade.

This commerce continued till the overthrow of the western empire, when it fell to, or rather reverted to the Arabs, with all the advantages of direct, instead of coasting voyages. Basrah appears to have been built as the first Arabian emporium of trade, and Múhammed visited it when engaged in mercantile pursuits, in his early life. The prophet was fully alive to the advantages of commerce, and enjoined it upon his followers as a religious duty. Every conquered town became the centre of new commercial relations. The rich products of Syria were collected in Damascus under the dominion of the Omaïyades,

[1] Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xxiii.
[2] Ibid., lib. XII., cap. xix.
[3] Ibid., lib. VI., cap. xxiii.
[4] Ibid.

while those of the Caucasus were to be found in Debíl and Ardebíl. During the reign of Abú-l-'Abbás, A. H. 132, Baghdád rose to eminence, as the commercial capital of 'Iráḳ; whilst the cities of Móṣul and Hamadán flourished in the north, and those of Iṣpahán, Shiráz, and the provinces of 'Iráḳ Ajemí and Fárs in the west.

Principal depôts of Indian commerce. A. D. 749.

The commerce of the Arabians extended far beyond their own territories. The principal cities of Khorásán, Níshápúr, Merv, Herat, and Bálḳh, commanding the passes to India by Kábul and Ghízní, with Samarḳand in the north, and Multán in the south-east, were all united by this trade, which, being protected by the governments, was carried on without molestation. The enjoined pilgrimage to Meḳḳah was one of the causes of the activity of this commerce. Articles manufactured in the small towns were carried to the markets in the capitals of the provinces, and thence by the caravan routes to the Ka'ba. This temple thus became an important fair, where the products of Asia and Africa were exchanged, and where the Muslim of Mauritania came in contact with the Muslim of Má-werá-l-nahr.

Countries to which Arabian commerce extended.

Meḳḳah one great centre of trade.

The Arabian empire was never so great or so brilliant as under the first khaliphs of the house of 'Abbás. It was only when Al Mámún, the great friend and promoter of literature died, and was followed by khaliphs who were but its nominal protectors, that luxury sprung up: which afterwards increased so greatly as to exercise a fatal reaction on manners, where it should only have been the symptom of intellectual refinement.[1]

Pernicious effects of luxury among the Arabs.

Commerce and industry flourished greatly, however, under Al Mutawakkel, who, amongst other measures for its encouragement, brought into fashion a very fine stout sort of cloth, afterwards called Al Mutawakkellan, which continued to be much esteemed to the time of Mas'údí in the following century. The principal factories, according to Ibn Ḥauḳal, were along the shores of the Persian Gulf; and they were chiefly in the hands of Guebres.

Commercial establishments of the Arabs.

Subsequently, during the reign of the khaliph Al Mo'tazz, trade in the largest sense, was the subject of literary inquiry,

Commerce studied as a science in Arabia. A. D. 866.

[1] Die Handelszeuge der Araber, von F. Stuewe. Berlin, 1836, p. 21–45.

and Jáhiz, who died A. H. 255, wrote a work entitled the Nazr-fí-t-tejárah, or view of commerce. This work does not appear to exist in any European library, but it is noticed by Ibn Ḥauḳal, Ibn Khordádbeh, and in the Kitáb-al-boldán,[1] which seems to contain extracts from it. The advancement in scientific education among the Arabs, had, by awakening a desire to travel, given an additional activity to commerce.

Learned men joined the caravans of the merchants; and, in the various towns visited by them, a mutual interchange of ideas and of knowledge was carried on simultaneously with the barter of the precious stones, gold, silver, and rich stuffs, the products of the varied climates of the Múḥammedan empire.

Raï becomes the centre of Armenian commerce.

Raï appears to have been the centre of Armenian commerce, and to have supplied fine carpets for Ażerbaïján, Khorásán, the Khazars, and other countries lying northward of the Caucasus. The chief articles received from these northern regions, in exchange, were furs and slaves; for it is not quite certain that the mineral products of the Ural found their way at that time into the empire of the khaliphs. The commerce was chiefly carried on by the Sclavonians, who were almost the only navigators of the Caspian and Black Seas: these came down the Wolga into the former, paying toll or tribute to the Khazars on their way. They crossed the Black Sea after selling some of their goods in Georgia (Jorján), and, from thence, either proceeded to Mesopotamia or Syria, or sought a market along its southern shores. One was generally found at Raï; and European goods were imported from that place into Khorásán. These goods came from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea, and thence by a short land transit to the Wolga, by which they descended into the Caspian. Before the submission of the Kirghis Kazaks to Russia, the inhabitants of Bokhárá and Khiva traded with Astrachan, which they reached in boats by the Caspian, leaving their camels at Monghishlak. Their caravans sometimes even proceeded to Siberia.

Route through the Black and Caspian Seas.

Route from Tartary to Khorásán.

Another mercantile depôt of great importance was Jóroft, in Khorásán, which was the principal station for the commerce of Sigistán and Tartary. The best musk formed one portion of

[1] MS. of the British Museum, No. 7496.

this trade, and was brought from Tibet by land: paper was another article which was manufactured at Samarḳand and Kashmír. Various articles came from Tartary and China, especially silk, which was almost exclusively furnished by the latter country: sal ammoniacum from the desert of Kobi, and slaves from Tartary, were also brought to the same depôt.

Silk, pearls, and other valuable goods.

Transoxiana contained silver and other mines; it produced also the finest fruit in the world. Darábjerd and Azerbaïján furnished quicksilver. Pearls, precious stones, carpets, sharks'-fins, and woollen cloths were exported by the Arabs in exchange for Chinese silk and porcelain, which were brought to them by sea. Their commerce with some people, for instance with the negroes, was carried on by barter: among these, salt, cotton girdles, pieces of stuff, or cowries, were considered as money; but with other people it was carried on by regular sales, their coins being the dirhem and dinar. These, though said to have been coined from the commencement of their empire, are supposed to have been in circulation only from the reign of 'Abd-el-Málik, A.H. 76.[1] A.D. 695.

Secondary articles of merchandize.

The principal exports from the territory of the khaliphs appear to have been manufactured articles and some money. Glass from Ḳádisíyeh in Mesopotamia was one of the items; striped cloth and spices, from Yemen, were others. The carpets called hosr, were sent from Baghdád; tent cloth from Bahreïn, turban cloth from Ob'oll'ah, woollen cloth from Fárs, perfumes came from Nejrán, and papyrus from Egypt. Chintz was manufactured at and took its name from Shiráz, as muslin, according to Mas'údí, did from Móṣul, and damask from Damascus, where they were first manufactured; but the splendid swords of the Arabs were not permitted to be an article of export. The luxury of the rich was the principal incentive to industry in thousands of manufactures, for it led to the invention of an infinite variety of fabrics. Gold thread, silk, and yarn were the least costly materials; and, of these, various cloths and stuffs were made. Embroidery formed a particular branch of industry, which was reserved for the rich; and it

Embroidered stuffs and pictorial subjects.

[1] Die Handelszeuge der Araber, &c., von Fr. Stuewe. Berlin, 1836, p. 58.

frequently represented historical and geographical subjects. Thus at the greatest auction that ever took place in the palace of the khaliph Montaser, there were offered for sale nearly a thousand silk carpets, on which were represented a series of different dynasties with the portraits of kings and celebrated men. On another enormous piece of silk stuff, having a blue ground varied with other colours, were depicted the different countries of the globe, their mountains, seas, rivers, towns, and roads; with the name of each province, town, &c., embroidered in gold, silver, or silk.[1]

Trade from Basrah to India, China, and Africa.

Commerce by sea between the ports of Basrah, Ob'oll'ah, and Maskat, and the distant countries of Zinzíbár, India, and China, was carried on by the Arabs of the tribe of Azd, and also by the Jews; and, up to the commencement of the Abbasside dynasty, there was an interchange of commodities with the celestial empire, Chinese vessels coming to Ob'oll'ah, and those of the Arabs going to Canton.[2] When the rebellion in China, A. H. 264, interrupted this intercourse, the exchange took place, as already mentioned, with Ceylon.

A. D. 877.

Indian trade partly by land.

Part of the Indian commerce was, however, carried on by land; and this was particularly the case with perfumes, which would have been injured by a sea voyage. As a proof of the connexion existing between Arabia and India, it may be mentioned that a physician was sent from India at the request of Hárún-el-Rashíd. He traversed the Hindú Kush, and sailed down the Oxus; and, on the death of the khaliph, returned to India by sea from the Persian Gulf.

Trade between Europe and eastern countries.

Ibn Khordádbeh, a contemporary of Al Mutawakkel, gives the following account of commerce between Europe and the east. The Jewish merchants called Rohdámans, who speak the Persian, Greek, Arabic, Frank, Spanish, and Sclavonian languages, constantly travel to and fro between the eastern and western countries; and, from the former, they import slaves and díbáj (in modern Arabic, brocade) into the empire of the

[1] Die Handelszeuge der Araber, &c., von Fr. Stuewe. Berlin, 1836, pp. 48, 49.

[2] The voyage of Nicolo di Conti was more than five centuries later, viz., A.D. 1420.

Lieut.ᵗ R. Moresby, L.N. del. T. Picken, lith.

PORT of DĀHĀB i.e GOLD, in the RED SEA.

Day & Haghe Lith.ʳˢ to the Queen

khaliphs. They sail from Europe to the Egyptian coast, from whence in five days they reach Kolzum: they then proceed by the Red Sea to Jiddah, India, and China; and having disposed of their goods, they return by the same route with other cargoes, which are either disposed of at Constantinople, or further west amongst the Franks. Some of these merchants take another route by sailing from Europe to Iskenderún, *i. e.* the port of Aleppo,[1] from whence it is three days' journey to the Euphrates; they pass down this river to Ob'oll'ah, and sail from thence down the Persian Gulf to India and China. Other merchants follow the more tedious route from Spain to Tangiers; then along the coast of Barbary to Egypt, and proceed subsequently through Syria and Arabia to Baghdád. The ambassadors sent by Hárún-el-Rashíd to Charlemagne took this route: on their return they proceeded from Arles to the coast of Barbary, and thence by land to Baghdád.[2]

Route through Aleppo and by the Euphrates to India.

The Arabian trade, although so flourishing in the east, extended but partially to Europe; and the route from thence to India by the Red Sea being cut off, in consequence of Egypt being under the dominion of the Arabs, commerce sought and obtained an outlet in another direction. Constantinople was the seat of this trade, the products of the east being much in demand in that city when the desire for such luxuries had become almost extinct in Europe. In order to supply that demand an indirect route was opened, whose long and circuitous course may serve as an illustration of the difficulties which may be overcome in order to satisfy the real or imaginary wants of mankind. The merchandise in question being carried for a certain distance up the Indus, was taken from thence to the Oxus, by which it was conveyed to the Caspian Sea. Having ascended the Wolga a certain distance, it was carried by land from the latter river to the Tanaïs, by which it descended

Constantinople becomes the depôt of eastern trade.

Route to and from India.

[1] "Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the Tiger."—Shakspeare, Macbeth.

[2] For the preceding, see Al Mas'údí, Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems; Sogútí, Hist. of the Khaliphs, two MSS. British Museum; Abú-l-fédá, Annales Muslemici, II.; Price, Chron. Retrospect, II.; Abú-l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast., 259; Karumání Táríkh a'd-dowal.

into the Euxine, and was finally transported in vessels to Constantinople.

Venice attracts the commerce of the East.

It is probable that even then some portion of these articles found their way into Europe through Venice and Genoa. The former city, from a humble fishing establishment, had in the fifth century become a mercantile depôt, and its mariners were the carriers of an infant trade. Early in the ninth century it was the seat of a considerable commerce; wrought silk, with the spices, drugs, and fruits of the east, being brought thither from Constantinople, and the various ports of the Levant belonging to the Greek empire, in order to supply Europe with these commodities. The trade of Venice gradually extended during the tenth century; whilst the Arabs opened a line of commerce to India from the Red Sea, and also with the eastern coast of Africa as far as the Mozambique.

A. D. 803.

The Arabs open a line for trade with India.

Commencement of the trade of Great Britain.

Towards the close of this century, the earliest English trade appears to have commenced under King Edgar: it was carried on between the east and west coasts of Great Britain, in which about twelve hundred small vessels, or rather boats, constructed of pliant light wood and covered with leather, were employed. At this period also the woollen trade commenced in the Netherlands, and was carried on by barter.

European merchants settle at Constantinople.

The commercial privileges obtained from Basilius, emperor of the west in the beginning of the eleventh century, increased the trade of the Venetians; and the sea was covered with their vessels, which were engaged in supplying Europe with the merchandise of the east. The Genoese followed this profitable example, and each people employed a fleet, in the early part of the succeeding century, to give assistance to the crusaders. The Venetians shared in the siege of 'Akká, in A.D. 1115. About the middle of the twelfth century, Constantinople being still a city of considerable trade, a great concourse of merchants resorted thither from European as well as Asiatic countries, in connexion with the commerce carried on with India by the route through the Black Sea, which has been already noticed. The European portion of this line was conducted by the Venetians and Genoese, and it extended to the rising commercial establishments of the Hanse Towns and

A. D. 1101.

Hamburgh. In 1136, the republic of Genoa furnished to the Spaniards one hundred and sixty-three ships and sixty galleys, to serve at Almeria, Tortosa, and Barcelona against the Moors; for which they were recompensed by large commercial privileges from Spain. And, in return for the assistance given to the Latins in taking Constantinople, the Venetians obtained several towns in the Peloponnesus, in addition to the island of Crete, Negropont, and other places. But the commercial prosperity of Venice, which was probably at its height when Marco Polo travelled into northern China, was now about to be eclipsed by that of Genoa.

A.D. 1203.

Commercial prosperity of Venice. A.D. 1260.

This city, from the time of its restoration by Charlemagne in the beginning of the ninth century, had been the persevering rival of Venice in her commercial career. Both were the carriers of Europe, and both sought to extend their trade with the east, notwithstanding the difficulties caused by the conquests of Genghis Khán, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Marco Polo, as has been mentioned, endeavoured to increase that of the Venetians by a land route; but the Genoese, as a people, were more enterprising and more successful. Pera, the suburb of Constantinople, having been bestowed on them by the emperor M. Paleologus, in return for their services against the Latins, the Genoese took advantage of this central position to extend their commerce up the Black Sea, and from thence eastward. In furtherance of the latter object they established a mercantile colony at Kaffa (the ancient Theodosia), near the entrance of the sea of Azov, from whence their goods passed along the rivers Don and Wolga into the Caspian sea, and again from thence through the steppes lying eastward of the latter towards eastern Asia. Another colony was located near the estuary of the Don at Azov, and a third at Jambold. Between these and Pera there was another chain of colonies along the coast of the Euxine, the most important of which were Sinope and Ṭarábuzún. These cities gave the command of two other lines of communication; viz., one through Sívás to Baghdád, and a second, which was in connexion with that already noticed, extending from Khorásán, by Tabríz and Erẓ-Rúm, until it finally passed through the valleys of Da-

Rising commerce of the Genoese.

Mercantile establishments of the Genoese in the Euxine.

Depôts on the southern side of the Black Sea.

moulee, Godol, and Gúmish Khánah,[1] to the sea at Tarábuzún. The castellated buildings constructed at certain distances as protecting points still exist, and are distinguished by their peculiar architecture. In consequence of these arrangements, the Genoese acquired the superiority over the Venetians; and, in the early part of the fourteenth century, their ships were employed in a brisk trade with the western ports of Europe, particularly with those of Holland and Belgium, through the rising city of Antwerp.

Establishment of a mercantile company in London.

England began at first to share indirectly in this commerce through the foreign traders then established in London: but an advantageous change took place when the company called the Merchant Adventurers was instituted; and this association was followed by the establishment of a scale of duties, with protection to the foreign merchant. The privileges of the company were extended, confirmed, and regulated by Edward III.; and the export of wool, tin, lead, leather, &c., to Flanders and the Baltic, became in consequence so considerable, that towards the middle of the century, the balance of trade in favour of England was equivalent to about three quarters of a million sterling, even before the traffic was extended to Prussia.

A. D. 1328.

The Venetians import Indian goods into Europe.

The Venetians, being excluded by their rivals from a share of the eastern trade through the Euxine, turned their attention to that through the Red Sea *viâ* Egypt, whither their ships came to receive the various merchandise of the East, which they afterwards dispersed through the different parts of Europe. During the fifteenth century the commerce of Genoa declined, whilst that of Venice increased, particularly as regarded her intercourse with European countries. In the latter, manufactures increased in proportion to the demands of an extending commerce; one great centre of which was Bruges, whose trade extended to the shores of the Baltic, the provinces of Germany, the Adriatic, and the coast of Syria. The woollens of England held a prominent place in these transactions, particularly with the Netherlands; and the trade in this case, as well as in many others, was secured by treaties, well calculated to ensure mutual advantages to all the countries concerned. One

Bruges becomes a commercial city.

[1] See above, p. 233.

merchant of France, Jacques Corier, was so wealthy, and at the same time so liberal, owing to his success in importing gold and silver stuffs from Egypt, Barbary, and the Levant,[1] that he supplied Charles VII. with seven millions of money to carry on the war in Normandy.

Success of commerce in France.

This century was, however, still more remarkable for the number of vessels which were built, and the daring voyages undertaken, chiefly in search of a passage to the East Indies. The Canaries were discovered by the Spaniards, while Madeira, with the Cape de Verde Islands, and a considerable portion of the western coast of Africa, were explored by the Portuguese. Just before the close of the century, the long-sought passage to India, round the Cape, was accomplished by Vasco de Gama; and about the same period the memorable voyages of Columbus and Vespucius added a fourth continent to the then known world.

Commerce was chiefly by sea in the sixteenth century.

The commercial spirit became still more active during the sixteenth century, in the early part of which the merchandise of the east, now for the first time transported in suitable vessels, with all the advantages of improved navigation, made Lisbon what Venice had, till recently, been—the great emporium of this trade. And so bold had navigators become since the time of Columbus, that, in the succeeding century, the globe was circumnavigated twice.[2] Antwerp, as the central staple of Europe, became the rival of Lisbon; and besides the line by sea from those places to the Portuguese settlements at Ormúz and on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, the wealth of India was diligently sought by other routes. Of these, some have been already noticed, and to these may be added one from India to Europe, through the Persian Gulf. From the head of this gulf two commercial lines existed: by one of these the goods were carried some way up the Euphrates, and then by land to Bír, Aleppo, and Iskenderún, where they were embarked for the ports of Greece, Italy, and France. By the other, they followed the Tigris to Baghdád, and were carried by Diyár Bekr and Sívás to Tarábuzún, from whence

Routes by sea and land to India.

[1] Anderson's Origin of Commerce, vol. I., p. 622. Dublin, 1790.

[2] By Magellan and Drake.

they were either forwarded along the southern shores of the Euxine to Constantinople, or carried by water to the Crimea; or to the estuary of the Danube, in order to find their way into Europe.

Commerce with the Levant at the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, on her accession, found British vessels trading to Cyprus, Candia, Tripoli, Beïrút, &c., and bringing in return calf-skins, &c., silks, camlets, rhubarb, oil, cotton, Turkey carpets, gall-nuts, and Indian spices; a part being imported to England by Genoese, Venetian, and other foreign vessels.

Route from Aleppo to the Persian Gulf.

The routes through Syria to the Persian Gulf, which had been partially in use from the time of the journey of Nicolo di Conti in the middle of the fifteenth century, became more generally frequented towards the end of the sixteenth. Leonhart Rauwolf's voyage from Bír to Babylon, in 1574, has been described at length.[1] Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian jeweller, followed him four years later, taking his merchandise with him. He descended the Euphrates from Bír to Felújah, from whence he crossed to Baghdád; he then descended by the Tigris to the Persian Gulf, and proceeded to Pegu, the object of his voyage.[2]

Queen Elizabeth resolves to open a trade to India overland.

About this time, the English merchant, John Newberrie, having gone as far as Ormúz in the prosecution of trade, and the attention of Queen Elizabeth having been drawn to the subject on his return, A. D. 1583, her Majesty granted a charter to Sir Edward Osborne the Lord Mayor of London, and others, authorizing them exclusively to trade in the dominions of the Grand Seignior; and thus was formed the Turkey, or the Levant Company.[3]

[1] See Ray's Collection of Travels.

[2] See his Narrative in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. II., 1728.

[3] "May 1582. In consideration that Edward Osborne and Richard Stapers, her M^ties faithful subiects, by their adventure and industrie, and to their greast costes and chargies traveled and caused trouble taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous waies and passagies, to set open a trade into the dominions of Turkquie not heartofore in the memory of man knowne to be . . . . . any of this nation. And also have by their like good meanes and chargies procured of the Senior, commonly called the great Turke, amitie, safetie, and freedom, for contynewance of the said trade; whereby good and profitable event may be had of their commodities of this . . . . . realm, sundry other great benefits to Her M^ties dominions and subjects. Therefore her M^tie tenderinge to the wealth of her people, and the encouragement of her good subiects in their good enterprises for the advancement of the common weal,

The next year, Fitch, Newberrie, and others, being despatched by Sir Edward Osborne, carried cloth, tin, &c., by Aleppo to Baghdád, and from thence down the river Tigris to A.D. 1584. First voyage under the new charter.

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hath of her grace, &c., granted unto her subiects, Edward Osborne, alderman, and Richard Stapers, mearchant, the whole libertie and privilege of traffique into the dominions of the said grand senior duringe . . . . . of vij yeares from the date of her M^ties^ letters-patents.

"With prohibition to all her M^ties^ subiects to adventure or intermeddle in the said trade and traffique duringe the said tearme directlie or indirectlie, without the assent of the said pattentees, under paine of loss of shipp and goodes, the one half unto her M^tie^, and the other half to the . . . . ., and imprisonment, and suche furder punishment as to her M^tie^ for so highe contempt shall be thought meete.

"That Edward Osborne shall be governor of the said societie and trade duringe the said tearme, and yf he decease within the said tearme, then the rest of the said societie have libertie to chuse a newe governor.

"That the pattentees, duringe the said tearme, may admitt into the said societie freedom . . . . . to the said dominions, or any part thereof, suche other of her M^ties^ subiects, as to them shall seeme best, at their will and pleasure, freelie, or with suche restraint and condition as to them shall seeme good, not exceedinge the number of xij or xiiij persons over or above the said pattentees.

"That they may assemble themselves, or any of them, in any place or places, for con . . . . . and doings tutchinge the affaires of the said trade duringe the said tearme.

"That they may make lawes, ordinancies, not repugnant to the lawes of the realm, for the interest and good rule, orderinge and government of the said societie and trade, the same to revoke and alter at their pleasure, and thene to put in execution by forfei . . . . ., peine, and penalties, to be levied and extended against the offenders thereof duringe the said tearme, and for the execution of the said ordinancies and other services and uses of the said societie and trade, may appointe officers, mynysters, and servants, suche and so many as they shall thinke meete, and them revoke at their pleasure.

"For as muche as the Genovaies do use to beare the read crosse, like the flagg of England in their shipp-toppes, and not beinge in leage or amitie with the said grand senior; therefore, for the better surtie of the said companie tradinge into the said dominions of Turkquie, it may please her M^tie^ to permitt and grant that the said societie, duringe the said tearme, and for the said trade, may set use, and use the armes of England in the toppes of their shippes, whereby both her M^ties^ subiects may be the more certain knowne and discovered, and more esteemed of and lovingly received in those parts.

"That for the better tryinge of the said trade in good order, rule, and government, nothinge be done in, and tutchinge the said trade, but with or accordinge to the . . . . . tie and assent of the said Edward Osborne, or of suche other governor as shall be after his decease, duringe the said tearme.

Ormúz, and so on to Goa; carrying, for the purpose of establishing a trade to the East Indies overland, recommendatory letters from the queen to the king of Cambay

"Speciall commandment to all officers of the Admiraltie, and other her M^tie^ officers and subiects, to be aydinge and assystinge to the execution of the said grant and prohibition, and all thinges conteyned in the said letters pattents accordinge to true meaninge thereof, and must bene finally for the encouragement and profit of the pattentees." (Cotton. Nero. B. xi. Catalogue of the Cottonian library, 42. The blanks above show where words in the MS. are illegible.)

Another part of the same collection (Cott. Nero. B. viii., 47) in the British Museum, contains a list of the Turkey merchants, and their request for a loan from the queen.

"A.D. 1583. The merchants vsinge the trade of Turkquie by graunte from her M^tie^ be these followinge:—

"1. Sir Edward Osborne, Lord Maior of London.
"2. Mr. George Barnes,
"3. Mr. Richard Martin,
"4. Mr. Martin Calthorpe,
"5. Mr. John Harte,
"6. Mr. William Marsham,
"7. Mr. John Spencer,
} Aldermen.
"8. Mr. Thomas Smithe, Esquire.
"9. Richard Maie,
"10. Richard Saltunstale,
} for the Muscovie Companie.
"11. Richard Staper,
"12. Henrie Hewet.

"The said persons have in Mynte stocke imploied in the same trade the summe of 45,000 lbs,[1] and for that they vse trade to all these places followinge, the same is to little to supplie the same and to defraie the great chargies in those partes:—

"The citie of Constantinople.
"The citie of Angorie, where the grogrames and chamblets be made.
"The Ilande of Sis.
"Teria and Fogia, in the countrie neare Sio, called Natollia.
"Aleppo and Trepollie in Suria.
"Petrache in the Morea, where currantes and sweete oyle is made.
"The citie of Babylon and Balsara, uppon the river of Euphrates.
"Alexandria in Egipte.
"The Ilande of Cyprus.
"The Ilande of Malta.

"The commoditees they send thether is cloathes readie died and dressed, carseis[2] of all sorts, tinn and connie skinnes, &c. ["And

[1] 1 lb. of silver equal to 60-62 shillings.
[2] A kind of stuff ornamented with gold and silver fringe.

and the emperor of China. They met with great opposition from the Venetians, who had factories in those places. They travelled, however, to Agra, Lahore, Bengal, Malacca, &c., and returned by Ormúz, which is described as a place of great trade in spices, drugs, &c. Thence they proceeded up the Tigris to Baghdád, Bír, and Aleppo, and arrived in London in 1591, having made many useful discoveries concerning the East Indian commerce.[1]

Consuls named for the Levant.

The trade being established, as it is stated, "by a way lately discovered by John Newberrie, Fitch, and others," a fleet of boats was kept by the Queen at Bír for the use of the merchants; and, consuls being nominated in the Levant, the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and India, were obtained at a much cheaper rate than when supplied by the Venetians.

The seventeenth century commenced with the establishment A.D. 1601.

"And for that it is necessarie for them to keepe a stocke at either of the said places, thereby to provide to loading for their shippes against the time they come thether, the said stocke they have is not sufficient. And, therefore, if it will please her Matie to lend the said companie the somme of 10,000 lbs. weight of silver for the space of sixe yeres, the same to be paid her Matie againe by even portions, the said companie should thereby augment their trade to the benefit of the common wealth.

"And they would give unto her Matie the somme of 3000^lb^ in spices, Turkey carpets, quilts, or suche other thinges, as it should please her Matie, the same to be paid within three yeres after the date hereof, or 500^lb^ per yere.

"And for the benefitt of the common wealth, they should hereby be able to have all shippes of their owne of 200 or 300 tonnes a piece, and thereby shall sett the more of the poore maryners and seafaringe men on worke.

"They shall also be able to shipp more store of broad cloathes and carsies over, and also shall bring more quantitie of commodities hither. Whereby things shall be solde here at more reasonable price, and thereby her Matie's^ Customs, both in and out, shall be the more advanced.

"The commodities they bringe from those partes are all sortes of spices, rawe silke, appoticarie drugs, India blewe, and cotton woll, as also yarne, and cloath made thereof, galles, currantes, sweete oyle, sope, quillts, carpets, and diuers other commoditees.

"The said companie have also brought in diuers sommes of Spanish monie, which hath bene delivered into her Matie's^ Mynte, as the treasurer thereof can certifie your honnor."

[1] Anderson's Origin of Commerce, &c. Byrne, Dublin, 1790, vol. II., p. 238.

Establishment of the East India Company.

of the English East India Company, and four ships were despatched in consequence to Sumatra for spices, &c. From this humble commencement has gradually risen that extensive commerce which far eclipses that of Tyre and Carthage in ancient, and of Venice, Genoa, and Antwerp, in later times. The wealth and dominion of the merchant princes of India are without parallel; yet, vast as is their commerce, it is but a fraction of the whole commerce of Great Britain. Trade by sea attracted attention at the close of the fourteenth century, but it did not become of any real importance till a later period, when colonies were established as depôts for its furtherance and extension. Without these important accessories, the progress of English commerce must have been slow and limited. Its actual progress in less than five centuries may be seen in the following statement:—

Comparison of the British commerce in 1354 and 1845.

	A.D. 1354.	A.D. 1845.
Exports from England,	£822,554 11 6	£134,599,116 0 0
Imports . . .	116,910 10 6	75,281,958 0 0
Surplus of exports,	£705,644 1 0[1]	£ 59,317,158 0 0[2]

Decay of commerce in Aleppo.

The establishment of a company for the purpose of opening a trade to India by sea, could not fail to injure that carried on through Syria. The English Turkey, or Levant Company, which maintained, till recently, an extensive and prosperous commerce, has of late declined. The French Levant Company, which at one time possessed eighteen or twenty houses in Aleppo alone, has ceased to exist: this is also the case with the Venetian trade to Syria, which formerly supported forty commercial establishments.

Syria and its two principal cities.

The commerce of the Levant has always depended on the consumption in the country; and, as a consequence of the decline of demand in Mesopotamia and other parts of Western Asia, the imports of Syria, from Europe, are now almost confined to Beïrút and Iskenderún. The former is the port of Damascus, which city commands the trade of central and

[1] Anderson's Origin of Commerce, &c. Byrne, Dublin, 1790, vol. II., p. 441.

[2] According to the official value, as given, p. 358, of the Progress of the Nation, by G. R. Porter, Esq., F.R.S. John Murray, 1847.

western Arabia, as well as of part of Syria. Iskenderún is the port of Aleppo, which city, as the emporium of northern Syria, has commercial relations with the western part of Anadóli, and the chief towns of Mesopotamia, as Diyár-Bekr, Márdín, Móṣul, Baghdád, and Baṣrah. The nature of the trade carried on by Beïrút and Iskenderún has been already shown,[1] and the imports of Syria, in 1836, amounted to about 2,410,530 dollars, while the exports amounted to about 1,463,510 dollars. This limited trade, compared with that of former times, has been supposed to be a consequence of the commerce between Europe and India by sea; but as India only partially supplies the wants of the people of western Asia, other circumstances must have contributed to cause the present commercial depression in Syria. Amongst these the prolonged war in Europe holds a prominent place, since it not only affected the British trade to the Levant, but tended greatly to put an end to that of the French and Italians. Another cause, apparently equally prejudicial at the time, was the removal from Baṣrah of the East India Company's factories, which were so well calculated to encourage if not to create a commerce in western Asia.

Imports and exports of Syria.

Removal of the East India Company's factories.

This change at the estuary of the Euphrates, together with the diminution of the supplies on the coast of Syria, caused the remaining trade to fall into the hands of native merchants, whose resources are in general too limited to carry it on; and goods now pass through several hands before reaching the consumer, thus greatly enhancing the price: there is also the serious disadvantage of a want of return products. As has just been seen in the case of Syria, this involved the payment of a balance in cash of 947,020 dollars, in 1836.

Native traders succeeded the European merchants.

Such circumstances could not fail to restrict purchases; which, being made in Damascus or Aleppo, are exposed to an expensive land carriage, besides the exaction of heavy duties by the authorities, who have yet to learn the important fact, that moderate taxation is the most productive. One instance will show the extent to which the evil of oppressive taxation has been carried.[2]

Commerce is exposed to serious disadvantages.

[1] Vol. I., p. 445-447, and pp. 538, 539.

[2] Appendix (E).

In 1841, the páshá of Mósul exacted, in addition to previous dues on transit, 3,195,500 piastres, or about 32,000*l.* on the goods admitted into the city for consumption; while it is well known that the imports would have been doubled under a more liberal system.

Trade with Persia through Constantinople.

The Syrian trade has also suffered in consequence of the increased commercial activity through Constantinople and the Euxine, since the establishment of steam navigation; and also since the exertions made by the French and Russian governments to share in the trade of Persia. The commerce from Constantinople to the latter kingdom, in 1840 and 1841, produced 860,000*l.* per annum.[1] But now that a great part of the merchandise is carried to Ṣámṣún and Ṭarábuzún, which by the proximity of the latter port to Tabríz, and of the former to Sívás and Diyár Bekr, has shortened the land carriage through Asia Minor, some of it is supplied by these routes, which was previously brought from Aleppo. The French government, on perceiving the disadvantage of leaving their Persian trade entirely in the hands of natives, who purchased French goods in Constantinople, and made a return of Persian articles through Smyrna, determined to make Ṭarábuzún their entrepôt of trade with Persia; and for this purpose they established there the necessary consular agents.[2]

Commerce opened through Sámsún and Ṭarábuzún.

Russian commerce through central Asia.

But Russian industry has long competed with that of other Europeans in this line, as well as in that through central Asia. Every year numerous and well-equipped caravans leave Orenburg with white cloths, muslins, woollens, chintzes, and heavy articles in metals, and proceed through Bokhárá and Samarkand to Koha and Yarkund in China, also to Orgunje and the small cantons around the capital, bringing back teas, silks, musk, rhubarb, and other products of China. The Russian traders study so carefully the wants and tastes of the people with whom they traffic, that the nations of Kábul are seen wearing portions of dress got up and sewn for their use at Orenburg.[3] A considerable trade is carried on by exchange from this place between the Russians and the Kirghis Kazaks, who bring their articles of

Imports and exports of the Russians.

Trade of the Kirghis Kazaks with the Russians.

[1] Appendix (F). [2] Appendix (G).

[3] Letter from Sir William H. Macnaghten to the Government of India.

merchandise to this and other frontier towns. These consist exclusively of cattle, sheep, horses, camels, goats, goats' hair, wool of various kinds, skins, furs, horns of antelopes, and madder roots. In 1786 and 1787 the number of Kirghis sheep imported into Russia, amounted to one million, while fifty thousand horses were annually introduced by the line of Orenburg, as well as Siberia. According to the statement of the aged Kirghises, they annually supplied their neighbours with two millions of sheep, and one hundred thousand horses, besides other articles of merchandise. In exchange for their cattle and raw materials, they take articles of cast iron and of copper, such as caldrons, thimbles, needles, scissors, knives, axes, padlocks, scythes, &c.; also cloth, velvet, brocades, silk stuffs, ribbons, handkerchiefs, ropes, alum, copperas, imitation pearls, small looking-glasses, white and red paint, leather called youkht, beaver skins, &c. The Chinese furnish the Kirghis chiefly with silk, porcelain, brocades, silver, tea, and glazed crockery. The inhabitants of Bokhárá, Khiva, and Ṭáshkend, also supply them largely with silk and cotton stuffs, ready-made dresses, sabres, guns, gunpowder, &c., and receive from them in exchange, besides their cattle, slaves captured on the Russian frontier.[1] The Ḳorán enjoins that the most perfect protection should be afforded to merchants during their journeys; and such they actually receive on this line. In return for the Russian exports, the annual imports amounted at a low estimate to four millions of roubles in 1830; and, owing to the activity of their agents, the scope for the cheaper and better manufactures of Great Britain has been diminished in central and eastern Asia.

Nature of their commerce with the Chinese inhabitants of Bokhárá, &c.

Their exertions, however, are not confined to the latter field, for notwithstanding the expense and the difficulties attending a tedious transport by land, their own manufactures are introduced into Persia, together with fine glazed chintzes, German cutlery, and other European goods. The latter are partly supplied from manufactories established at Tiflís,[2] for this pur-

Successful competition of Russian with British enterprise.

[1] Description des Hordes et des Steppes des Kirghis Kazaks. Par Alexis de Levchine, traduite du Russe par Ferry de Pigny, revue et publiée, par E. Charrière. Paris, 1840. Ch. XVII., pp. 422, 423, 428, 429.

[2] Vol. I., p. 156.

pose: these are chiefly managed by German artisans, whose articles, though inferior to those of England, are sufficiently cheap to obtain a preference in the bázárs.

Re-exportation of goods from Persia.

The result of a double influx of European goods into Persia from the shores of the Euxine and from Russia produced a temporary glut in the market, which obliged the native merchants to dispose of their imports elsewhere, and Mesopotamia has lately received goods from, instead of sending them into Persia.

Trade to India by native vessels from the Persian Gulf.

The number of British vessels annually visiting the Persian Gulf, has greatly diminished of late years; but upwards of a thousand bagalás still find their way to the shores of India between the monsoons,[1] and thus maintain, in a quiet and almost imperceptible manner, an extensive trade through native agents. This may be considered as the modern relic of that commerce described by the prophet Ezekiel, when the wealth of India was wafted in ships laden with all kinds of merchandise, "in blue cloths, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar."[2] The custom is, as it has been for ages, to sail from the Persian Gulf towards the close of the monsoon, and return after the change of these periodical winds, thus making one voyage each way during the year. This is also the case with ships sailing from the Arabian Gulf, and the adjoining coasts of Africa and Arabia. It will be seen[3] that irrespective of the trade with Kach'h and other places, of which there is no registered account, the official returns[4] of 1836 and 1837 give the following comparative result of the commerce between the three Indian Presidencies and the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, for the years 1831 to 1832, and 1836 to 1837, at the termination of the Euphrates Expedition.

Going and returning with the monsoons.

[1] Vol. I., p. 568.
[2] Ezekiel, chap. XXVII., v. 24.
[3] Appendix (H).
[4] Ibid.

Imports and exports of India from and to the three Presidencies.

	1831-32.	1836-37.
	Rupees.	Rupees.
Imports to Bombay from the Persian Gulf: the principal articles were—coffee, dates, gums, indigo, drugs, pearls, spices, horses, treasure, &c. (see details, Appendix (H).)	36,38,052	35,59,589
Exports from Bombay to the Persian Gulf (see details, Appendix (H).): principal articles—cottons, silks, shawls, sugar, skins, indigo, colours, tobacco, &c.	45,60,266	35,00,241
Imports from the Arabian Gulf to Bombay	16,48,831	18,83,694
Exports from ditto to ditto: dried fruits and British woollens, in addition to the above articles	11,00,850	12,65,130
Imports to Madras from the Persian Gulf: dyes, fruit, and grain, in addition to the above articles	5,363	1,27,413
Exports from Madras to the Persian Gulf: rice and wax, besides the above	6,44,082	73,570
Imports to Madras from the Arabian Gulf	2,86,502	70,592
Exports from ditto to ditto	12,37,053	11,00,504
Imports to Calcutta from the Persian and Arabian Gulfs	9,56,733	9,12,813
Exports from Calcutta to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs	16,18,855	17,86,582
In addition to these, the imports to Bombay from the coast of Africa, consisting of betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts, spices, grain, gums, and wool, were	..	3,50,449
Exports from Bombay to the coast of Africa, of cottons, silks, dried fruits, drugs, metals, and British woollens	..	6,18,331
Total	156,96,587	152,48,908

Boats with merchandise tracked up to Baghdád.

The greater part of the imports to the Persian Gulf are carried up to Baghdád by a fleet of boats, varying from forty to seventy tons each, which sail or track against the stream in about a month's time. This portion of the Indian trade has fallen off since 1832, when it had already suffered a considerable diminution as compared with the trade of the East India Company. Happily, however, there will be little difficulty in restoring our commerce to what it was in 1784, when Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Bart., was the Company's factor at

Decay, and proposed revival of commerce.

[1] Report on Steam Navigation to India, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, July, 1834, pp. 127, 128.

Baṣrah;[1] for to attain this, or even a much higher scale of prosperity, it is only necessary to follow the example of the Genoese, by organizing the necessary mercantile establishments; employing at the same time steamers, in order to afford a quick and cheap supply of goods.

Prospects of trade along the Euphrates.

An extension of our commerce was one great object of the Euphrates Expedition; and the merchandise which had been carried out for this purpose, some portion of which still remained after the loss of the Tigris steamer, was sought by the Arabs with such avidity as to show most clearly that a prosperous commerce might be easily established on the river Euphrates.

Although anticipating in part the subject of the fourth volume, a few observations relating to this trade will not here be out of place.

Capabilities of the river for steam navigation.

Previously to transferring the Euphrates steamer to the Bombay government, in accordance with the original plan of the Expedition, reports stating the practicability of navigating the river Euphrates were sent to the Home Government from the late Commander Cleaveland, R.N.,[1] from Mr., now Commander Charlewood, R.N.,[2] and Mr., now Captain, Fitzjames, R.N.;[3] also from Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Estcourt, M.P., and Mr. Ainsworth;[4] and the opinions expressed in these reports were speedily confirmed by the ascent of Lieutenant, now Commander, Charles D. Campbell, I. N.[5] (one of the officers serving under Commander Lynch) to Beles, the port of Aleppo, which, by the air line, is only a hundred miles from Iskenderún. The rivers of Mesopotamia also had been thoroughly explored, and everything promised the permanency of an establishment in those regions when the services of the steamers Assyria, Nimrúd, and Nitocris were required to assist in the operations on the Indus.

Removal of the steamers to India.

Necessity of placing other steamers on the Euphrates.

It is to be hoped that the inopportune check thus given to the progress of steam navigation in Mesopotamia, will be removed; and that the day is not very distant when other and more suitable vessels will be employed. A cheap and rapid communication with India may then be maintained by this

[1] Appendix (I). [2] Ibid. (J). [3] Ibid. (K).
[4] Ibid. (L), (M). [5] Ibid. (N).

route, and at the same time a considerable increase would accrue to the commerce of Great Britain.

Small steamers proposed for this purpose.

Without entering upon the subject at length, it may be sufficient to observe that small vessels of light draught, such as can now be constructed,[1] will not experience any serious difficulty in carrying the Indian mails from the Persian Gulf to Beles, whence they could be transported through Aleppo, Iskenderún, Trieste, &c., to England. The transit would be accomplished in twenty-five days from the Gulf, or thirty-one days from Bombay. The mails from India might be brought by this route alternately with the Red Sea line, according to the original intention.

Advantages of mercantile establishments.

The feeling of protection and support which permanent steam establishments must necessarily impart to mercantile transactions in a distant country could not fail to produce a beneficial effect upon commerce. Wood for fuel is abundant, and easily procured through the Arabs, who not only contributed their services in aid of the Expedition, but were in several instances desirous of British protection; there is, consequently, every facility for conveying a cheap supply of goods not only to the people living on the banks of the rivers, but also to the adjoining countries, Persia, Assyria, Armenia, and Arabia.

The Arabs favourable to commerce.

A paper[2] has been prepared to show the opening that exists for commercial steam navigation in Mesopotamia, which, whether undertaken by the nation, or by private individuals, should be commenced on a very limited scale; its development being allowed to take place gradually.

Advantages of fixed mercantile depôts.

Even if the advantages of steam were to be dispensed with, it is clear, from the success of the Genoese stations on the Euxine and in Lesser Asia, as well as that of the East India Company's trade at a later period, that establishments judiciously located at certain places, to serve at once for depôts of trade, and as points of support, would be the means of enlarging British commerce in western and central Asia to a very considerable extent.

Baghdád has long been an important emporium;[3] but others

[1] Appendix (N).
[2] Ibid.
[3] Vol. I, pp. 109, 110.

Commercial importance of Baghdád.

elsewhere are indispensable to success. Stations at Mohammerah and Shuster would make the great opening by the Kárún into western Persia available. Another at Kúrnah would be equally suitable for the Kerkhah, and the two other great rivers, whose junction is effected at this place. The Tigris being already provided with stations at Baghdád and Mósul, the latter under the vice-consulate of Mr. Rassam, it only requires another at Diyár Bekr, and the neighbouring town of Márdín, since the close connexion of the former place with the countries about it would speedily secure a revival of its ancient commerce.[1]

Suitable position of Kúrnah.

Stations proposed along the Euphrates.

The numerous towns along the Euphrates, and the extensive population, partly permanent and partly nomadic, on the banks of that river, will ultimately require several stations; but, for the present, one should be at Hilláh, another at 'Anah, and a third at Beles.[2]

The present establishments at Tarábuzún and Tarsús give some impetus to trade in Asia Minor; but others might be formed, with much advantage, at some of the most important places in the interior, as Sívás, Kaïsaríyeh, Kóníyeh, and Angora; all which have native traders, and the last has a considerable extent of commerce, but no longer in the hands of British merchants.[3] It is evident that the capital to be employed at the proposed establishments would enable them to supply goods at a much cheaper rate than they can be obtained at present, especially as measures would be taken to prevent those excessive exactions which are so injurious to commerce.[4]

Other depôts proposed in Asia Minor.

Fertility and anticipated improvement of Mesopotamia.

Though the subject has only been considered relatively to the people in their present state, it should not be forgotten that Mesopotamia possesses as many advantages as, or perhaps more than, any other country in the world. Although greatly changed by the neglect of man, those portions which are still cultivated, as the country about Hilláh, show that the region has all the fertility ascribed to it by Herodotus,[5] who considered

[1] Vol. I., p. 15, and vol. II., Appendix (N).

[2] Arab agents, as deputies in charge of fuel, if steamers were established, would be required at Lamlúm, Hít, Deïr, &c.

[3] Appendix (N).

[4] Appendix (E).

[5] Lib. I., cap. cxcii.

its productions as equal to one-third of those furnished by all Asia. Being equal to, and in many respects even superior to Egypt, with regard to its position and its capabilities, the time need not be distant when the date groves of the Euphrates may be interspersed with flourishing towns, surrounded with fields of the finest wheat, and the most productive plantations of indigo, cotton, and sugar-cane.

CHAPTER XIX.

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, ETC., OF I'RÁN, SYRIA, AND ARABIA.

Ruins in Babylonia.—Kiln-burnt and Sun-dried Bricks.—Construction of the Pyramids.—Cement and Layers of Reeds.—Some Pyramids of Brick, others of Stone.—Pyramids of Mexico, &c.—Excavations in Assyria and elsewhere.—Great Fire Temple near Ispahán.—Singular Sepulchral Excavations.—Ancient Causeways and Roads.—Canals.—Bunds.—Dikes.—Tunnels.—Arches.—Ancient Mines.—Rocks removed by Fire.—Phœnician and Assyrian remains.—Tomb of Cyrus.—Ancient Writing, Sculpture, and Painting.—Ruins of Persepolis.—Floating and Stationary Bridges.—Cements, &c.

Proposed sketch of ancient remains.

IN the preceding volume a brief description has been given of the countries lying between the rivers Indus and Nile; and it is here intended to add a sketch of the past and present state of architecture, sculpture, &c., throughout those regions.

The social state of a people shown by their architectural structures.

Since architectural remains are justly considered good criterions of the social state of the people by whom the works were constructed, those of Mesopotamia and Assyria which go back to the period of the Noachian deluge, must possess considerable interest. On approaching the site of one of the primeval cities, the attention is attracted by what at first appears to be a natural conical hill of considerable size, which however proves to be the mouldering remnant of a vast building: such a mound could not fail to be remarkable in any situation, but, rising out of an apparently boundless plain in a transparent atmosphere, the effect which it produces on the mind is most striking. The celebrated plains of Dura offer few other remains of antiquity; and none which can be compared, in magnitude or interest, to those gigantic masses, which have been formed by the ruins of some of the greatest works ever executed by man, and which now serve only to guide the traveller on his way.

Mounds, &c., of Babylonia.

The bricks used in their construction

The alluvial district of Babylonia being without stone, it was necessary to resort to other materials for the construction of public and private works; and, as clay existed in abundance,

bricks were the materials chiefly employed by the builders of that country. But it is owing to the pyramidal shape of the edifices, rather than to any peculiar qualities of the materials, that these monuments of early art still exist.

were either baked or sun-dried.

The Babylonian bricks were of two kinds: one kind consisted of such as were burned in a kiln; the other, and by much the larger proportion, being simply dried by being exposed to the sun. The former vary in size from 11 inches to 13½ inches square, and they are 3¼ inches deep; they are sometimes, however, much smaller, and they are of various colours: the bricks are chiefly cemented with common clay, but, in the quays, the foundations and exterior parts of the structures that once adorned this mighty city, bitumen appears to have been extensively used. One face of each brick had on it an inscription, and sometimes a figure, and in some instances it is also glazed and vitrified; and this face was placed downwards: the cement is usually found adhering to the upper surface.

Bitumen used as cement.

Size of the sun-dried bricks.

The second, which is an inferior kind, is rather larger than those which had been kiln-dried, being nearly 4¼ inches deep, and from 11¼ to 14 inches square; the larger ones weigh 38 pounds 11 ounces avoirdupois, and were formed of the pure clay of the country, rendered more tenacious by being mixed with a little sand, and some coarse straw or fine reeds. These bricks, when dried by exposure to a powerful sun, soon became sufficiently hard, and gave the means of rapidly raising a large structure, which in so dry a climate was exceedingly durable.

Bricks and cement used at 'Akar Kûf.

The bricks at 'Akar Kûf are 11¼ inches square by 4 deep, placed with much regularity, and cemented with inferior clay, or rather common mud; but the great singularity of this structure consists in the introduction from side to side of layers of reeds at short intervals, extending from top to bottom of the huge mass. These breaks usually take place after seven rows of bricks have been piled upon one another; that is, at intervals of about 2 feet 11 inches, or occasionally a little more;[1] and the reeds forming these divisions are composed of three layers,

[1] Some writers give nearly double, owing, as it may be presumed, to overlooking one layer of reeds. In the author's examination, the sides of the mound were carefully dug, in order to determine these spaces exactly.

Layers of reeds used in these structures.

which together form a depth of about 1½ inches. These layers are so arranged that they cross one another, the upper and lower ones being in parallel positions, and, as a matter of course, the centre one at right angles to both. This structure, doubtless originally a pyramid, is now of an irregular shape, with an accumulation of rubbish at the base. The latter is about 157 feet north and south, 110 feet east and west, and about 128 feet high. About midway on the eastern side, there is an aperture which may have been the entrance of a sepulchral chamber; and it is in many places, particularly near the top, perforated with square holes similar to those which, in the tapia buildings of the Arabs, probably served for scaffolding.[1]

Dimensions of the mound of 'Aḳar Ḳúf.

Size of the bricks used in the Mujellibeh.

The Mujellibeh at Babylon was constructed in the same manner of bricks 14 inches square, but scarcely so thick as those used at 'Aḳar Ḳúf. The construction of the latter work was the more easy on account of its pyramidal form; and this figure may also be traced in the Bírs Nimrúd.[2]

Construction of the mounds of Sús, &c.

The mounds of Sús, Ḳal'ah, Resen, and Nimrúd (near Nineveh) being more ruinous, their forms are less marked than those of the two preceding works; but they appear to have been pyramidal. In all of them the interior mass was constructed of sun-dried bricks formed of clay, mixed with chopped straw, and the exterior of kiln-burnt bricks, many of which are stamped with figures and cuneiform characters.[3] Brick pyramids are found in Nubia, also at Thebes, Dashour, and other parts of Upper Egypt; but in Lower Egypt, where stone was more abundant, and likewise at Fakkra in Syria,[4] the latter material was used in order to render the works more durable. Those of Gizeh the greatest of all, had a coating of stone which filled up the spaces left by the receding platforms; and so correctly were the coating stones formed, that on the exterior surface, which sloped at an angle of 51°, the joinings could scarcely be perceived.[5]

Some pyramids of brick, others of stone.

[1] Plate VIII. [2] Plate XXX.

[3] For the discoveries recently made in the ruins of Khorsabad, Nimrúd, &c., see Nineveh and its Remains, by A. H. Layard, Esq. Murray, 1849.

[4] See p. 473.

[5] The coating of the second pyramid (Cephren) still remains, near the summit, and there the ascent becomes extremely perilous.

Pyramids, however, are not confined to the countries westward of Babylonia; the nomadic Tartars also have such works, some of brick and others of stone; although, says Rubruquis, there is no other stone in the part of the country where they are found.[1] The pyramidal structure in general use.

The pyramids of Mexico, which have been so well described by Humboldt, have their sides cut in steps like those of Egypt; and it may be observed that a pyramidal form is given to the religious edifices of India: thus in the widely-distant regions of Egypt, India, and America, are found structures resembling in form the mount of Babel, which was probably the parent of all the others. This mound had on its summit a temple,[2] which was also the tomb of Belus,[3] and a Chaldean observatory.[4] The pyramids of Mexico.

In the Chaldean language a cave, or an excavated chamber for religious purposes, was called Midrach, signifying an emblem or allegory: from this word came the Greek "Mudross," a designation of the sun, and the eastern "Mithras," whose worship, according to Stephanus, was celebrated in caves; and a cave was the symbol of the world, which Mithras, the father of all things, had made. Buildings on lofty pyramidal structures, or excavations in the sides of rocks were, in time, used in Assyria, Persia, &c., instead of natural caves, as places of worship; and the mounds of Babylonia thus constituted the high altars and temples of the Chaldeans, or worshippers of the host of heaven. Caves and elevated structures used as altars, &c.

Extensive excavations, apparently intended to serve as temples, have been formed in the hills immediately behind the ruins of Persepolis, and at Shápúr; such also is the Mesjid-i-Maderi Suleïmán, on the plains of Murgh'-áb. At Shuster, and again at Dizfúl, there are similar excavations; but these belong probably to a much more remote period: and wherever the Zagros range has been explored, others have been found. At Holwán there are several, and some precisely of the same character as those of Persepolis, but with the addition of a mound. At Deïrá is the chamber of Ferhád;[5] and farther in Remains at Persepolis, Shuster, and elsewhere.

[1] Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c., vol. I., page 588.
[2] Herod. lib. I., cap. clxxxi. [3] Strabo., lib. XVI.
[4] Diod. Sic., lib. II. cap. ix., and above, p. 26.
[5] Royal Geographical Journal, vol. IX., p. 41.

the Cossæan mountains are the beautiful excavations of Bísutún and Takhti-Bostán, the Mithraic caves of Karaftú,[1] with the celebrated fire-temple of Shíz or Takhti-Suleïmán;[2] and others are found in different parts of these regions—two of them, viz., the sepulchral excavations in Upper Mesopotamia, and the fire-temples near Ispahán, deserve particular notice.

Caves and fire-temples near Ispahán.

About seven miles from the city towards the south-west, and on the same side of a rocky mass, are three caves and as many fire-temples; which, as well as the mountain in which they are excavated, are known by the name of Takhti-Rustam. The easternmost and largest, which, like the others, is a natural cavern, opens to the south-west. It is of a crescent shape, about 100 feet wide, 20 feet deep, and nearly as many high at the entrance; but it is only 6 feet high at the inner extremity, where two cisterns have been cut in the rock, one 6 feet and the other 4 feet in length, and each of them is 2 feet wide. On each side a column has been erected, as if to support the rocky canopy; and between the two columns are the dilapidated remains of several figures resting against the rock; there are also some undecipherable tripod-like characters, probably Cufic, and of various sizes. The cave itself is stained a deep red, and at the western side are the remains of the fire-temple, which is now quite a mass of ruins.

Description of the western-most cave,

The most western, and the highest, cave extends for some distance into the rock, and consists of an inner and an outer cavern, separated by a wall; both are partially stained of a deep-red colour, and here and there they display the remains of written characters. The central, and most interesting of these grottoes, is of a semi-oval form, low in the roof, and having at its western side a kind of recess or second cave, which, with the exterior, gives a depth of 45 feet. The inner and probably oracular part contains the remains of an undistinguishable figure, and there is a second figure resembling an owl; there are also some sentences in ancient characters, of which the following are specimens:—

and its ancient remains.

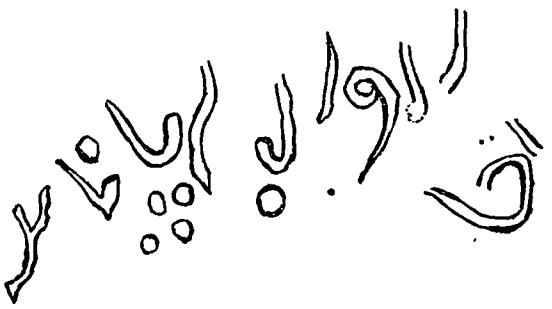
[1] Described by Sir R. Ker Porter. See Royal Geographical Journal, vol. X., p. 45.

[2] Major Rawlinson, vol. X., pp. 75, 78, of Royal Geographical Journal.

No. 1.

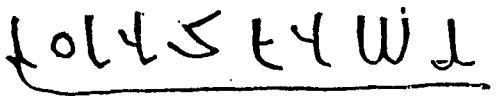
Very ancient and unknown.

No. 2.



Translated—Malediction on the Prince of Hell; also, wash your feet without temptation.

No 3.



The third inscription, which probably is Aramaic, wants something to complete the sense; it is supposed to express, *Pray to God, through the High Priest.* The outer part of the cavern contains several figures, some of which are detached, and others are cut in the rock in bold relief; but all are nearly destroyed, with the exception of a bird like an eagle, above which there is a circular figure, apparently representing a globe. At the western side of the opening, near the separating wall, is the fire-temple itself, still in tolerable preservation. The structure is covered with a pediment, surmounted by a cupola, both built with sun-dried bricks, 9 inches square by 2½ inches deep. The temple is 9 feet long, and as many in breadth, and is 4 feet high; it has on each side 9 niches, each 10 inches square and 8 inches deep, in which are the remains of some small figures and characters. Above is the dome, whose diameter is less than the base on which it stands. Below, on the eastern side, is the doorway, which runs a little way into the dome in order to obtain the necessary height. On the other sides are two shallow niches, which, like the rest of the interior, are covered with a yellowish-brown cement. But as there is not any appearance of a fire having been made within, and the rock above is thickly covered with smoke, there is little doubt that the perpetual flame was kept burning on the top of the dome, where there is a suitable place for it.

The inscriptions and fire-temples.

Description of the cave.

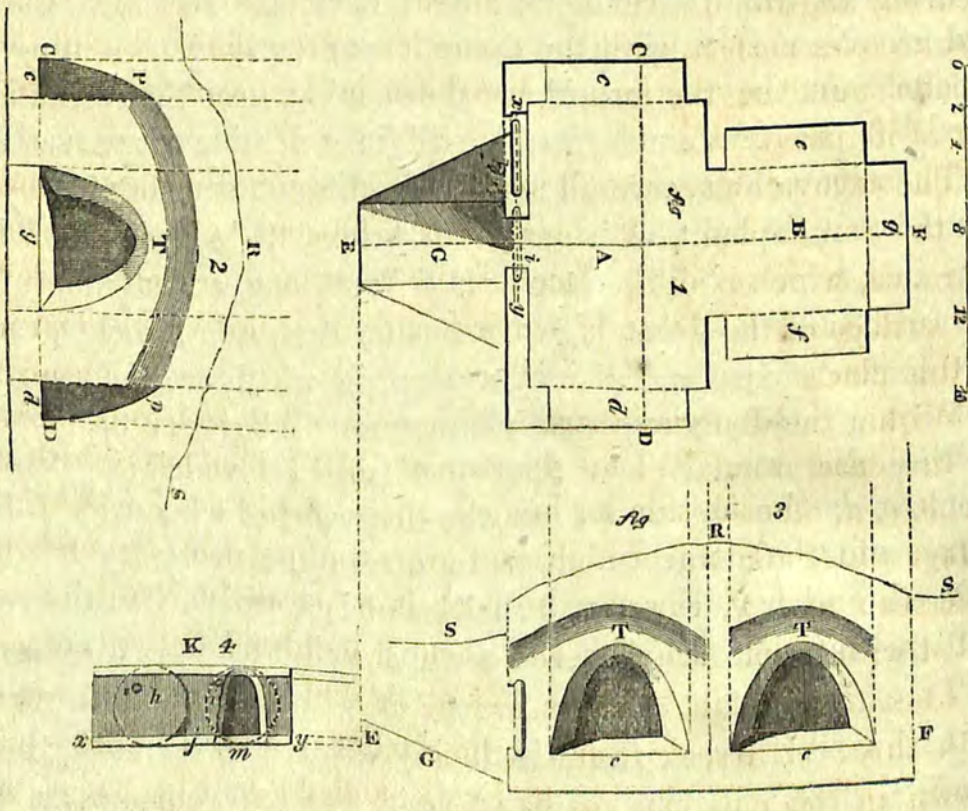
In the vicinity of Rehoboth, and Kalneh, (Chalanne,)[1] also of Beles, Bír, Rúm Ḳal'ah, Sumeïsát, and different parts of Upper Mesopotamia, there are many excavations, which, for the most part, are of an ordinary character, but some are evidently sepulchral.

Ruined city near the villages of Charmalik and Narsis.

Near the villages of Charmalik and Narsis, at a spot about three miles from the left bank of the Euphrates, and nearly thirty miles from Sumeïsáṭ, are the remains of an ancient city and several tombs: the ruins are extensive, but without columns, or any other object particularly striking, except some large tanks cut in the solid rock, with descents by flights of steps; the sepulchres themselves are, however, particularly interesting.

In a gently-swelling hill, composed of a mass of rock showing above the ground occasionally, about ten of these sepulchres have been excavated with great skill, and evidently at a remote period: they are at a short distance from one another, and are separately "hewn in the rock;"[2] nor would they be visible, were it not for the sloping descent at the entrance

Plan and elevation of some singular sepulchres.



[1] Vol. I., p. 523.

[2] Matt. XXVII., v. 60.

Dimensions and description of the tombs.

Fig. 1 is a plan of the tomb, consisting of two divisions, A and B; Fig. 2 is a section through the outer portion of the tomb, along the line C D; Fig. 3 is a section through both apartments, along the line E F; and Fig. 4 is an elevation of the entrance, on the line *x y*.

The tomb is entered through a small aperture or doorway, rather more than 3 feet high, and 2 feet 6 inches wide, with an arched top, as represented at *m*, Fig. 4; the entrance is about 2 feet above the level of the floor, and it is closed by means of a circular stone, moving in two parallel grooves, one above and the other below. The stone is 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, and 6 inches thick, which rolls along its edge on a gently-inclined plane; *h* shows its place when rolled back, in order to enter the tomb, and some force is necessary to bring it to this position; but a very slight exertion is sufficient to cause it to roll along the grooves, J and K, till it covers the entrance, as marked by the dotted line *i*. The hole marked *h* appears to have been for the purpose of passing a chain through both the stone and the solid rock at the side of the doorway, and thus securing the tomb. Some of these sepulchres had the stone and grooves perfect, with the exception of the chain; but in the greater number, the former had been broken away and forced out of its place.

External and internal dimensions of the sepulchres.

The excavations were all nearly of the same dimensions, and on the same plan. A sloping open descent, G, leads to the entrance, which is in the face of the rock, and of course below the surface of the ground; consequently it is not visible, except at this place.

Within the doorway there is a descent of 2 feet to the floor of the outer tomb, A; an apartment of 14 feet by 9, with a niche, *c*, *d*, on each side for bodies; these niches are 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet high, and are terminated by the arched recesses P and *p*, Fig. 2; the roof is a parabolic vault, excavated with much neatness, and about 9 feet high in the centre.

The inner tomb, B, is 11 feet by 9, and nearly 9 feet high, with three niches, *e*, *f*, and *g*, for bodies. Two of these are shown in the cut, viz., T *g* in Fig. 2, and T *e* in Fig. 3; T *c* in Fig. 3 is the corresponding recess in A, Fig. 1. The niches

and roof are arched in the same way as those of the outer tomb, and the execution of the whole is scarcely inferior to that of the tombs of the kings near Jerusalem, or to the ordinary excavations in Upper Egypt.

The ruins may possibly be those of Anthemusia.

The ruins may possibly be those of the ancient city of Anthemusia, which is placed hereabouts by Strabo and Pliny.[1]

The practice of hewing temples with columns and figures out of masses of rock, as well as that of raising vast pyramidal mounds, prevailed through Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and India; and the general resemblance of such works in all these countries sufficiently indicates a common origin, which, it is reasonable to presume, may have been in Assyria. The caves of Elephanta, Elora, Ajunta, and the temples on Mount Aboo, differ, however, in their details from those of Thebes, Philoë, and Abú Simbal; but these differences are probably only such as would naturally arise on transferring such a style of architecture from one country to another.

Roads cut through the Zagros, &c.

Amongst the less striking, but more useful works in western Asia, are the roads, which, in some places, consist of causeways over marshes, and elsewhere of passes cut through rocky mountains; of the latter kind are the Zagros at Keli-shín,[2] and the Caspian Gates.[3] And in the plains of Assyria, numerous canals served the important purposes of irrigating the land, conveying water to the cities, and, occasionally, as means of communication.

Canals in Assyria and Mesopotamia.

Great water-courses intersected Susiana, as well as Mesopotamia, and by crossing the latter territory from side to side, at different places, they formed as many lines of intercommunication between the two great rivers; such lines are the Nahr I'sa, Nahr Sersár, Nahr-Malká, and Nahr Kuthah:[4] canals were also carried along the country parallel to one or other of the rivers. Near the Tigris, the Ishaḳi, the El Burech, the Nebí Suleïmán, the Nahrawán, the Dujeïl, and the Khális, still remain; and, diverging from the Tigris, are the Shaṭṭ el Ḥáï and the Shaṭṭ el 'A'mah; the former still falls into the

[1] Pliny, lib. V., ch. xxiv.
[2] Vol. X., p. 21–23, of Royal Geographical Journal.
[3] See vol. I., p. 213
[4] See vol. I., p. 54–56.

Euphrates, and, beyond the latter, is the celebrated Pallacopas, with several other channels, of which the most remarkable are those near Mesjid 'Alí and Lamlúm.

Use of commercial canals.

By means of these canals supplies of water were obtained in almost every direction, not only for the towns and for irrigation, but also for navigation, for which last purpose the I'sa is still available.[1] Owing to the impermeable nature of the soil, masonry was seldom used in the formation of the canals. These great and useful undertakings are particularly mentioned by the earliest historians, who attribute their construction to Semiramis and other Assyrian monarchs, whilst tradition claims for some of them the more remote age of Nimrúd; but be this as it may, some of the canals belong to the period when Babylon and Nineveh were in the highest state of prosperity.

Dikes and bunds to secure the water.

In connexion with these canals, and in order to secure all their advantages, immense dikes were constructed in certain positions in order to retain sufficient supplies of water for different purposes, particularly for irrigation.

The Bunds of Żikru-l-awáz, or Nimrúd, and Żikr Ismá'íl, on the Tigris, and that which crosses the 'Aḍhím, have been already noticed.[2] The like constructions were executed along the river Euphrates, in the marshes of Lamlúm, and also in the low ground of Susiana; as at Shuster, Band-i-ḳír, and Ahwáz; such works have also been formed at Dórak and other places in Persia with the most perfect success. Nor were these works confined to the regions in question, the same method of securing supplies of water prevailing in Arabia,[3] in Africa, and in Asia. Descriptions of the prodigious bunds and tanks of India, China, &c., are familiar to most readers, and their resemblance to similar works in Babylonia will be readily admitted by those who have visited both countries. Some of these works, although no longer objects of attention to the government, are in many cases maintained, though imperfectly, by the people, as at Shuster, Band-i-ḳír, &c., and they still attest the strength and utility of these specimens of early art; some of them, probably, were constructed antecedently to the time of

Bunds and dikes of Asia.

[1] See vol. I., p. 55.

[2] See vol. I., pp. 21, 30.

[3] 'Omán, Yemen, Nedjd, &c.

Cyrus, in order to raise or divert the waters of the Mesopotamian rivers. In India, besides the construction of the ordinary bunds and tanks, the bolder operation of forming a great reservoir by throwing a dam across an extensive valley, as at Häider-ábád, is frequently practised. The dikes at Oëdipore, Aboo, &c., do not differ from the celebrated Arabian work at Máreb; and the method appears to have been used by the Turks on the European side of the Bosphorus.

Method of constructing a bund.

To preserve and husband water for ordinary purposes, as well as to divert it into irrigating channels, must always have been objects of vital importance in the parched countries of the east, where it is an ordinary occurrence to construct a bund across a rapid stream. This operation is performed by forcing into the stream near one bank a large mass of furze, faggots of brushwood, or numerous bundles of reeds, to serve as the substratum; this is kept down by stones, or other weighty materials, till it is so firmly fixed that another portion of brushwood or reeds can be added to its extremity; and thus the work proceeds, piece by piece, till the dam is completed by touching the opposite bank; after which one of more solid materials can be constructed if necessary.

Manner of turning the Euphrates.

Probably it was in this way that Cyrus diverted the waters of the Euphrates to enable him to enter Babylon;[1] and that, subsequently, Alexander filled the channel of the Pallacopas. The method is still used by the people inhabiting the marshes of Lamlúm, where, by means of dikes, there are two principal derivations from the main stream, in addition to thousands of smaller channels, which serve to irrigate this fertile tract of country.

The tunnel at Seleucia.

Under other circumstances, excavations were constructed with great labour, either to convey water to certain places, or to give a direct road through elevated ground. A fine specimen of the former has already been described;[2] and the wood-cut gives a faithful representation of the central part near the bridge.

Ancient tunnels in Europe.

The art of tunnelling appears to have been early practised in Europe. The laborious work which conveys the waters of Lake Alban under the mountain of the same name, and from

[1] Herod., lib. I., pp. 190, 191.

[2] Vol. I., p. 431.

thence into the Tiber, is more than a mile in length, and mostly cut through solid rock.

A tunnel was constructed by Claudius to drain Lake Celano. This work, which is three miles long, is partly cut through solid rock, and elsewhere is lined with masonry; in constructing it a number of vertical shafts were sunk in the side of the mountain, so that several parties worked onward at the same time. Tunnel of Claudius.

But probably the most ancient work of this kind is the canal in Samos, which is cut to a distance of seven stadia under a mountain 900 feet high, in order to supply the city with water.[1] Herodotus mentions (lib. VII., c. xxii., xxiii.) the tunnel of Mount Athos; and Strabo (lib. XI., p. 246) the now well-known Posilipo, which runs for three-quarters of a mile under the hill of that name, near Naples, and is lighted by shafts from the top. Tunnels of Mount Athos and Posilipo.

No traces have been found of the celebrated work under the Euphrates at Babylon; but the minute description given, is almost sufficient of itself to prove the fact, since there is but one step between a well-devised plan and its execution. According to Diodorus Siculus (lib. II., cap. ix.), the subterraneous communication between the two palaces, which were situated on the opposite sides of the river, must have been a substantial and permanently constructed work, being 15 feet wide and 12 feet high, to the commencement of the arch. The upper part of the communication is here designated an arch; but whether it consisted of bricks or stones, disposed similarly to those of a modern arch, or of horizontal stones resting at their opposite extremities on piers, or of materials laid in horizontal courses, and gradually projecting from each side wall till they met over the middle of the covered space, it is impossible now to ascertain; yet it is difficult to imagine, unless the construction were such as that first mentioned, how the building could support the weight of the soil and of the river (here 480 feet wide) above it. The like observation may be made respecting the substruction of the hanging gardens.[2] The passage under the Kaṣr[3] Construction of the tunnel at Babylon.

[1] Herod., III., c. 60. [2] Strabo, lib., xvi., p. 738.

[3] This was descended by the author in 1831, but when he returned in 1836 the bricks composing this part of the ruins were entirely removed.

was formed with bricks in the manner of a modern vault; and it appears to have been a work of great antiquity.

Early use of the arch in Egypt.

Many constructions yet exist, which seem to favour the opinion that, in a very early age, arches were formed in Egypt: for omitting all consideration of the galleries in the great pyramid, and of the vaulted ceilings in many tombs, since, although they are hemicylindrical, and formed of wrought stones, the latter are not keyed together scientifically, the author, in 1830, found several specimens of regular brick arches in the western part of the ruins of Thebes; and many more remarkable examples were discovered by Mr. Hay, in the valley of the Assasseef at Gorua[1]. Three of these arches are of considerable magnitude, and form the entrances to tombs which are of the age of Psammeticus. They consist of several courses of bricks placed edgeways, which are made to take the form of an arch by inserting between every two, at the upper extremity, a piece of tile or stone; and each supports a considerable superstructure. There are some which are only one brick thick, and serve as the linings of excavations. And the plaster remaining on one of the smaller arches discovered by Mr. Hay, bears the prenomen of Thothmes the First:[2] this arch is likewise in a tomb, and is constructed of sun-dried bricks, regularly keyed. Sir Gardner Wilkinson also found one of the same kind, having fresco paintings; and on it the name of Amenoph the First. If this arch be really of the age of that king, its construction must be referred to a period as far back as 1487 years before Christ; and it might then be concluded that the first employment of the arch in buildings belongs to a still earlier period, either Assyrian or Babylonian.[3]

Description of an arch discovered by Mr. Hay.

Mining operations of the ancients.

In addition to the evidence afforded by the existing specimens of ordinary mining operations, which were performed in ancient times, as caves, cisterns, open passages, and tunnels, the short notice given by Moses of the artificer Tubal-Cain, shows that the use of metals was almost coeval with the human race. Silver and gold appear to have been abundant in the time of

[1] MS. note from Mr. Bonomi. [2] Ibid.

[3] An arch is said to have been discovered at Nimrúd by Dr. Layard in January, 1850.

Abraham and that of his grandson, and mining and smelting were practised in the time of Job.[1] The Alybean mines are mentioned by Homer,[2] and those of the Chalybes or Chaldeans by Xenophon.[3] The mountain of Thasos was completely burrowed by the Phœnicians in search of metals;[4] and a detailed account is given, by Agatharchides, of the manner of carrying on such operations in Egypt, where of late the remains of the works, and even the tools have been found. It appears that the rocks being heated with burning wood, as is practised to this day in China,[5] were cleft with iron implements, in the direction of the veins of gold. The fragments were first broken in iron mortars, then reduced to powder by grinding stones; the powder was then rubbed on a sloping board with some water, after which the lighter particles were removed with sponges, and the heavier put into jars, with the addition of some lead, tin, salt, and barley bran; the jars being put in a furnace, in five days those materials were destroyed, and the pure gold only was left.[6]

Rocks removed by fire in Egypt and China.

The various ruins which have already been noticed, are chiefly of three kinds. The most ancient may be readily distinguished by numerous masses or heaps, of which a high mound, among, or near them, usually forms the most striking object. The second description consists of ruins and extensive excavations, which usually belong to two different periods; whilst the third comprehends the cave architecture in an advanced state, together with great buildings serving as temples, palaces, and the like. Of the first kind, Sús, and the primeval cities of Accad, Babel, Erech, &c., are specimens. Of the second are the Phœnician ruins of Hagiar Shem in Malta; consisting of some Cyclopian walls, with a suite of small apartments, which contain several mutilated figures: such also are the excavations formed before the time of Alexander, at Fassa, Darabgerd,

Ancient mounds and excavations.

Phœnician remains in Malta.

[1] Chap. XLII., v. 11.
[2] Iliad, lib. II., v. 363.
[3] Cyr. Exped., lib. V., p. 282.
[4] Herod., lib. VI., cap. xlvi., xlvii.
[5] A layer of wood about fifteen inches deep is placed on the rock, and, being covered with wet clay, is set on fire. The wood, after burning for about thirty-six hours, splits and cracks the rock, so completely that a depth of about twelve inches is easily removed.
[6] Diod. Sic., lib. III., cap. vi.

Fakrakah,[1] and those at Ḳaraftú and Bísutún,[2] already mentioned. These last are formed in the face of some elevated and scarped rocks behind Ḳirmánsháh, and contain numerous figures finely executed in relief; with 12 columns on which cuneiform letters are engraven. Major Rawlinson has since ascertained that they relate to Persian history, and chiefly that of Darius, who is here represented as receiving Atin the usurping monarch of Susa, Chitretekhm, the king of the revolted Sogartii, and other captives, after the death of Berjeye, the Smerdis of Herodotus.

Sculptures, &c., in Bísutún.

Remains at Shápúr.

These, as well as the works at Nakshi Rustam, Nakshi Regib, a part of Takhti-Suleïmán, Táḳi-Bostán, and Shápúr, are almost exclusively Sasanian. The ruins at the latter place contain a number of colossal figures disposed in different groups, one of which is supposed to represent several foreign ambassadors supplicating Shápúr to release the captive Emperor Valerian.

Of the third class of ruined sites, which, like those in Egypt, have excavations and exterior structures, with the addition of ancient inscriptions, two specimens may here be noticed.

On an eminence in the plain of Murgh'-áb, about fifty miles north-east of Persepolis, numerous remains mark the site of a very extensive city; on which it is evident that much skill and art had been bestowed, in order to render it worthy of being the seat of empire. The most remarkable portion of these ruins, the Mesjid-i-Maderi-Suleïmán (the mother of Solomon), has a grand pedestal, composed of immense blocks of white marble, on a base 43 feet long and 39 feet broad, and rising in six tiers or gigantic steps to the platform of the monument, which is at the height of 16 feet 9 inches from the ground. The walls of the sarcophagus itself consist of four layers of large stones; and the exterior dimensions of the structure are 20 feet 5 inches long by 17 feet 2 inches wide, and 11 feet high to the cornice; it is covered with a solid roof, whose exterior is arched. The entrance is in the north-western end; and above it are the marks of a tablet. The chamber is

Ruins of the Mesjid-i-Maderi Suleïmán.

[1] On the borders of Aẓerbaïján.

[2] Some of the ruined buildings are Sasanian.

10 feet 10 inches long, by 6 feet 10½ inches wide, and 6 feet 10½ inches high: it has a flat roof, and a stone floor, each composed of two great slabs of marble joined in the middle. On the wall facing the south-west, has been cut in later times an ornamental niche, with an Arabic inscription.[1] The pedestals of 24 columns placed around at 14 feet apart, with scattered fragments of their shafts, mark an area of 400 square feet; which at one time enclosed, what is now ascertained to have been, the tomb of Cyrus.[2] The plain of Murgh'-áb is moreover strewed with ruins, some of which have arrow-headed inscriptions; but, as a whole, these remains are far inferior to those which constitute the ruins of Persepolis.

Ruins of Persepolis.

This city having been constructed of more durable materials than Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and the other Sasanian cities, and even the more ancient cities of Babylon[3] and Nineveh, its remains yet exist in a state to command the highest admiration: while mounds of earth alone mark the sites of Susa and other cities of Assyria, the Takhti Jemshíd (throne of Jemshíd, or forty pillars) at Persepolis, may be classed with the splendid buildings at Palmyra, Ba'albek, Jerash, and Amman; nor are its excavations inferior to those of Petra in Arabia, or of the like works in Egypt and India.

Excavations in the mountain.

In glancing over these elaborate specimens of early art at Persepolis, the first place must be given to the excavations. A spacious niche, sculptured in the face of the rock, 130 feet high and 72 wide, forms the façade of the principal tomb; which is in two portions, both highly finished. The upper compartment represents a kind of chest, having numerous figures sculptured on it; also a fire altar, with a figure standing in the act of adoration, and an attendant spirit hovering above. A false door forms part of the sculpture of the second division, and through its lower part a passage has been broken into the tomb itself.[4] The latter is 21 feet long, by 11 feet broad, and con-

[1] Rich's Journey to Persepolis, pp. 242, 243.

[2] See above, p. 172, and Appendix (A).

[3] See Ruins of Babylon, plate lxi.

[4] The regular entrance to this and the other tomb is supposed by Chardin to have been by a subterranean passage, but as yet, this has not been discovered.

tains two sarcophagi cut out of the rock. The second tomb is a little way eastward of the first, and the niche at the entrance contains figures in relief: it is nearly of the same design as the first, but is more ruinous, and probably more ancient.

The terrace and portals of Persepolis.

The other objects of antiquity are in front of the tombs; and a general idea of these remains may be conveyed to the reader by observing, that they occupy different parts of a grand terrace, which forms a very irregular parallelogram at the foot of a stupendous range of rocks. On the eastern side, the terrace is nearly 1,600 feet long, and three of the sides are surrounded by massive walls, having in each a number of breaks or indentures forming right angles; but the direct distances from side to side are respectively 1,540 feet for the western face, 893 feet for the northern; and for the southern face, 703 feet.[1]

Double flight of steps.

This terrace is approached near the northern extremity of its western side, by means of two double flights of steps, which are separated by a landing-place 37 feet long by 24 feet wide; and so gradual is the ascent, that it is suited for horsemen. It is constructed with such ponderous blocks of marble, that each piece contains several steps, 17 feet long by 18 inches broad, and 3 inches deep; and the pieces are so neatly joined, that the whole has the appearance of having been cut out of the solid rock. A little way from the top of this grand approach, the road leads through two gigantic portals; and there are yet standing two of the four great columns, which once occupied the space between the two entrances; their heights are 39 feet and 28 feet respectively. The front and interior sides of the first portal are supported by two huge unicorns, 14½ feet high; and those of the second, by two winged animals, each having the head of a man, which is covered with a kind of cap: the unicorns are in front of the grand staircase, and the other animals are towards the mountains.

Two-winged animals at the entrance.

Various remains on the terrace walls, &c.

The ruins occupy different parts of the terrace southward of the grand ascent, and form separate inclosures, each with three or four apartments on different levels. Four of these portions

[1] See Plate XLVIII. These dimensions were taken by the late Colonel D'Arcy, R.A., K.L.S.

are of a square form, and nearly of the same kind of architecture; the numerous doorways and window-frames are of striking dimensions, and beautiful proportions, and many of them still retain their places. The portals are formed of huge blocks of dark polished marble, having niches with bas-reliefs of superior workmanship; and they are also remarkable for that kind of bold cornice, which so generally terminates the portals of the Egyptian temples. In addition to the architectural ornaments around the inclosures, and the vestiges of columns scattered about the interior, the supporting walls contain numerous groups of figures representing combats between men and animals of imaginary forms, all sculptured with great care. Portals and bas-reliefs.

One compartment represents a monarch, or some other distinguished person, followed by two attendants, clad like himself in long robes; one of them carries a fly-flap, and the other holds an umbrella above the head of the chief. In another compartment, there is a figure seated upon a high chair, resembling one of those specimens of Gothic carved work, which are occasionally to be seen in our time. In the fifth and principal portion of the ruins are the remains of the grand colonnade of the hall of reception or temple; the platform of which extends 162 feet southward of the portals, and communicates with the lower portion of the grand terrace by means of a double staircase of finished workmanship. This, like the principal approach, has two pairs of flights; and its sides, as well as the adjoining walls, are thickly covered with figures in relief, disposed in different compartments and groups. The principal scene represents a grand procession, composed of the royal guards and attendants, all clad in the ancient Persian costume, armed with bows, quivers, spears, shields, &c., and having a mass of hair projecting behind the head like a wig. Other individuals wearing short dresses, and apparently captives of various nations, compose the rest of the train; these follow in succession, leading chariots, horses, oxen, and camels, and bearing gifts and offerings. In a separate compartment is represented a fight between a lion and another animal like a unicorn, with an arrow-headed inscription at the side of the figures. Figures, &c., in the royal procession. Combat of animals.

Remains of columns.

A little way from the edge of the terrace, may be traced the remains of four divisions of columns, consisting of a central group flanked by a lower one on each side, with a fourth at right angles to the others. Thirteen of these noble columns are standing,[1] and the positions once occupied by fifty-nine others may still be traced, as well as portions of their remains: within the enclosure there are likewise, at intervals, four huge blocks of stone, which were either pedestals for figures or portions of portals.[2] Some remains of Ḳanáts, partly of masonry, and partly cut in the solid rock, extend from the hills to this part of the ruins. The great columns are of an order of architecture almost peculiar to this place, and of two sizes. The cup and leaves of a pendant lotus form the pedestal. The shaft is finely fluted in fifty-two divisions, and is 16 feet in circumference below; but, at about two-thirds of its height, it has a swell, and it terminates with a very peculiar kind of capital, which seems to represent the hinder parts of two animals, resembling bulls of different sizes, so joined together as to leave between them a hollow, suited for the reception of one extremity of a beam or stone to support the roof. The whole is composed of white marble blocks, beautifully fitted, and connected by an iron spindle running up the centre; the greater columns are 86 feet in height, and the lesser about 60 feet, both kinds having the same relative proportions. The form of the capitals, together with the indications that they were used as supports, show that the edifice had at one time a roof: in such a climate this must have been indispensable, whether the structure were a palace or a temple: a portion at each side was lower than the centre, and this style of building is still followed in the halls of reception at Ispahán. These interesting remains betoken a state of art worthy of the best days of Greece or Rome; whilst the cuneiform writing and the hieroglyphic symbols which adorn the walls, indicate an antiquity much more remote. The solitary grandeur of these edifices have long interested travellers; and the inscriptions upon them have unsuccessfully occupied the attention of the learned during the two last centuries. The

Architecture of the palace or temple.

Hall of reception at Persepolis.

[1] Plate XLVIII.

[2] Niebuhr, tome II., p. 110.

most probable conjecture is, that the excavations formed part of a temple to Mithras, or Ormazd; and that the exterior buildings were subsequently added as a hall of reception, by Jemshíd, or by the first Darius.[1]

Bridges at Baghdád Hilláh, &c.

Bridges, such as were formed by Darius over the Bosphorus, and Xerxes across the Hellespont, are still constructed at Baghdád and Hilláh by means of a line of country boats, firmly moored from side to side of the river, with their bows towards the current; and at such distances apart, as will permit the intervals to be covered with a platform of sufficient strength to bear a number of laden camels. In order to facilitate the passage of these animals at all times, a moveable platform extends from each bank to the bridge: this platform, by moving up and down with the bridge, is suited for any degree of elevation or depression to which the stream may be subject throughout the year.

Manner of removing and replacing the bridge.

The bridges are displaced and restored with great facility. In case of a sudden flood, for example, or when necessary for the passage of a large boat, or from any other cause, they may be loosened at either extremity, or separated in the middle, and allowed to swing round with the stream, so as to lie along one bank, or both. In order to restore a bridge which has thus been removed in an entire body, it is drawn up along the bank, against the current, till the lower extremity is brought up to the place where the head was before, and the head being pushed out, the bridge is, by the force of the current, made to swing across the river. Judging from the jetties, and other remains, at Zelebi, Thapsacus, &c., such must have been the method of forming bridges at those places in ancient times.

Nature of the bridges of Persia.

In Persia, the bridges on piers are particularly light and elegant; each arch, instead of being formed with a single course of stones, frequently consists of two light courses, which touch one another, and a cylindrical vault or tunnel passes quite through each of the hances, between the curve and the pier. Some bridges have at the top a covered way on each side for passengers, whilst in others there is one in the body of the structure; in this case the top, which is paved, and level

[1] Appendix (C).

throughout the whole extent, is free for the use of camels, horses, &c. In the present day the bridges are generally of brick, but the older structures are frequently of stone.

Cupolas and arches built without centring.

The kárvánseráïs,[1] baths,[2] and mosques, with the cupolas and graceful arches of the Persians, have been already noticed.[3] So light are the materials with which the two last are constructed, and so good is the cement (which is chiefly made of gypsum), that these works are formed without any kind of centring. All that is necessary being, that the bricklayer's attendant should hold the portion of the work already executed for a few minutes, till the bricks or tiles have taken the proper curve; more materials are then gradually added, till the arch or cupola is keyed. Bricks, one inch and a half thick, placed edge to edge, serve for the cupola, and some of larger dimensions, often sun-dried, for the arch: not only an arch over a doorway is thus formed; a whole room, or even a small house, is often covered, from one gable to the opposite, with a succession of such arches, each one brick thick; the form of the curve being first traced on each gable.

Arches constructed on the ground in sections.

On other occasions, the two sides of a Saracenic arch are constructed on the ground, from whence they are then raised up to their places and keyed. Of late years something of this kind has been practised in England; sections of a cylindrical drain, for example, being separately formed and cemented, and then put together.

Dwellings of the Asiatic people.

Great similarity prevails among the habitations in the east, which, whether in town or country, generally consist of a certain number of apartments built round a court. In the case of the richer people, these apartments are numerous, and above them are corridors: fountains play in the courts, and a raised stage or diwán is formed in the reception-rooms. The apartments which are excavated in masses of rock, nearly resemble the buildings raised on the ground.[4]

The ordinary cottages of Asia Minor, Persia, &c., have already been described.[5] The houses in Mesopotamia and the southern provinces of Persia have under-ground arched apart-

[1] Vol. I., pp. 235, 369. [2] Ibid., 370.
[3] Ibid., 235. [4] Ibid., 365, 366. [5] Ibid., 241, 365, 367.

ments, called serdaubs. From these, the light is almost excluded, but a current of fresh air is admitted to the different apartments by means of a wind-tower (badgír), which is a square turret, having vertical apertures on the sides, and cross divisions in the interior. The temperature in the serdaub during the day in the hot season is from 8° to 11° less than in the ordinary apartments, and therefore the inmates of the house then occupy it; the roof is used as a sleeping place by night. Summer apartments under ground.

The common clay used to cement sun-dried bricks in the large structures of Babylonia, as well as the better kind, which is employed in the foundations of those works, have been noticed, and it is intended now to describe the nature of some other cements which are used in that territory, and in different parts of western Asia. Use of clay and other cements.

The remains of Babylon attest the fact mentioned by Herodotus,[1] that some parts of the walls of that city were cemented with bitumen; and the same material is still used in this part of the world.[2] It is boiled with a certain proportion of oil,[3] and is impenetrable by water. It is used to cover water-courses, tanks, the floors of bath-rooms, and, with the addition of a proportion of sand or earth, it serves to form the terraced roofs of houses: its exceeding durability is manifest from the specimens at Babylon and elsewhere. Use of bitumen as a cement.

In the fountains at Kerkúk, Apcheron, and other places, this mineral is found mixed with different substances, particularly salt and oil of naphtha; and a bucket, made of skin, being shaken beneath the surface, these three ingredients are drawn up together by means of a swipe. The mixture is thrown into a reservoir, and afterwards poured into a shallow receptacle, when the bitumen and salt crystallize, and the oil, being collected, is put into jars. The oil is generally employed in Persia to give light: rags well saturated with it being burned in an iron frame, a few feet from the ground, thoroughly illuminate the court of a khán or other enclosure. Occasionally, as at Apcheron, white Uses to which naphtha is applied.

[1] Lib. I., cap. clxxix. [2] Rich's Babylon and Persepolis, p. 100.

[3] Where exposed to water, and in the moist places in the ditch, the walls of Baghdád are built with bitumen.

and black naphtha are found at the same source; the former is valuable as a varnish and in mixing paints, also for the cure of bruises and sprains in men and animals, and is taken internally by the Russians as a cordial, or as a cure for the stone and other diseases.

Mortar used at Babylon, and its preparation.

Amidst the ruins of the Ḳaṣr, the hanging gardens, and other places in Babylon, there is another, and a more tenacious cement, which so firmly unites the kiln-burnt bricks, that it is almost impossible to separate them without breaking the bricks. The substance composing the mortar, generally found in the most ancient remains which are built of burnt bricks, is a calcareous earth, called jus by the Arabs, and kárej by the Turks;[1] it is found in the desert westward of the Euphrates, and is even now the common cement of the country. Probably owing to the large proportion of mineral particles which it contains, it becomes exceedingly hard as well as durable; and as it possesses in a peculiar degree the valuable property of instantly uniting, it greatly facilitates the construction of arches and domes. The inhabitants of Minorca are indebted to the Arabs for the use of a similar cement, called guish,[2] which sets so quickly, that groined arches of cut stone are formed by it without centring; poles being used to support the work till the cement is quite hard.[3]

Cement of the Arabs called guish.

Chunam of Babylon and India.

On the exposed sides of the bricks once forming the exterior of the Ḳaṣr and the remains of the hanging gardens, the third and finest description of cement is found; it covers them like a thin coating of modern stucco, and it is now as hard and perfect as it was the day it was put on: borak appears to have formed the substance of this kind of plaster. In its natural state it is found in large craggy lumps resembling gypsum, of an earthy appearance externally; but, being burnt, it forms an excellent stucco or whitewash.[4]

The beautiful stucco still used in Babylonia and Persia differs

[1] Rich's Babylon and Persepolis, p. 102.

[2] A greyish gypsum, partly transparent, is ground, and water added, when it ferments; and in this state it is thinly spread between the stones.

[3] MS. note by Mr. Colin Mackenzie.

[4] Rich's Babylon and Persepolis, p. 102.

but little from the well-known chunam of India, the use of which was probably carried thither at an early period from the former regions. This is prepared by mixing 20 lbs. of molasses with one peck of gramm, in the state of meal or coarse powder, and a similar quantity of myrabolans (Indian plums), boiled separately to a jelly; slaked lime and fine pit-sand, well combined together, and allowed to stand three days, are then added to the mixture, in such quantities that the whole may form a very liquid cement. This, when applied in thin layers between, or outside of, the bricks, is admirably suited for tanks, reservoirs,[1] &c. When required for stucco, the white of four or five eggs, 4 ozs. of butter, or sessamum oil, and a pint of buttermilk, are to be mixed with every half bushel of cement at the very moment when it is to be applied. But the tanks, cisterns, baths, and the lower parts of walls in Babylonia, are coated with cement formed of a calcareous earth called noora,[2] mixed with ashes.

Ingredients used in preparing chunam.

Cement called noora.

The cement used by the Persians to line water-tanks and cisterns, or to coat water-ways, is no less durable. The proportions are, one part of red earth, which is highly charged with mineral particles or poor ore, two of well-slaked lime, and one of fine sand: these being well worked up, and made into a heap, hardens in the space of about eight hours, after which it is cut down and worked up again with water, morning and evening, for seven days, when it is fit for use. When used as a lining, it must be shaded and carefully watched for forty-eight hours to detect and fill up any cracks that may appear in the work.[3]

Cement used by the Persians to line tanks, &c.

According to Tabiri, the cement used by Shápúr in constructing the Shádarwán at Shuster, was a mixture of sheep's milk, with lime and white plaster (nawreh and gatch).

The Moors have another mixture called jabbah, which is composed of two parts of ashes, three of clay, and one of sand or pounded bricks. These being mixed together with a proportion of oil, and applied either as a coating or a cement, will resist the weather better than marble itself, as we find exempli-

Cement of the Moors called Jabbah.

[1] This cement has been used by the Author with perfect success for a tank.

[2] Rich's Babylonia and Persepolis, p. 102.

[3] Note by the late Colonel D'Arcy, K.L.S.

fied in the tanks constructed by the Moors under the castle of Gibraltar, as well as in other parts of Spain, during their dominion over that kingdom.

Antiquity of written characters.

That the use of some kind of written character is of the highest antiquity, may be inferred from the sculptured columns and pillars of stone said to have been erected by Osiris, Bacchus, Sesostris, and Hercules, to commemorate their respective expeditions; and likewise from the history and theology of the first ages, which are said to have been written by Thoth, or Hermes, on tables and pillars. Some of the inscriptions may have been both hieroglyphical, and in letters, like the bilingual inscription on the black stone at Sús, and the mutilated inscription on a marble block at the same place. But more ancient relics than these are found in the same region, and also, though less frequently, in Phœnicia and Egypt. These are cylindrical masses of hæmatite, cornelian, opal, jasper, agate, and other precious stones. Their size varies from three-eighths of an inch to three-fourths of an inch in diameter, and from five-eighths of an inch to two inches in length; they are bored through the axis longitudinally, and much of the surface is covered with arrow-headed characters, apparently in connexion with the mythological and astronomical, or rather astrological figures, which occupy the remainder of the space. One of these relics appears to have been a sacerdotal signet which had been employed to impress and sanctify the victims that were offered to Mazal-tob, literally King of Stars, who, according to the Chaldeans, once in nearly 144 years, was the sovereign of the winter solstice. The figure is the Taurine Jupiter, and above it is engraved the crescent moon, the Chaldean sign of Feasts, which is here in the situla of Aquarius; in which Jupiter is posited once in every twelve of his revolutions (about 144 years), and where he remains about a month. But since the time when the colure of the winter solstice was in the constellation Aquarius, it has retroceded through somewhat more than two asterisms; the sign was therefore engraven at least forty-two centuries ago.[1]

Assyrian writing on ancient cylinders,

probably astronomical.

Other ancient characters.

Among the specimens of ancient characters belonging to I'rán

[1] Note by Mr. Landseer, author of the Sabean Researches, &c.

and Arabia, are the unknown inscriptions on the rocks in the Wádís El Naszeb, Aleyat, and Mokatteb.[1] Himyaritic specimens of the latter, probably the oldest extant, have lately been found on the rocks of Kúmúrhan, near Malatíyah;[2] and others had been previously discovered in Arabia by Seetzen, Reinaud, Wellsted, and Pritchard. The Chaldee, the Syriac, the Hebrew, and the Phœnician characters have some resemblance in form to these; and when the specimens shall be fully deciphered, it will probably be found that the languages, not only of those nations, but also that of the people using the cuneiform character, are derivatives from this earlier stock.

The earliest writing was probably the Himyaritic.

Numerous specimens of the cuneiform character, which may be the Assyrian character of Pliny,[3] are found in the ruins of Susa, Persepolis, Hamadán, and many other places, where they are engraven on stone; but a richer field is offered on the stamped bricks found amidst different ruins, and particularly those at Babylon, where they are much more numerous than elsewhere. Exclusive of the space left as a margin, and the figures of lions and other animals which are occasionally introduced, a face of each brick presents a written page of 12 or 13 inches square; and so exactly do the same letters resemble one another, that, when repeated, slight flaws or blemishes, when they exist, are found on all; from which circumstance it has been supposed[4] that the Babylonians made use of a moveable type to stamp the bricks whilst they were soft.

Probable remains of written history.

Supposed use of moveable types at Babylon.

This kind of printing, however, is not confined to the larger type on the bricks, for a still more interesting specimen is occasionally found in these regions. This is a barrel-shaped cylinder, of baked clay, 4½ inches long by 2½ inches diameter in the centre, and 1¼ inch diameter at each extremity, having nearly the whole surface covered with small arrow-headed characters. The Arabs call it a firmán, and, according to local tradition, it was baked, in order that the intended edict might not be changed. Signets of stone and metal are very numerous,

Barrel-shaped cylinders of baked clay.

[1] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 479, 613, 620.
[2] By Captain Muhlback of the Prussian Engineers.
[3] Lib. VII., cap. lvi.
[4] By Mr. Morison, author of the Religious History of Man.

and the bold style in which they, as well as the other written characters which are found in this region, more particularly at Persepolis and Bísutún, are executed, is well known. The figures and writing engraven upon the cylinders found amongst the ruins of Babylon, as well as the testimony of Herodotus,[1] demonstrate that engraving upon metal and stone must have been well understood previously to the destruction of that city.

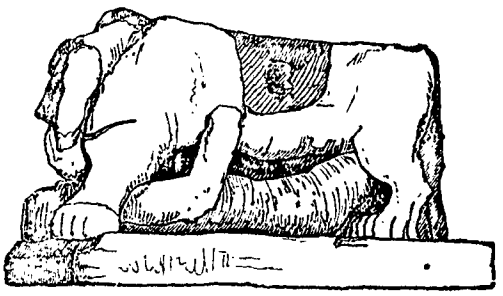
Use of hieroglyphics in the East.

The employment of hieroglyphics was anciently very general in the East;[2] and they are supposed, in many cases, to constitute astronomical records.[3]

Public documents were inscribed or written on various materials, besides bricks and stones, as on tablets of wood, copper, or ivory, rolls of papyrus, the bark of trees,[4] linen,[5] and dyed skins.[6]

Sculpture of the ancients.

Of the sculptures of the ancients there are numerous specimens in high relief, belonging to a remote period, at the above-mentioned ruins, in the rocks at the Nahr el Kelb,[7] in Lycia,[8] and in many other places. The block at Sús, with the figures of a man and two lions, shows that sculpture was anciently



[1] Lib. I., cap. cxcv.

[2] It prevailed in Babylonia, Egypt, India, and Armenia. See Antiquities, by John Delafield, p. 97. Cincinnati, 1839.

[3] In the time of Epigenes, Pliny, lib. VII., cap. lvi.; the records embraced a period of 720 years. See also Cicero, De Divin.

[4] Quint. Curt., lib. VIII., cap. ix.

[5] As in Colchis, Herod., lib. II., cap. cv., and Egypt, Ezekiel, chap. XXVII., v. 7.

[6] Exodus, chap. XXV., v. 5; also chaps. XXVI., XXXV., XXXVI., and XXXIX.

[7] Vol. I., chap. xix., p. 466.

[8] Discoveries in Lycia, by Sir Charles Fellows, pp. 428, 430. Second excursion.

practised with success; probably the earliest specimen is that at Babylon, which, notwithstanding the very mutilated condition of the figures, on a careful examination appear to be an elephant crushing a man beneath his ponderous weight. A portion of the back may be distinguished; but the space cut out of the back for the howdar leaves no doubt that an elephant was represented. The great weight of this mass of granite, as well as of some other specimens, prevented their removal.[1]

Statues, &c., at Babylon.

We are told that a colossal obelisk was transported from Armenia, and erected by Semiramis at Babylon; also that she adorned one of the palaces with animals in relief, and the other with golden statues of Jupiter, or Belus, of Ninus, of herself, and her principal officers.[2] At a later period another statue in gold, of great dimensions, was erected on the plains of Dura,[3] probably to the Babylonian deity Ba'al; and this, or some other like it, existed as late as the time of Herodotus.[4]

Use of statuary in Babylon.

The arts of statuary and sculpture must, therefore, have been known in Babylonia in the eighth century B. C. In Assyria, at Bísutún and Persepolis, they were practised probably in the sixth century B. C.; and the art of painting is quite as ancient. It is stated that Semiramis ornamented the celebrated bridge of Babylon with painted figures of animals; and on the wall of the Ḳaṣr there was a hunting-piece, the principal figure of which represented the queen herself on horseback piercing a tiger with a dart.[5]

Figures represented in the halls of the Ḳaṣr.

Thousands of fragments scattered about this part of the ruins, and displaying colours still vividly bright, like those of Egypt, make it probable that the city was thus ornamented; more particularly the Ḳaṣr and hanging gardens, where, up to 1836, portions of the finest stucco, with colours still perfectly fresh, indicated that there was some kind of representation on the exterior of the walls.

[1] Some black stones with inscriptions, one of them a species of jasper, was sent to the British Museum by Sir Harford Jones Brydges.

[2] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. viii. and ix.

[3] Daniel, chap. III., v. 1.

[4] Lib. I., cap. clxxxiii.

[5] Diod. Sic., lib. II., cap. viii.

The fine shawls and carpets of Persia and Asia Minor have already been noticed,[1] as well as the superior steel manufactures of Khorásán and Damascus; the mixed stuffs made at Aleppo and Damascus of silk and cotton; and the preparation of coloured leather, in the art of which the Arabs, particularly those of Barbary, are unrivalled.[2]

[1] Vol. I., pp. 334, 363.

[2] Since the preceding pages were written, the diligent researches of Europeans have been repaid by the most important discoveries. Under the pyramid, in the hollow of which, according to Xenophon (Lib. III., cap. iv.), the Assyrians took refuge, suites of apartments have been recently discovered in a ruin beneath the remains of another structure. Nimrúd, it is now well known, has furnished specimens of the arts belonging to the early period of the Assyrian dynasty, and showing a more advanced state than that of the arts in Egypt. It is unnecessary to remind the reader that Layard's Nineveh shows that the Assyrians were acquainted with the use of ivory, also of iron and of other metals. They had, besides, a knowledge of the pulley and lever, of fortifications, chariots, horses, ships, &c., and even of the arch. Of all these, nothing was copied from Greece; nor were they taken from Egypt, since the remains are very superior to those discovered in the latter country. Assyria may consequently now recover her place in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XX.

BOATS AND HYDRAULIC WORKS OF THE EAST.

Logs, Rafts, and inflated Skins.—Boats of Branches and Wicker-work, covered with Bitumen.—The Boats of Hít, and their Construction.—Dimensions, &c. of Noah's Ark.—Round Boats of Mesopotamia.—Canoes of Reeds and of Timber.—Wooden Boats of Hít and 'A'nah.—Ferry-boats, and mode of using them.—Sea-going Boats.—Persian and Arab Boats.—Trankeys and Bagalás.—Early use of the Compass.—Chinese Vessels and Boats.—Subaqueous Walls.—Water-baskets.—Water-levers.—Bullock-rollers.—Water-wheels.—Persian Wheels.—Kanáts or Kahreezes.—Souterazi.—Cisterns.—Reservoirs, Tanks, and Cisterns in Syria, India, &c.

Various means of navigation used in Western Asia.

In western Asia are found specimens of every kind of means of transport which has at any time been used for navigating rivers or the sea, from the tree on which Usous is supposed first to have floated,[1] to a complete ship. The use of a simple log is very common among the people on the Upper Euphrates, by whom not only single trees, but also rafts of timber, are frequently floated to their places of destination.

Logs and Rafts on the upper Euphrates.

Another mode of navigating the rivers is by a better description of raft; this is prepared of any required size, by lashing a number of hurdles together; and such means of transport are in use along the Euphrates and Tigris, but more frequently on the latter river.

Rafts made of reeds and inflated skins.

But in certain places where they abound, reeds are substituted for timber; and of these a flying bridge is prepared, in the course of a few minutes, suitable for transporting individuals and their baggage across a river, the animals swimming by the side of the raft.[2] The usual method of passing rivers is however, by means of inflated skins of sheep and goats, on which the Arabs, male and female, fearlessly cross, or descend to a considerable distance along the great streams of Mesopo-

[1] Ancient Fragments, by I. P. Cory, Esq. W. Pickering, London, 1832.
[2] Plate IV.

tamia, for agricultural and other purposes, taking everything they possess; even bowls of milk are carried in this way.[1]

The shepherds and their flocks cross the river daily.

In a pastoral country like Mesopotamia, the great object of feeding their flocks makes it almost a daily occurrence with the inhabitants to cause the buffaloes and other animals to cross from one bank of the river to the other in the morning, returning in the afternoon in the same manner. This operation is generally accomplished without any other precaution than that of the shepherd accompanying the animals on an inflated skin, carrying his clothes, and a small supply of bread, upon his head.

Passage of rivers by means of two inflated skins.

Two inflated goat-skins, attached to one another by means of a couple of hoops, form the next step in navigating these rivers: this custom prevails also in central Asia, with this difference, that larger skins, such as those of oxen, asses, or horses, are substituted for those of the goat or the sheep; and with these, says Wendover, they pass rivers and other waters without loss.[2]

Small rafts are formed with four inflated skins.

Four such skins being attached by means of withes of willow, or tamarisk, there is placed over them a kind of platform, consisting of branches in layers, at right angles to one another, and reaching from side to side. This constitutes the smallest kind of kellek, on one of which may be seen an Arab family moving with the stream from one pasture ground to another, carrying its bags of corn and other effects. This kind of raft is exceedingly convenient, since the materials of which it is composed are easily landed and carried to any part of the country.

Construction of larger rafts.

For commercial purposes, or when proceeding to a greater distance than that which is required in changing pasture ground, a larger construction of this kind is substituted, which, like the preceding, is extremely simple. A rectangular, or more generally a square platform, having a sort of well or inlet at one extremity, is first constructed, by means of successive layers of branches, crossing at right angles, till the whole has become sufficiently stable, which is usually the case when the flooring is eighteen inches or two feet deep. On this platform there is a

[1] Plate LXXXVIII.

[2] Voyage of Wendover, an. 1239. Vol. III. of Purchas' Pilgrims, p. 62; also Candish's Voyage, ibid., p. 61.

fire-place or hearth, within a little enclosure of damp clay, to prevent accidents. Rough planks are then laid over the rest of the space, which is occupied by the boatmen and merchandise; the necessary buoyancy being obtained by attaching in parallel rows a number of inflated goat or sheep skins to the bottom of the platform. These skins are refilled with air, from time to time, by means of a reed pipe; an operation which can be performed at pleasure, since most of the skins can be reached at the sides, and by means of the inlet alluded to, which is left in the body of the raft for this purpose, as was the case in the raft used by the author.

Fire-place, planking, &c. of the rafts.

The ordinary kellek, or raft, is from sixteen to eighteen feet long by fourteen or sixteen broad, and is supported by about thirty-two or thirty-four skins;[1] but the larger ones are thirty or even forty feet in length, and have at least fifty skins, and some are so large as to require three hundred skins. The latter are used chiefly to carry merchandise from Móṣul to Baghdád, and, as already observed, the river has in consequence been called the cheap camelier.[2]

Dimensions, &c., of the rafts for the transport of goods.

The rafts are generally kept mid-stream during the voyage, by means of two rude oars, made of the rough branches of trees, a palm branch fan at the end of each, forming the blade.

The rafts are broken up on the completion of the voyage.

When the cargo has reached its destination, the materials composing the raft are sold for fire-wood, and the skins are taken back by land, for future use. Doubtless this was the kind of raft used by the Gerrhæans, who transported the chief part of their articles of commerce, including some of the spices of Arabia, from their capital, by means of rafts, into Babylonia,[3] and onward to Thapsacus, to be carried from thence to other places by land. Rafts were also used for commercial transport from Armenia to Babylon, the skeleton being of wood, which was usually overlaid with reeds, and the bottom covered with skins.

Rafts of the Gerrhæans and Babylonians.

In one part of the territory a similar raft is used to this day by the merchants and cultivators when conveying their fruit, &c., from Jellalabad to Péshâwur and Attock. When this

Rafts in use from Jellalabad to Péshâwur.

[1] Plate LII. [2] Vol. I., p. 32. [3] Strabo, lib. XVI.

voyage is accomplished, the raft is taken out of the water, and the wind having been allowed to escape from the skins, the latter are conveyed back by their owners to the place from whence they started.[1]

Used also in crossing the Kábul river.

The Kábul river was lately crossed on a small raft made of inflated buffalo-skins, which were attached to one another by means of a few cross sticks. The passage took place at a rapid occurring in a rocky place between Dukha and Muckem;[2] skins are well adapted for overcoming the difficulties of such situations, as they yield, particularly when wet, should the raft happen to encounter a rock.

Rafts used for mercantile and military purposes.

Pietro della Vallé speaks of rafts transporting goods to the value of 100,000 dollars; and that which carried Tavernier had merchandise of 33,000 pounds, Paris weight, in addition to thirty persons, with the necessary accommodation. It is usual to construct on the raft a kind of shed, for the convenience of passengers.

From Xenophon's history it appears that the Greeks crossed the Euphrates opposite Carmandæ, on rafts made with the skins of their tents, stuffed with rushes and tightly sewn together;[3] and a part of Jovian's army crossed the Tigris on a raft made of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.[4] At a later period[5] the troops of Nadir Sháh crossed the latter river by means of a very large raft, on which 2,500 men were transported the first day and 15,000 on the second, after which the raft fell to pieces. This float was formed by large beams of palm-tree wood, fastened together with cables, and rendered more buoyant by having a number of camels' skins tied to it, these being sewed up and filled with air.[6]

Boats built on the Tigris and Euphrates.

A remarkable kind of boat is constructed at Tekrít and in the marshes of Lamlúm, but more commonly near the bituminous fountains of Hít. At these places the operation of boat-building is an every-day occurrence, and extremely simple. The self-taught shipwrights have not, it is true,

[1] Captain Stirling's Pamphlet on this part of Asia. [2] Ibid.
[3] Anabasis, lib. I., cap. v. [4] See above, p. 441.
[5] February 8, 1733. [6] Sir W. Jones's Life of Nadir Sháh, p. 48.

the advantage of docks, basins, or even slips; yet they can construct a vessel in a very short time, and without employing any other tools than a few axes and saws, with the addition of a large metallic ladle to pour out the melted pitch, and a wooden roller to assist in smoothing it. The first step in this primitive mode of ship-building is to choose a level piece of ground of suitable size, and sufficiently near the edge of the water; on this the builders trace out the size of the vessel's bottom, not with mathematical precision, it is true, still a line is used, and a certain system followed, the floor or bottom of the boat being the first object. In the space marked out a number of rough branches are placed in parallel lines, at about a foot distance; other branches are placed across them at similar distances, and interlaced. These, with the addition of a sort of basket-work of reeds and straw, to fill up the interstices, form a kind of rough platform, across which, to give the necessary stability, stronger branches are laid transversely from side to side, at distances of about eight or twelve inches. The bottom being in this state, the work proceeds to its second stage, by building up the sides. This is done by driving through the edge of the former, upright posts, about a foot apart, of the requisite height; these are filled up in the same way, and the whole is, as it were, consolidated by means of rough pieces of timber, which are placed at intervals of about four feet from gunwale to gunwale. All parts are then coated with hot bitumen, which is melted in a hole close to the work, and reduced to a proper consistency by a mixture of sand or earth. This bituminous cement being spread over the frame-work, the application of a wooden roller gives the whole a smooth surface, both within and without, which after a brief space becomes not only quite hard and durable, but impervious to water, and well suited for navigation. The usual shape of the boats thus constructed is much like that of a coffin, the broadest end representing the bow; but others are of a neater shape. Such a boat, 44 feet long, 11 feet 6 inches broad, and 4 feet deep, drawing 1 foot 10 inches of water when laden, and only 6 inches when empty, can be constructed at Hít in the course of one day.[1]

Method of their construction.

Completed by a coating of bitumen.

Dimensions and use of the Hít boat.

[1] See vol. I., p. 54.

This kind of boat is generally used to carry bitumen, salt, and lime to Ḥilláh, Baṣrah, and even to Baghdád, sometimes through the Saḳláwíyah, but more generally the Ḥáï canal. When arrived at her destination she is broken up, and the bitumen with which she was coated is sold, as well as the cargo.

Supposed construction of Noah's ark.

It was probably in this manner that Noah constructed the ark. Of the details we know little, beyond the fact that this floating habitation was constructed of "Gopher wood, covered within and without with pitch." The kind of wood used by the patriarch is uncertain, but of the various trees which have been named, either the pine, the cedar, or the cypress seems to have the best claim to be considered as the representative of the Gopher wood of Genesis. All these are found in the regions adjoining Babylonia, in which they may be said to be indigenous, especially the last, the *Cupressus sempervirens*, whose compactness and durability make it most probable that it furnished one of the two materials[1] of which the antediluvian vessel was constructed. Mineral pitch (chemer) was the other substance, and was better adapted than almost anything else to exclude water, vessel worms, and to prevent decay.

Various trees supposed to represent the Gopher of Genesis.

Múḥammedan tradition respecting Noah.

Scaliger, following Eusebius, states that Noah's three sons were born beyond the Euphrates,[2] probably on the high ground near Sinjár, in which neighbourhood the cypress tree and bituminous fountains still exist, the former in the Ḥamrín mountains and the latter near Kerkúk. This might correspond with the Múḥammedan tradition that Noah was reviled for his useless labour in preparing a huge vessel in a place where it could not, by any apparent possibility, be floated.[3] He was, they add, engaged on this work for two years after he returned from warning Zohak, the king of Persia, of the approaching flood.

Dimensions and capacity of the ark.

The ark, as we are all aware, was three hundred cubits in length, fifty cubits in breadth, and thirty cubits in height, finished in a cubit, or sloping roof. These dimensions, presuming the smallest cubit to have been in use, would give 450 feet for the length, 75 feet for the breadth, and 45 feet for

[1] See above, p. 5, and Gen., chap. VI., v. 14.

[2] Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 174.

[3] See above, p. 6.

the depth of this enormous structure, whose burthen, making an allowance for the cross-beams with which it was braced[1] and the supports, would be upwards of 40,000 tons. From the description just given of the Hít boats, it will be seen that there is not anything to prevent the people of that town, or of the neighbouring country, from constructing such a vessel,[2] a larger scantling only being necessary for the frame-work. The lower story being intended for quadrupeds, must necessarily have been divided into compartments; and these divisions, as a matter of course, would support the second floor, which was appropriated for the people, whose apartments, again, supported the upper story, or that allotted for the birds.[3] As this arrangement required three floors and a roof, the divisions and the necessary supports would have given sufficient stability to the whole structure; therefore the objections raised on account of the supposed difficulty of the work, may be considered as obviated, more particularly as the ark was destined to remain and be floated on the same spot; for we are told that "the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth."[4]

Its compartments, and details of its construction.

Round boats, similar to those of the ancients, still float on the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Herodotus describes them as being round, like a shield, without any distinction of stem or stern; formed of willow, lined within with straw or rushes, and covered without with leather.

The round boats of Herodotus.

They were of various sizes, and some were even capable of carrying a cargo of the weight of 5,000 talents, which, if the greater Attic talent be meant, would be about 164⅛ tons, and if the lesser, 127⅛ tons. They were managed by two men standing up, one of whom propelled an oar, whilst the other drew one back. The smallest-sized boat had an ass on board, and the largest several; these animals were used to carry back to Armenia the skins with which the boats were covered, all the other materials having been sold at Babylon. The ordi-

Description and value of the cargo which they carried.

[1] See above, p. 6.

[2] תנת. The beth is used, Gen., chap. VI., v. 14; and repeated, in speaking of the ark in which the infant Moses was saved, Exodus, chap. II., v. 3.

[3] Múḥammed Tabarí, pp. 101, 102.

[4] Gen., chap. VII., v. 17.

nary freight carried from Armenia and other countries on the route from thence to Babylon, was palm-wine, in earthen jars.[1]

Use of the basket-boat.

The kúfah, or basket-boat, is used on the Tigris and the Lower Euphrates; but they are in greater number and in more general use at Baghdád than at Ḥilláh, or elsewhere. They are constructed of osiers, plaited together, precisely like baskets, over a circular frame of stout materials. The section shows a gentle curve at the bottom, with a deeper one above, forming the side.[2] In some instances, though but rarely in the present day, the basket-work is covered with leather, which is stretched over it after being soaked, and whilst still in a wet state, so that, when dry, the vessel becomes water-tight. But the common method is to cover the bottom with bitumen, which, being smooth as well as hard, effectually excludes the water, and is more easily and cheaply procured.

The boats are covered either with leather or bitumen.

Dimensions of the kúfah, or basket-boat.

The smallest-sized kúfah is about 3 feet 8 inches in diameter, and about 2 feet 6 inches deep. This vessel is managed by one man, who uses a large-bladed paddle alternately on each side. There are other kúfahs, however, varying in size up to 10 feet diameter, with a depth of 3 to 3½ feet; but some are 15 feet from gunwale to gunwale, and are capable of carrying a camel, with several passengers in addition; none of the existing kúfahs, however, would carry such a cargo as that mentioned by Herodotus.

Advantages of round boats.

A boat of this shape is more easily built than any other vessel, and is scarcely more difficult to construct than a raft. It possesses a decided advantage over all other vessels when crossing a rapid current, for, owing to its circular shape, there is less injury sustained when a collision takes place; there is, however, a proportionate disadvantage when going against the current. These boats in descending the river have a bundle of hurdles attached, which float in advance, and a stone of the weight of two talents drags along the bottom to guide them. In these remarkable vessels may possibly be recognized the swift messengers of Isaiah,[3] the vessels of bulrushes coming

[1] Herod., lib. I., cap. cxciv.

[2] See vol. I., p. 57; also Plates LX. and LXII.

[3] Chap. XVIII., v. 1 and 2.

from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia; also that of the Nile in the time of the Israelites.[1]

As boats of a similar construction bore in Egypt, as in Babylonia, the name of báris, it may be concluded that the manner of constructing them was carried thither from the latter region, as well as many other works of art. But this particular kind of boat is not confined to those countries, for it is in use, in the present day, as far eastward as the Indian rivers, and we distinctly recognize these curious vessels in the coth, or corrach, of Ireland,[2] the coracle of Wales,[3] and the light boat of the Anglo-Saxons:[4] the latter was probably brought originally from the shores of Pontus and the Caspian Sea. These vessels were covered with skins sewed together, and so lightly framed that no coast was too shallow, no river too small for them. They dared to ascend the streams for eighty or a hundred miles, and, if danger pressed, their owners carried them on their shoulders from one river to another, and thus escaped with facility from a superior foe.[5]

Circular boats in several countries.

Boats of the Anglo-Saxons.

It is remarkable that boats of this particular construction are in use over the greater portion of the known world; they exist even among the Esquimaux, who cover them with seal and fish[6] skins. An ancient author[7] states that the green willow was woven into a little boat, which served the Veneti to cross the river Po, and the Britons the ocean. In like manner, a boat is made of the papyrus-leaf, in order to pass the Nile during the inundations of that river: the leaf is formed into wicker-work, which in this and almost every other instance serves as the frame-work, and is afterwards covered with skins in a raw state.

Those of the Esquimaux and Egyptians.

Floats of hides are particularly mentioned during Alexander's

[1] The ark daubed with slime and with pitch, Exod., chap. II., v. 3.

[2] Col. Vallancy's Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland. Introduction, p. 27.

[3] Rev. J. Evans, Hist. and Antiquity of N. Wales, p. 278.

[4] Sharon Turner's Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, vol. I., p. 74.

[5] Ibid., pp. 74 and 78.

[6] Travels of Nicolo Zeno, Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. III., p. 610; and Martin Forbisher's Discoveries, Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. V., p. 811.

[7] Lucan, lib. IV., v. 130.

Round boats recently used in India.

expedition,[1] and the round boat is still used in India. In the Duke of Wellington's Despatches there is an Order, addressed to Colonel Munroe, to prepare some of them for the Malpoorba river, in India.[2] Another general might have been satisfied to trust, as usual, to a single covering for the boats; but that great commander, with a degree of forethought peculiar to himself, desires a second leathern cover should be provided.[3]

The canoe of the Lamlúm marshes.

To the round construction no doubt succeeded that of a larger and swifter kind of vessel, such as those used in the Lamlúm marshes. These are chiefly of reeds, small, low, and long, like canoes, with the exception of being covered with bitumen instead of skins. The stem and stern of the boat being alike, she moves either way with equal facility, and is propelled either by one man sitting towards the stern, or, in the case of the larger canoes, by one at each extremity, facing the direction in which the boat is proceeding, and using their paddles on opposite sides, by which means a degree of speed is obtained scarcely exceeded by that of the swiftest Esquimaux canoe.

Size of canoes, &c., at Basrah and Mohammerah.

The beautiful boat in question is confined chiefly to the Khezail and Kualem, two tribes of Shí'ahs, known to have come originally from the heart of Persia. This bark is occasionally met below the marshes, but at Ḳúrnah, Basrah, and Mohammerah it is replaced by one of a more substantial construction, in the management of which the people of the country are exceeding expert. These canoes are formed out of a single

[1] Arrian, cap. XX.

[2] Despatches by Col. Gurwood, vol. I., p. 136.

[3] "Camp at Hattiary, 50 miles from Meritch, April 8, 1803.

"My dear Munroe,

"As it is possible that the service on which I am employed may last after the rivers will fill, it is necessary that I should make arrangements for having boats upon all of them; I have accordingly written to Purneah and to Mr. Read, to have some prepared in Mysore, and in Soondah; and I must request you to have twenty basket boats made in the ceded districts. They should be the size of 10 feet diameter and 3 feet deep; and I wish that they may be covered with *double leather*. The leather ought to be sewed with thongs, and of such a size as to cover the gunwales of the boats all round. I intend that your boats should be on the Malpoorba.

"To Lieut.-Col. Munroe."

tree, which is commonly of beech, brought from the Indian Archipelago. The usual dimensions are from 18 to 25 feet long by 18 or 22 inches deep, and from 2 feet to 2½ feet broad nearly in the whole length.

This boat is generally managed by one man, sitting as far aft and as low as possible, using his paddle alternately on each side; but, as in those of Lamlúm, a second individual is sometimes placed at the bow, also using a short paddle, in the manner already described. A light neat awning of striped cotton covers these canoes, and shades the boatmen as well as the sitters. This is suspended by means of two little spreaders at the extremities, and a moveable curtain is added, which is placed on the sunny side. The canoe will accommodate four or even five persons, without inconvenience, and if they continue steadily in a sitting posture, she will prove to be both swift and safe, but, owing to the round and narrow bottom, a very slight movement is sufficient to upset her. Method by which they are propelled.

Between Hít and 'A'nah, as well as to some distance above the latter town, there is used a roughly-built wooden bark, without a mast, which is tracked upward by hand, and returns with the current. These boats are flat-bottomed, and, like those of Hít, partly wall-sided, but sharp at the extremities, where they rise abruptly several feet higher than amidships; those portions only are decked. By this arrangement the track line is sufficiently high to pass brush-wood and other ordinary obstacles, whilst more command is given to the helmsman, who stands on the platform at the other extremity, steering by means of a very long crooked pole, which terminates with a fan or blade, to increase its power.[1] These boats are carvel-built, of roughly-sawn planks of the beech and other trees growing in that part of the country, and being very liable to leak, a coating of bitumen is sometimes added, to make them water-tight. They are principally of two sizes, the larger of which is rather more than 40 feet long by 14 feet beam, and the smaller 33 feet long, 13 feet 2 inches broad, and 3 feet 6 inches deep amidships. They are chiefly used in transporting bulky articles upwards, such as wool, grain, onions, cotton, sheep, lime, &c., The wooden boat of Hít and 'A'nah. Their description, size, &c.

[1] See Plate LVII.

their return cargoes being timber, or brushwood and charcoal, for fuel.

Ferry-boat of the river Aras.

Besides the round boat, which is so admirably suited for the purpose, another construction, varying according to local circumstances, serves for the passage of rivers. The ferry-boat of the river Aras is a mere box open at one end, and rudely constructed. It is about 22 feet long, by 13½ feet broad, and 3 feet deep. A platform, consisting of rough pieces of timber, extending the whole length, and strongly planked across, forms the bottom of the boat, on which the three sides are raised, by means of uprights, planked in the same way.[1] The boat is poled across the stream, except when the water is too deep, when oars are used.

The passage-boats of Bír.

Those used at Bír for the passage of the caravans are of the same rough build as the former, but they are wider and rather shorter, with an open stern, having a moveable platform attached, which enables the camels and horses to walk on board with ease. These boats will transport six of the former or eight of the latter animals. Their usual dimensions are from 35 to 40 feet long, and from 12 to 14 feet broad at the stern, which breadth continues almost to the bow. The latter portion approaches the shape of a wedge, and is covered with an elevated platform, or forecastle, about 5 feet in length, on which the nâqúdâh, or helmsman, stands.[2] This man makes a dextrous use of a long curved pole, having a blade or fan at its extremity, which is so placed as to form a lever against the stream; the current does the rest, for by tracking the boat up the stream to a sufficient distance, after the camels are embarked, a passage is insured to the proper landing-place on the opposite side. During the freshes, however, it is not only necessary to take these ferry-boats still higher before crossing, but also to use two oars, and to pull stoutly to gain the opposite bank at all; whereas the use of a swing cable, as in Europe, would at once convert the boat into a flying bridge, so that one would do at least the work of six of the sixteen which are usually kept at Bír for this purpose.

Method of crossing the stream with them.

Construction of the passage-boats of Bír.

The workmanship, which is of rough planking, overlapped,

[1] See Plate II.

[2] See vol. I., p. 45.

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and fastened either by nails or wooden pegs, sufficiently indicates that there has been little change, and perhaps no improvement, for ages in the construction of these boats.

Sailing-boats on the rivers Euphrates and Tigris.

It is only below Baghdád and in the parallel portion of the Euphrates, where more speed is required, and greater commerce by sea is carried on, that there exists a form of vessel which combines the advantages of sails and oars. These are of various sizes, from five tons to nearly seventy tons burthen, and they are all of one uniform wedge-like form, having a sharp raking bow, much of which is out of the water, and a full and heavy stern, with a kind of open poop, raised for the accommodation of the nâqúdâh and his crew, the rest of the space being left for the cargo. In general, the rig is the same, consisting of one mast, nearly amidships, leaning very much forward, and spreading an immense latine sail, which extends from stem to stern. The ordinary size of such a boat[1] is 90 feet long, and 20 feet wide; the draught of water is 7 feet 3 inches, and the vessel carries about 70 tons.

Their dimensions and use, &c.

This is the boat generally in use in the lower parts of the rivers Euphrates, Tigris, and Kárún, as well as at the upper parts of the Gulf of Persia, especially for bringing cargoes of dates, in the season, down the rivers. The larger ones have, besides the principal mast, a smaller one, with a latine sail at the stern. Those destined for voyages to India or the coast of Mekrán vary from 70 to about 300 tons burthen, and occasionally even more. These bagalás, as they are called, are rigged with two masts, carrying latine sails. This kind of craft abounds both in the Arabian and Persian Gulfs,[2] also along the coast of Mekrán, the western shores of India, and in the channel of the Mozambique. That in use along the Persian shore is prettily formed, having a very sharp bow, a curious rudder, and wide-bladed oars;[3] but those of the Arabs are of a superior construction to any other class of vessels used in the eastern seas.

The Bagalás of the Persian and Arabian Gulfs.

Trankeys or Batillas, and their construction.

The smaller ones are either called trankeys or batillas,[4] and

[1] Plates XI., LXIII., and LXVI.
[2] See Plates X., XIII., XXVIII. and XLII.
[3] See Plates X. and XIII.
[4] Commander Ormsby's Paper in the Asiatic Journal, October, 1837, p. 108.

are the more remarkable because little or no iron is used in putting their timbers together, its place being supplied by coir-string, and the seams payed with bees'-wax. The Arabs first tie the planks together, and then fasten them to the ribs. This method, in consequence of the elasticity it imparts to the vessels, gives them, in point of sailing, some advantages over those fastened entirely with nails; and the superiority is very observable in the war-boats used by the Arabs of the Persian Gulf.[1]

Vessels of the above rig and build are general, not only on the rivers of India, and throughout the regions just alluded to with little variety, but also along the Nile, and in the Caspian, the Euxine, and the Mediterranean Seas.

The Mediterranean boats, &c., like the ancient galleys.

In some of those countries, as on the coast of Syria, may be observed a kind of galley, apparently similar to the long ships of Sesostris; the long raking bow and the huge latine sail, stretching from thence over the stern, having remained unchanged since the building of the pyramids; for we find this rig, even to the details of sails, oars, &c., depicted on the walls of their chambers.

On the shores of Arabia the same kind of sea-going ships, as well as river boats, are common; the former being, at one season, employed in the lawless trade of piracy, and during the other in trading, as in ancient times, to India on one side, and to the southern shores of Africa on the other. These latine-rigged boats, probably representing the long ships of the Carthaginians and Phœnicians, cover the greater part of the Archipelago of India, and were actually trading with compasses, sea-charts, and astrolabes on board, between the Mozambique and the coast of India, when the Portuguese first rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497; their knowledge of navigation having been derived, it is supposed, from the Chinese, who had long applied to such purposes the polarity of the needle.[2]

Early use of the compass in the Indian sea.

Early navigation of the Chinese.

The boats and vessels of the latter nation claim a brief

[1] Commander Ormsby's Paper in the Asiatic Journal, October, 1837, p. 108.

[2] Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. II., pp. 190, 256, 259, translated by Lieut.-Col. Sabine, R.A., F.R.S., compared with Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. I., p. 322. Dublin, 1790.

notice here, as specimens of the craft employed by the earliest navigators; the Chinese having, apparently, adopted fewer changes in every respect than any other people in the world. Of whatever size the boat may be, the part immersed is invariably spoon-shaped, and almost without a keel. The smaller extremity is the bow, and at the other a powerful rudder is placed, which can be triced up by a winch at pleasure, into a recess left for the purpose between the parts of the double stern-post; but when in its place it is entirely below the body of the boat, clear of the dead water; and as she has scarcely any keel, the rudder gives the principal lateral resistance when under sail.

Form of the bottom of their boats invariably the same.

The boats are carvel built, but the planks are connected by nails, which being counter-sunk into one of the planks, are drawn into the other, the seams and spaces being filled with a mixture of oil and chunam which, when hardened, is perfectly water-tight, and is not liable to crack.

The cabin is aft, the cook-house forward, and a capacious water tank is placed on each side of the heel of the mainmast: the bulk-heads of Chinese boats are all water tight. The whole deck is formed of flying hatches, which are fitted over groved carlines, so as not to allow any water to run below.

Ordinary oars, or peculiar sweeps of great power are employed when the vessel is not using her sails. These last present little variety, being almost invariably a kind of lug-sails, of matting, which are admirably suited for work. In general, there are only two masts, but, occasionally, there is a small mizenmast; the mainmast is placed nearly amidships, raking aft a little, and the foremast, which is small, and stepped well forward, is nearly upright. The masts work upon a pin at the height of the deck, and each is kept in its place by a fid at the keel. On each mast there is a mat-sail, with several bamboo stretchers across it, and these have spans passing round the mast, so formed as to give the sail full play, and at the same time prevent its flying away. The sheets are attached to the end of each stretcher, having spars similar to bowline bridles fitted to them, in order to keep the sail taut; and when the wind is abaft the beam, a sail set on each side gives the whole

the appearance of a butterfly's wings. The sails are reefed in the easiest manner, simply by settling the halliards and allowing the sail to roll into its place between two tricing lines, one before, and the other abaft the mast. Almost every boat serves as a dwelling, and has, therefore, a family on board ready at all times for employment: the people are occupied in fishing or in commercial pursuits; and, as a matter of course, culinary utensils and supplies of provisions form part of their equipment.

The egg or harbour boat

The tanka, or egg-boat, the use of which is so general in the harbours of China, is of a wide, short, and flat construction, having a spoon-shaped bottom, the smaller end being the bow. She is propelled by means of an oar and scull, the former which is placed forward, is pulled with a grummet on a thoul, while the latter, which is aft, works upon a pivot on the taffrail: this pivot enters a socket of hard wood, which is let into the scull, and the extremity of the latter is hooked to a short line attached to the deck, so as to permit it to move from side to side, in order to give additional power to the man or, as is more frequently the case, to the woman, who sculls; assisted occasionally by a mat-sail at the bow. These boats, though only from 10 to 14 feet long, accommodate a family, who are protected from sun and rain by a tilt-shaped sliding cover of bamboo, which covers a part or the whole of the boat at pleasure. The cooking-place and utensils are in the after-part of the boat.

serves as a dwelling-place.

A light kind of wherry, from 20 to 25 feet long, having two mat lug-sails with spreaders and numerous braces, such as has just been described, may next be mentioned. These either row in the ordinary manner or sail, and are not only swift but particularly manageable. The passengers sit on ratan stools or chairs on the after-part of the deck.

Boats fishing in pairs.

The fishing-boat is stronger and more heavily built, but of the same rig. These boats go in pairs, using a net between them. The crews possess perfect command over these boats; and, having the means of regulating their speed by taking in any quantity of sail that may be necessary, they keep pace with each other as to speed and distance so completely, that a large

trawl or drift net is dragged along as evenly as if it were done by hand. This kind of craft varies in size from 20 to 30 tons, and the whole line of coast, from 50 to 60 miles out to sea, is frequently thronged with them. The author, as he approached in the "John of Gaunt," counted about 150 pairs thus employed. Various modes are adopted by the Chinese to entrap the finny tribe, and one may here be noticed, as it shows the skill of that people, in combined operations, and how suitable their boats are for the purpose. Fishing on the coast and in the rivers.

A group of eight or ten small fishing-boats may be seen dropping down the Canton river, having at the scull, in each, a woman with a child slung at her back, and a man standing at the bow. Suddenly, these boats are formed into a circle, with the bows towards the centre, and at a preconcerted time a casting net is simultaneously thrown out by each man at the bow, so that the whole covers the space enclosed by the boats.

There are, besides, various descriptions of cargo boats, some of large size, having a pair of shears resting on the sides instead of a mast, in order that the hold may be free for chests of tea. Streets of boats, moored in parallel rows, present as animated a scene as the streets of a town; and it is calculated that 60,000 people live entirely on the water in the Canton river, with floating eating-houses, gambling-houses, Joss temples, &c. Amongst these may be distinguished the gorgeously ornamented flower-boat, which is fitted up with suitable accommodation for water-parties; and, when moving up the river, is propelled by one large sweep, and sometimes by two such at the stern, thus leaving the rest of the vessel free for the use of company. The ordinary sea-going cargo-boat is of nearly the same rig as the fishing-boat; having two large lug-sails of matting, with a smaller one at the stern, and having very much the appearance of a lugger when her jib is lowered. Between the fishing-boat and the large heavy junk there are various intermediate-sized vessels, of a peculiar construction, some of which are used for smuggling, and others for warlike or piratical purposes. Cargo and pleasure boats. Appearance of the Chinese boats.

The war-boat, though approaching the spoon shape, is of a fine form: she is very long; and, having a great many sweeps on each side, with a numerous crew, she is exceedingly fast. The war or fast boat, and her armament.

The armament usually consists of two guns in the stern, and a pivot-gun in the bow, with six jinjals on each side, which are made to load at the breach, besides a quantity of spears, swords, shields, stink-pots, and other combustibles to throw on board an enemy. These, appropriately named fast boats, have three lug-sails; but in calm weather they depend entirely upon their sweeps for speed. Of these there are usually from 12 to 15 of each side, manned by two and frequently three men each.

Method of managing the sweeps.

A plank, well secured by means of an iron hook, projects about two feet beyond the side of the vessel, in the extremity of which the sweep works on an iron pivot placed at about one-fifth of the length of the sweep, which is attached to the deck by a short line. One man stands on the board to assist the other, and, as in the case of the egg-boats, they move the sweep backwards and forwards, so as to give to its blade an undulating motion nearly parallel to the side of the boat. This appears to be much more efficient than the ordinary mode of using sweeps, which is at right angles to the vessel, and the sculling motion of the Chinese has been adopted with advantage by some of our sloops of war.

Ships or brigs not used in China.

Nothing approaching to a ship or brig is to be found in China, where the vessels of burthen are confined to the far-famed junks, which are of large size, and in many respects well suited for trade. As in the case of the boats, the spoon shape prevails; but though the form of the part immersed is calculated to produce buoyancy with as little resistance as possible, nothing can be more unwieldy than the upper part of these vessels, which seem to be almost a copy of the Noachian structure, having a succession of apartments above the water line.

Description of the Chinese junk.

A huge eye, painted at each side, distinguishes the head of the junk, which being flat above water, like the stern of an ordinary vessel, would seem to be entirely incapable of sailing. The stern, which is apparently still more clumsy, is distinguished by a ponderous rudder, with a windlass attached, to lower and trice it up. Entering at the waist or midships, a hatchway leads from the deck into the hold, which is divided into compartments for different kinds of cargo. In the bow

under the forecastle there is an open apartment with small cabins at the side. Aft, an open staircase leads into a large cabin, above which there is another apartment under the poop, and again another above in which the helmsman is placed; and either here or immediately below, there is the joss-house, containing gaudy idols and lights burning, with a small cabin on each side. The length of these junks sometimes exceeds 170 feet, and the beam between 35 and 40 feet; and occasionally they are capable of carrying a bulk of 500 tons.[1] The rigging is simple: a large mast, placed nearly amidships, a smaller in the bows, and one still less in the stern at one quarter; on each there is a lug-sail made of mats, and having as usual numerous bamboo spreaders. Some guns are placed in the waist, others on the forecastle and quarter-deck, with a proportion of jinjals. The great unwieldiness of this vessel is, however, more apparent than real, for the shape of the bottom, the great power of the rudder, and the ease with which the sails are worked, give a degree of facility in managing the junks which could not be expected. The author has seen one of these vessels in calm weather maintain her place against a fast-sailing clipper. Between 200 and 300 of these modern arks, with a huge wooden anchor at the bow, may be seen entering the Foochoo-Foo and other rivers of China at the same time, freighted with cargoes from the Straits, or from Japan, Loochoo, &c.; and if they are not the most suitable kind of vessel, it must be admitted that they do the work well and cheaply throughout the China seas and Archipelago. Their voyages are made with precision, guided as they always have been by needles, which in this part of the world are marked as if they pointed to the south instead of the north. Round the needle there is a kind of index of time as well as space, one part of which serves as a sort of chart, having those places marked on it which would be successively passed in following a particular line; Pekin being the supposed point of departure.

Size and armament of these vessels.

Facility in managing these unwieldy vessels.

Use of the compass and a sort of moveable chart.

Chain cables are occasionally met in the north of China, where they have been in use for many centuries. The existence of a chain bridge on the highway of Yunnan, in the province

[1] Some junks carry 12,000 pekuls, or 800 tons.

of Koeitcheou is mentioned by Duhalde, and there are three of similar construction in the province of Su-chuan, and another in that of Kwei-choo, and possibly many others elsewhere.

Management of water in ancient times.

Having endeavoured to trace the gradual progress of navigation amongst a primitive people, from the humble beginning of a log or a bundle of reeds hastily tied together, through the various gradations upwards, such as boats and canoes covered with bitumen, to sea-going boats, and the bagalás trading to India and China, the management of water next claims our attention; and the existing constructions show that many important circumstances concerning this branch of engineering have been well understood for ages by the people of Mesopotamia. Between 'Anah and Hít especially, massive subaqueous walls are run out from opposite sides, in such directions that, if continued, they would overlap in the centre, where, however, a small space is left to permit the navigation. These walls are carefully built, some in the Cyclopian style, others with cement; but owing to the effects of time, they are now for the most part mere masses of rubble masonry, impeding the free course of the stream, and increasing its rapidity below the wall, but seldom accomplishing the object for which, as will presently be seen, they were intended.

Subaqueous walls for irrigation.

As the fertility of the country depends almost entirely upon the supply of water, the methods of irrigation vary according to the different levels of the surface of the river.

Baskets with double cords to raise water.

When the banks are but little elevated above the stream, as in Lower Mesopotamia, a quantity of water is thrown up in a short time by a very simple process. A basket made of date branches, closely woven, being filled, and a man with a pair of ropes being stationed on each side, a simultaneous motion empties the contents of the basket into a channel, which conveys the water inwards from the bank; a tilting jerk then replaces the basket in the stream, when it is again filled almost at the same moment: this operation is continued as long as may be necessary by a rapid swinging motion alternately up and down.

But when the bank is too high to throw up the water in this

manner, it is raised by another process equally simple. A wooden lever, from 13 to 15 feet long, is made to revolve freely on the top of a post 3 or 4 feet high, about two-thirds of the length of the lever projecting over the river, with a leather bucket, or closely-made basket of date branches, suspended from the extremity: this is balanced, when full of water, by means of a bucket of earth or stones at the other end, and this simple machine is so well contrived, that very slight manual exertion will raise the bucket sufficiently high to empty its contents into a cistern or other kind of receptacle; from whence it is dispersed over the fields by means of numerous small channels. From continual practice, an Arab is so adroit in the use of the machine, that it seems to require but one motion to fill and empty the bucket; and as the latter contains five or six gallons, which are raised at least seven times in a minute, one man can in this way raise as much water as a bullock. This simple method is in use not only along the rivers of Mesopotamia, but in Syria, Egypt, and India, and on the Pei-ho in China.

Lever and basket used in Mesopotamia, Egypt, &c.

But when, from the great height of the banks, it becomes impossible to raise the water in this manner, a brick shaft, with some simple machinery, is substituted. The former, which is rather more than a semicircle, is built into the bank of the river; and the water is drawn up by a single bullock, or camel. A short but steeply-inclined plain is so disposed as to increase the impetus given by the power of the animal, in pulling by a strong rope which runs freely either over a wooden roller, or a small wheel working on an iron spindle, and is attached to a leather vessel of a particular description.[1] The latter is rather less than three feet diameter, and of a sufficient depth to contain about forty gallons; it terminates on one side on a level with the bottom, by a long spout, which, as the vessel ascends, is bent upwards by means of a cord. The latter passes under the roller, and its length is so adjusted, that the spout is drawn out, and the contents discharged, at the precise moment when the machine has reached the necessary height: the well-practised animal halts at the bottom of the inclined plane, during the brief space necessary to allow the water to be discharged into

Rollers and pulleys worked by bullocks.

Method of raising the water.

[1] Plate III.

a kind of trough or channel, usually coated with bitumen, which is placed to receive it.

Quantity of water raised by this process.

In the act of turning towards the side on which the rope is attached to the bucket, the harness, which is made of raw hides, is detached for a moment from the shoulders of the animal, so as to allow the vessel to descend by the run into the water; and as a stone placed for this purpose weighs down one side, the vessel is quite filled by the time the bullock has reached the top of the inclined plane, and has turned round: at this moment the harness is replaced in the proper position for draught, and the animal then descends, drawing up the water as before. Lieutenant Murphy, with his usual care, ascertained that the vessel is filled and discharged, on an average, once in a minute; and that a tolerably active current is kept up in the little aqueduct at the top, which is about 12 inches in diameter.

Countries where this process is in use.

In general there are two such water-bags in every shaft, each drawn by one bullock, and working up and down alternately;[1] but in some cases there are three, and even occasionally four, of these machines working together. Bullock-rollers are found at short intervals, not only on the rivers Euphrates, Tigris, and Kárún, but machines like them are used on the banks of the Nile; also in India, and other countries eastward of Assyria. The Chinese, however, accomplish this object in a more efficacious manner. An endless chain with numerous boards attached at intervals of about 18 inches, is made to work in a well-fitted wooden trough, which is placed in the water at an angle of about 45°. The revolving motion, which is either given by manual labour or horse-power, is so effective, that a large quantity of water is quickly raised by this simple process to a moderate height.

Water-wheels and their construction.

But in certain places on the Euphrates, more particularly below 'A'nah, the ground is irrigated in a different manner. The current, which here runs from one to three miles per hour, is made to raise water to a height sometimes of nearly 40 feet; and this by such simple and efficient means, that the Arabian authors have placed the contrivance amongst the wonders of the world. A rude wheel, usually 33 or 35 feet diameter, is

[1] Plate III.

formed of rough, crooked branches of tamarisk or mulberry trees, tied together so as to radiate from its wooden axis like the spokes of a more perfectly-formed wheel. The rim of the wheel is constructed of light and narrow scantling, but more perfectly put together than the rest of the work. Around the exterior of the circumference, a row of roughly-made earthen pots or buckets is placed, at about 18 inches apart. These are nearly 20 inches long, and about 3 inches in diameter at the opening, but swelling out to 4 or 4½ inches towards the other extremity. The wheel being thus prepared, is so placed between two walls as to dip nearly a foot into the water, and being exposed to the strength of the stream, it revolves freely, but slowly, on its axis; the buckets enter the water at the mouth, and being thus filled, and then forced round by the current in succession, each vessel as a matter of course becomes uppermost in turn, and discharges its contents into a trough communicating with the conduit of an aqueduct, which, from a single wheel, receives about 150 tons of water in 24 hours. One, two, three,[1] and not unfrequently four of these wheels are placed parallel to one another, in a bend of the river, at the commencement of the aqueduct, and nearly at a right angle to the latter; and as these wheels are moveable, their axes can, by means of stones and beams of wood, be elevated or depressed, so as to work equally well whether the river be at its utmost height or lowest level.

Use of a succession of earthen vessels.

Aqueducts in connexion with wheels.

In general, the earthen vessels, of themselves, give a sufficient impetus to the wheel; but when the current happens to be very weak, the deficiency is supplied by adding to the rim of the wheel six or eight fans, made of palm branches, each about 18 inches square: such additions, however, are very rare, when the water is raised for the purposes of irrigation only, but they are indispensable when the water is raised for other purposes, such as for grinding corn at 'A'nah, or for turning the saw-mill at Hít.

Fans used to give more impetus to the wheels.

Only a few, however, of these mills are used by the Arabs of the present day, who say that they belong to the times of ignorance, probably meaning those of the ancient Persians; but at

Use of water-wheels in China.

[1] Plate LVII.

any rate they prove that the borders of the Euphrates were once thickly inhabited by a people who had made some advances in the application of hydraulics to purposes of the first necessity. A similar wheel is used by the Chinese: tubes within it receive the water, and fans are applied to the rim; the whole is of bamboo. No doubt the useful but roughly-constructed machines employed along the Euphrates led to the Persian wheel which is substituted on the lower part of the Orontes.[1] The water-wheels in and near Antioch are solid, and scarcely inferior to those of Europe. The ordinary diameter is about 33 feet, but sometimes it is as much as 45 feet; some have a double, and others a single row of tubes, which, like the earthen buckets of the Euphrates, fill as they pass through the water; being afterwards reversed, and discharged at the top of the wheel. But when the current is not sufficiently powerful, a number of small fans, made of date branches, are added to the wheel, and a wooden trough at the top carries the water into an aqueduct like those on the banks of the Euphrates.

Persian wheels used near Antioch.

These aqueducts have, as may be supposed, suffered in various degrees during the lapse of so many ages; but owing to the favourable state of the atmosphere, some, like the buildings in Egypt, are surprisingly perfect. They are of cut stone, well jointed and firmly cemented together. The breadth at top is from 20 inches to 2 feet, and increases towards the base in proportion to the height, which varies according to circumstances.[2] In some places there are two rows of arches to give the requisite height, and in others, when the distance is shorter, there is but one.

Description of the aqueduct.

These arches, which appear to be of Persian, or rather of Assyrian origin, almost form a triangle, and, being of a very early age, it may be presumed that they gave rise to the Saracenic, or pointed curvilinear kind. They were evidently cast without any kind of centreing, by causing the stones or bricks gradually to project inwards, till the sides met and were keyed; and the building, including the conduit, being covered with durable cement, the effect is particularly striking, although deprived of columns, pilasters, and other ornaments.

Particular kind of arch used in the aqueducts.

[1] Plate XXII. [2] Plate LVII.

Subterranean water-courses.

The preceding is not, however, the only kind of aqueduct in the east, for subterranean water-courses have been in common use throughout Susiana, Persia, and the rest of the land of Cush, from the time of Houshung, to whom their invention is attributed.[1] Almost everywhere throughout those regions, this method of obtaining a supply of running water is familiar to the people, the mode of construction being handed down from father to son, as the calling of particular families.

Use of the ancient wells adopted by the Persians.

Polybius notices what is now called a ḳanát, or kahreez, in a very particular manner. In describing the campaigns of Antiochus, he observes, that in these parts (*i. e.* beyond Ecbatana) no water is ever seen above ground, although there are many subterraneous wells and streams throughout the deserts, which are known only to the people of the country.[2]

We know, likewise, that such is the value of water at the present time, that the Persians give to those who bring a stream into a place where none existed previously, the free inheritance of the ground for five generations; and there can be no doubt that corresponding privileges were granted, on the like occasions, in ancient times. Encouraged by such a recompense, neither labour nor expense was spared to convey the water through subterraneous channels to places where it was wanted. At the present time, those who use the waters know neither the beginning nor the course of the channels through which they flow.

Canals of skins extending a distance of twelve days.

During the mad expedition of Cambyses, a king of Arabia caused a canal to be made of the skins of oxen and other animals, sewn together whilst raw: this extended from the river Corys,[3] a distance of twelve days' journey into the arid country, where it filled the large cisterns which had been constructed to contain the necessary supply of water for his army. Here, no doubt, the skins represent the primitive ḳanát or kahreez, the formation of which may be due to the original inhabitants of Arabia.

Construction of a ḳanát.

The extreme dryness of the climate, together with the scarcity

[1] Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. I., p. 14.
[2] Folard's Polybius, lib. X., chap. IV.
[3] Polybius, lib. III., cap. ix.

of running water, obliges the people of Persia to turn their anxious attention to the discovery of springs: this being accomplished, and a promising head of water obtained, the subterranean tunnel is executed now, as it was anciently, in the following manner.

From five to nine shafts are usually sunk at different depths near one another, on some elevated ground at the foot of the hills, where it is presumed water may be found: a good supply being thus obtained at a suitable depth, it is made available by galleries of intercommunication between the different shafts. This being effected at a suitable level, the next operation is to convey the water in one channel to the village which it is proposed to supply, or to the fields which are to be irrigated.

Successive shafts sunk and connected.

Having ascertained the most suitable line of communication, as well as the level of the plain where the water is to be brought into use, successive shafts are sunk in the proper direction, according to the state of the soil; and these are severally carried to such depths, that the main channel or ḳanát connecting them may give a free current of flowing water from the head or group of wells, till it has reached the surface at the proposed spot: from thence, when irrigation is contemplated, it is conveyed in open channels.

Method of sinking the shafts.

The operation of sinking the shafts to the level of the bottom of the ḳanát is extremely simple. After a circular excavation has been carried to such a depth that the soil cannot be conveniently thrown by hand to the surface, a wooden trundle is placed over the aperture, from which a basket is suspended, and the latter being filled with the excavated earth by a man working below, it is wound up and emptied by another workman above. But when the soil is particularly soft, the walls are secured by masonry, which, however, is seldom necessary; and when the shafts have reached the intended level, the ḳanát is carried by separate portions from one shaft to another along the proposed line. By this arrangement, many workmen are employed at the same time in different places; and habitual practice has rendered the whole operation so easy and so certain, that a failure in the necessary slope or direction seems to be almost unknown. The main channel of a ḳanát, as well as the shafts

Levels carried on and progress of the work.

leading down to it, is about 3½ feet diameter, and it is almost always completed without resorting to any artificial support of the soil. But when the latter does not possess the necessary tenacity, the difficulty is overcome either by masonry in particular places, or by a lining consisting of a peculiar kind of earthen rings. These are of baked clay, from 5 to 9 inches broad in the rim, about 2 inches thick, and large enough to enable a man to crawl through the channel formed by placing them either at short distances, or, if necessary, in contact one with another. To facilitate their introduction, as well as the replacement of those which are broken, the rings approach an oval shape, so that when placed upright they rest against the top and bottom of the tunnel, and are kept in their places by stuffing earth into the spaces left on each side. The pipe thus formed, being as hard as ordinary pottery, is very durable, and sufficiently strong to restrain the earth from falling down and interrupting the free passage of the water.[1]

Baked rings occasionally used to support the soil.

These aqueducts are very numerous, and frequently at a great depth; such are those near Shuster, and in other parts where the supply is augmented by the continual oozing-in of water from other parts. In some instances lateral galleries have been added to the main shaft, to open up the springs indicated by the water trickling into the main channel. Throughout Susiana, as well as along most of the plains of Persia, the courses of the kahreezes may easily be traced by means of low flat mounds about the apertures of the shafts; and the distances through which such streams are sometimes conducted is extraordinary.

Ḳanáts carried to great distances.

Since the formation of the vast tunnel under the Thames at Rotherhithe, and of the tunnels at various places on the railroads, this subterraneous work has become very common in Great Britain. These are, however, of small extent compared with the ḳanáts of Persia, which are frequently carried to a distance of 12 or 15 miles, and sometimes much more. The ḳárvánseráï, on the march between Dangan and Mushed, draws its supply of water from a distance of about 21 miles;

Ḳanáts are carried fifteen or even twenty miles.

[1] The account in the text is given chiefly from a note furnished by Sir John M'Neill, G.C.B., Her Majesty's Envoy at the Court of Teherán.

and in the plain of Sultáníyah, water is in one instance carried nearly 40 miles.

The ḳanáts yield a considerable revenue to the Sháh, who, in many cases, receives rent for the water instead of the land; this amounts to 20 per cent. for a flowing stream, and 15 for ḳanáts; but for wells or reservoirs only 5 per cent.[1]

Such is the importance of a new kahreez, that the day of bringing the water to its ultimate destination is made one of rejoicing among the peasants; who, having patiently awaited the fortunate hour, named by the ástrologers, receive the gushing forth of the stream with shouts of joy, accompanied by songs, music, and loud expressions of the anxious desire that prosperity may attend it.

Use of the kanát in Arabia and Barbary.

The ancient system of conveying water appears to have been extended eastward as well as westward, for the kahreez is common in Afghánistan,[1] in Kirmán,[2] and in 'Omán,[3] also in Arabia Felix; and one near Tangier was still perfect when seen by the author in 1824. This, however, is a permanent work, being cased with masonry, and covered with that durable kind of cement for which the works of the Moorish Arabs are so remarkable.

The souterazi of the Turks and Moors.

The aqueducts just described being only adapted for ground that is tolerably even, the eastern people have overcome the difficulties of a hilly and irregular surface by means of another description of canal, which is met with in Barbary, and also in Turkey, where it assists in supplying the capital. To the great cisterns in Constantinople water is conducted from the well-known reservoirs near the village of Belgrade, by means of a slightly inclined subterraneous canal, called souterazi. This is merely a system of earthen conduit pipes about four inches and a half in diameter, having a number of inverted syphons connected together, and opening at the superior parts into small cisterns placed at the top of towers of a particular description. The latter are massive pieces of masonry from 20 feet to 40

Method of constructing these works.

[1] Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. II., p. 473.

[2] Elphinstone's Cabul, p. 304. [3] Ouseley's Ibn Ḥauḳal.

[4] Near Bediah.—Lieut. Wellsted's Travels, vol. I., p. 276.

feet high, decreasing like an Egyptian obelisk towards the top, on which is the basin or cistern just mentioned. The latter receives two leaden pipes, by one of which the water ascends from the conduit on one side, and by the other it again descends into it on the opposite side. This last conveys the water in a similar manner to another tower, and so on: this takes place over the undulations of the ground till it reaches its ultimate destination. The use of the towers, however, is not confined to the passage of a glen or valley; they are also constructed on level ground, with the double object of giving additional distributions when requisite, and also of enabling the workmen more easily to ascertain where an injury may have occurred in the pipes.

Towers with cisterns.

Receptacles for water are of three kinds; first, grand reservoirs formed by throwing bunds, as already mentioned,[1] across rivers or valleys which give a large supply of water, as at Belgrade in Turkey, and at Oëdipore, Haíder-A'bád, and other places in India; secondly, smaller bodies of water are collected by means of open cisterns, enclosed by substantial walls, such as those of Solomon,[2] of Hesbon,[3] and of Irbid;[4] and thirdly, covered tanks which are coated with cement; these of various sizes, and are either for general use or merely for individual edifices. Some tanks constructed by the Arabs have already been noticed. Two of these at Constantinople, in connexion with the souterazi, are remarkable for their size and architecture; and one, called the Thousand and One Columns, is about 200 paces long by 100 wide: it is now dry and occupied by silk twisters. It has upwards of 300 columns, some plain and others of the composite order, supporting the arches on which the roof rests. The other, called the Subterranean Palace (Yerí batan Seráï), is more extensive and is still serviceable. This extends under several streets, and has an arched roof supported by 336 thick marble columns, some of the Egyptian kind, and some of the composite order.

Reservoirs to give supplies of water.

Covered cisterns at Constantinople.

Those of Ramleh[5] and some other places in Syria are also

[1] See above, p. 613.
[2] See vol. I., p. 496.
[3] Ibid., p. 516.
[4] Ibid., p. 413.
[5] Ibid., p. 492.

extensive, but in general at the towns, villages, and ruins throughout this country, as well as in the desert of Arabia, these receptacles for containing water are of moderate size, having one small aperture at a depth of from 30 to 40 feet; and occasionally there is a flight of steps to descend to the level of the water. In general they are not built, but excavated in the rocks, and as the inhabitants of Syria chiefly depend upon tanks for a supply of water, such structures are very numerous throughout the country.

END OF VOL. II.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

ALTHOUGH we are nowhere informed that the body of Cyrus was carried back to Persia, we can hardly suppose it would have been otherwise, since it was the custom of the now united nations to give, if possible, more than regal sepulture—to which a monarch, at once distinguished and beloved, would have an irresistible claim. The Persian inscription,[9] "I am Cyrus, founder of the Persian monarchy," with the expressive addition made by Alexander the Great—"Envy me not, therefore, the small portion of earth, wherein my body lies enclosed,"[1] and the golden coffin, &c., have long disappeared from the interior; but the identity of the tomb is established by the following brief cuneiform inscription, which is five times repeated on pilasters among the ruins at Murgh-áb:—

Adäm Kuruš khšárjä
piyä Häkhámänišiya.

This has been deciphered—Ego Cyrus rex, Achæmenius; and from the absence of the usual style, "the great king," it has been suggested that it might possibly refer to the younger Cyrus;[2] but it should be borne in mind that he never was king, and also that the high-sounding title in question, and that of king of kings, were not applicable to the first Achæmenian sovereign, but rather to some of his successors.

(B.)

Long since this part of the text was written, a sufficient knowledge has been obtained of the Median and Persian cuneiform inscriptions to establish some circumstances of much interest in connexion with the reign of this sovereign (Darius Hystaspes). Four of these remarkable records were found among the ruins of Persepolis; a fifth is on the royal tomb opposite to the palace; a sixth is near Hamadán (Elwand), and the seventh at Bísutún. One of the first gives the original of the name:—

Däryäwaš khšáyäpiyä
wäzärkä, khšáyäpiyä khšá-
yäpiyánám, khšyäpiyä
dähyunäm, Vištáspähy-
á puthrä, Häkhámänišiyä, h-
yä imäm tačaräm aqunuš.

[1] Arr. Ex., lib. VI. cap. xxix., and Plutarch in Alex.
[2] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, pp. 422, 423. Copenhagen, 1844.

And the whole makes known that "The mighty King Darius, King of Kings, King of Realms, the son of Kystaspes, an Achæmenian, built this house."[1]

Another one against the ruins of Persepolis, and above the Sasanian sculptures, and now called Nakshi Rustam, is very long, and one portion—

11. HÄ–
12. K DARIYAWUŠ KU NAARI ZU VIYI AURÄ–
13. ZDAN SA DAHYUŠ PPO YO BERIRZŽA ZÄ–
14. RÄKHA PHAAŠÄ KHKHABE YO . . ZRADANITHVENA–
15. M YO ' N QUTIŠ, PPO YO KHKHABE PTHRIKHA
16. YUTU YUT . DATÄM PPO YO . N YUTU PI BERI–
17. š

is very remarkable, on account of its allusion to conquered countries, and the use of ships: the translation runs—"I am the noble Darius, king according to the will of Auramazdes. These countries, which I conquered with the assistance of the Persians, paid tribute to me (worthy to be reverenced), and afforded the continual assistance of ships. What was thus given to me, I have preserved.[2]

In another, probably alluding to Greece, he speaks of "Those whom Darius the king commanded, brought help in every way against the rebellion, which I skilfully put down."[3]

Again, on the subject of their religion:—

56. Märtiyá á hyá Aurämäzdäh–
57. á phrämáná huwätiyä gäs–
58. tá má pädäyä päpim
59. tyám rástám má
60. awärädä mä stä–wä.

(*Translation.*)

"The races of mortals depend upon the authority of Auramazde: their own counsels come to nought. May they not forsake this right way; may they not offend, may they not destroy it!"[4]

And linked with the latter, as intimately connected with Persian life, it is stated that the terrace and propylæa were constructed by Darius and his people according to the will of Auramazdes.[5] Again, on the same subject:—

7. TKHAT SA–
8. WAQQA . BERO SA QUŠIKHA
9. P . KHA SAWA . BERO I .
10. QUŠIKH ZU VIYI AURÄZ–
11. DAN SA . BERO YO QUŠI–
12. YA HÄK AURÄZDA SA.
13. THU ROVI . N ANAPPETUTH–
14. TA EDAKHA PPO SA . BERO

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, p. 362. Copenhagen, 1844.
[2] Ibid., p. 374. [3] Ibid., pp. 383, 384. [4] Ibid., p. 401. [5] Ibid., p. 419.

15. QUŠIKHA HÄK YO QUŠIYA QUT-
16. TA QUŠIYA . WA HÄK ŠIŠ.
17. QUTTA . THUK SA . THU . P
18. YO ROVEN.

In this passage, according to the interpretation given, Darius tells us that he erected the principal terrace,[1] which to the east abuts upon the mountain, forming a magnificent platform, which has been already described.[2]

But what on every account most deserve attention are the four cuneiform inscriptions, on the southern wall of the great platform, each containing twenty-four lines:—

1st.[3]

1. Aurämäzdá wäzärkä, hyä mapištä bäg-
2. ánám, huwä Däryäwum khšäyäpi-
3. yäm ádädá, hušiyä khšäthräm phrábä-
4. rä . wäšná Aurämäzdáhá Däryäwn-
5. š khšäyäpiyä. pätiyä Däryäwuš
6. khšäyäpiyä iyäm dähyáuš Pár-
7. sä, tyáin mänä Aurämäzdá phrábä-
8. rä hyá nibá uwäspá umärti-
9. yá: wäšná Aurämäzdáhá mänäc-
10. á Däryäwähuš khšäyäpiyähy.
11. á häčá aniyäná niyä tärsät-
12. iyä: pätiyä Däryäwuš khšäyä-
13. piyä . mänä Aurämäzdá upästám
14. bäruwä hädá vipibis bägi-
15. bis, utá imám dähyäum Aurä-
16. mäzdá páðuwä häčá hináy-
17. a, haca thušiyárá, häčá där-
18. ugá . abiyä imám dähyáum má
19. aźmiyá, má hiná, má thuš-
20. iyäräm, má därugä. Aitä adäm
21. yán-m yačhiyániyä Aurämäzd-
22. ám hadá vipibiš bägibiš a-
23. datadiyä . . . Aurämäzdä udáð-
24. uwä hadá vipibuš bägibiš.

(*Translation.*)

"The mighty Auramazdes, who is the greatest of the gods, himself appointed Darius, being benevolent to him, bestowed upon him the chief power. By the grace of Auramazdes, I, Darius, am king. The noble Darius, king of this Persian country, which Auramazdes bestowed upon me in this court [or open plat-

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, p. 419. Copenhagen, 1844.
[2] See above, p. 617–620.
[3] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, pp. 405, 406. Copenhagen, 1844.

form] by the power of a horse of excellent virtue, and accordingto the will of Auramazdes sacred adoration falls to the lot of me, King Darius. I am the noble Darius king, O Auramazdes! accept from me adoration with the national gods; and O, Auramazdes, defend the country from disease, from barrenness, and from falsehood! Let not the storms of winter, nor disease, nor sterility, nor falsehood enter this country. This happy condition I, with the national gods, entreat Auramazdes: O, most wise Auramazdes, preserve me with the national gods!"

2nd.[1]

1. Adäm Däryäwuš khšáyäpiyä wäzä–
2. rkä, khšáyäpiyä khšáyäpiyáná–
3. m, khšäyäpiyä dahyunám tyi–
4. šäm pärunám, Vištáspähyá
5. puthrä, Häkhämänišiyá. pátiyä Där–
6. yäwuš khšáyäpiyä wäšná Aurämä–
7. zdáhá. uná dähyáwä, tyá adäm
8. adäršiyä häčá áná Pärsá ká–
9. rá, tyá häčám átärs, mäná báj–
10. im abärä: Uwäźä, Mádä, Bábiru–
11. š, Aräbáyä, Apurá, Qhudráy–
12. á, Armïinä, Kätpädukä, Spärda, Y–
13. uná, tyiyä uškähyá utá ty–
14. iyä däryähyá; utá dähyáwä t–
15. yá: Pärutyä, Asägärtä Pärpäwä Zärä–
16. kä, Häriwä, Bákhtriš, Sugdä, Uw–
17. árázmïiyä, pätäguš, Häruwätiš, H–
18. 'Ahuš, Gädárä, Säká, Mäkä, pátiyä
19. Däryäwuš khšáyäpiyä yäčhiyä
20. awämá mäniyáhyä häčá aniyä–
21. ná. má därsäm imäm Pärsäm käräm páčhi–
22. ya. yäčhiyä kärä Pärsä pátáhätiyä hyá
23. thuwištäm šiyátiš akhšätá huwäči–
24. yä Aurä nirásátiyä abiyä imám vipäm.

(*Translation.*)

"I, Darius, am a mighty king, king of kings, king of these many countries, the son of Vistapes, an Achæmenian; I am the noble Darius, king by the grace of Auramazdes. These are the countries which I held in subjection—in this thing the Persians were the actors—and who paid adoration to fire, and paid tribute to me: Cissia, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Africa, the Gordjæi, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda, the Ionians, both those on the continent and the islands; and also these countries, Parutia, Asagarba, Parthians, Zaranga, the Harians, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Palayas, Arachosia, India, Gaudara, Sacians, Maca. The noble King Darius, worthy to be reverenced. May such adoration be consecrated to me.

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, p. 407. Copenhagen, 1844.

May I never see this Persian acting in an humble condition. The Persian is an agent to be reverenced as one who is a defender. May fortune remain safe to this nation to most distant ages. O thou who art justly celebrated with Divine honours!"

It has been observed, that as the Scythians (Śqudrä) are not here enumerated, but afterwards included among the nations tributary to Xerxes, it is probable that these inscriptions were cut previously to the expedition undertaken by the great king against the tribes of Scythia.[1]

The interpretation of the important and detailed trilingual inscriptions of Bísutún have thrown much additional light on the history of this reign, especially the details of the various conquests and expeditions of Darius Hystaspes for the suppression of revolts, previous to his invasion of Thrace. These inscriptions, and their interpretation as deciphered by Major Rawlinson, will be found at length in the Royal Asiatic Journal, vol. X., part i., and vol. X., part iii. The still more recent and valuable interpretations, by Major Rawlinson and others, of the Persepolitan inscriptions given above, are found to agree in all essential points with those of the Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, already quoted.

(C.)

The inscriptions which have been deciphered since this work was prepared elucidate the present, as the others already noticed have done in the case of the former reign; and in the same inflated language.[2]

16. pátiyä Khšyáršá närphä wäzär-
17. kä wäšná Aurähyä mäzdáhä
18. imä häčhiš Däryäwuš närphä
19. aqunuš, hyä mäná pet-
20. á. mám Aurämäzdá páθu-
21. wä hadá bägibiš utá t-
22. yämiyä kärtäm utá tyämi-
23. yä pithrá Däryäwähuš närphähy-
24. á kärtäm awäšäčiyä Aurämäz-
25. dá páθuwä hädá bägibíš.

(*Translation.*)

"I am the noble Xerxes, a great king according to the will of Auramazdes, King Darius built this pillared hall, who was my father. Auramazdes defend me with gods, both this palace and also the palace of my father King Darius. O Auramazdes! worthy to be propitiated, defend me with gods."

Again on the same interesting subject of the great palace and its portals[3] —

11. pátiyä Khšyäršá khšáyäpiyä wäšná
12. Aurämäzdáhá imäm thuwärpim visädähyum

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, p. 408.
[2] Ibid. p. 349. [3] Ibid. 351.

13. adäm aqunwäm, wäsiyä aniyäšäčiyä nibäm
14. kärtäm unä Pársá tyä adäm aqunwäm
15. utämiyä tyä pitá aqunuš tyäpätiyä kä-
16. rtäm winätiyä nibäm awä visäm wäšná A-
17. uramäzdáhá aqumá. pátiyä Khšyáršá
18. khšáyäpiyä mám Auramäzdá páðuwä utämi-
19. yä khšäthräm utá tyä mäná kärtäm utá tyämi-
20. yä pithrä kärtäm awäšäčiyä Auramäzdá páðuwä.

Which may thus be rendered:—

"I am the noble King Xerxes. According to the will of Auramazdes, I have built this portal to be entered by the people, also the greater propylæa, and the palace—my father built the former palace and its portals. According to the will of Auramazdes we built them, and also the palace of my father. O Auramazdes, worthy to be propitiated, defend me!"

Finally, the dependent viceroyalties of the great king are enumerated, as in the case of his predecessors, but with the addition of the Śqudrä or Scythians.[1]

The inscriptions of Xerxes are found at Hamadán, Persepolis, and Ván. The preceding are from Persepolis—the following, from the former plan, is of some interest. The translation is that of Lassen, given by Major Rawlinson, in the Royal Asiatic Journal, vol. X., part ii., page 319.

1. Baga wazarka Auramazdá,
2. hya mathishta Bagánám,
3. hya imám bumim ad
4. á hya awam asmánam
5. adá, hya martiyam ad
6. á, hya shiyátim adá
7. martiyahyá, hya Khsha
8. yárshám khshayathiyam
9. akanaush, awam parun
10. ám khsháyathiyam, aivam
11. parunám framátáram.
12. (2) Adam Khshayársha khshá
13. yathiya, wagarka khsháyathi
14. ya, khsháyathiyánám khsh
15. áyathiya, dahyaunám par
16. uzanánám khsháyathiya
17. ahiyáhá bumiyá wa
18. Zarkáyá duriga apiya,
19. Dár (a) yava (h) ush khsháyathiya
20. hyá puträ, Hakhamanishiya.

(1) "The great god Ormazd, the chief of the gods (be it is), who has given this world, who has given that heaven, who has given mankind, who has given

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, p. 408.

life (?) to mankind, who has made Xerxes king, both the king of the people and the lawgiver of the people.

(2) "I am Xerxes the king, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the many-peopled countries, the supporter also of this great world, the son of king Darius the Achæmenian."

See also M. Burnouf's examination and translation of this, and a similar inscription relating to Darius at Hamadán, in his Mémoires sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hamadan, p. 121. Paris, 1836.

His interpretation differs very slightly from that given above.

(D.)

An inscription found on the western staircase of Persepolis is so important in connexion with this period of history, that it is but right to give it at length. It is in the Persian or Achæmenian writing, and is found thrice repeated on the northern wall of the smaller platform.

1. Bägä wäzärkä Aurämazd–
2. á, hyä imám bumám
3. adá, hyä awäm asmán–
4. ám adá, hyä märtiyäm
5. ada, hya šáyätám a–
6. dá märtihyá, hyä má–
7. m Artäkhšäthrá khšáyäpi–
8. yä aqunuš, aiwäm päṙuw–
9. nám khšayäpiyäm, aiwä–
10. m päṙuwnám phrämätäräm.
11. pátiyä Artäkhšäthrá khš–
12. áyäpiyä wäzärkä khšáyä–
13. piyä khšáyäpiyänám,
14. khšáyäpiyä dähyunám,
15. khšáyäpiyä ahyáyá
16. bumiyá . Adäm Artäkhšäthrá kh–
17. šáyäpíyä puthrä . Artäkhšäthrá
18. Dáryäwuš khšáyäpiyä
19. puthra . Dáryäwuš Artäkhšä–
20. thrá khšáyäpiyä puthrä . Artä–
21. khšäthrá Khšyáršá khšáyä–
22. piyä puthrä. Khšyáršá Dár–
23. yäwuš khšáyäpiyä puthrä.
24. Dáryäwuš Vaštáspähy
25. á námä puthrä . Väštáspähy.
26. á Aršámä námä puthrä; Hä–
27. khámänišiyä . pátiyä Ar–

28. täkhšäthrá khšáyäpiyä.
29. imän ustäšnám apägä-
30. nám mám upá mám
31. kärtá . pátiyä Artakhšäthr-
32. á khšáyäpiyä. mám Aurä-
33. mäzdá uta mäthrä bágä pá-
34. ðuwä utá imäm dähyum
35. utá tyä mám kärtá.

The first lines contain merely the too-oft repeated passages, the introductory and that of the titles, which are explained above. The only thing remarkable is the omission of the titles "thuriyä ápiyä," which are invariably found in the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes, but which the state of the empire in his time no doubt taught Artaxerxes prudently to omit. The new and original matter begins in the middle of the sixteenth line, and is here subjoined: Ego Artaxerxis regis [17]filius . Artaxerxes [18]Darii regis [19]filius . Darius Artaxerxis [20]regis filius . Artaxerxes [21]Xerxis regis [22]filius . Xerxes Darii [23]regis filius . [24]Darius Hystaspis [25]nomine filius . Hystaspes [26]Arsamis nomine filius; Achæmenius . [27]Generosus (sum) Artaxerxes [28]rex . [29]Hæc alta arx [30]mea (est) in meo [31]palatio . Generosus Artaxerxes [32]rex . me o Auramazdes [33]et Mithra deus tuere, [34]tum hanc regionem, [35]tum hoc meum palatium.[1]

The inscription, besides being most remarkable in a philological point of view, since it shows how early the ancient Persian language began to decay, is not less important on account of the historical dates which it supplies. We have here the genealogy of Artaxerxes the Third, from Arsáma, the Greek Arsames, the father of Hystaspes, quite agreeing with that given by Greek authors, viz.—

Arsámä.	Arsames.
Vištáspä.	Hystaspes.
Dáryäwuš.	Darius.
Khšyárša.	Xerxes.
Artäkhšäthrá.	Artaxerxes I.
Dáryäwuš.	Darius.
Artäkhšäthrá.	Artaxerxes II.
Artäkhšäthrá.	Artaxerxes III.

With the exception of Xerxes the Second and Sogdianus, who are omitted, not being the lineal ancestors of Artaxerxes the Third, but only brothers of his grandfather Darius the Second, we have here the complete genealogy of Artaxerxes the Third, from Arsames, the father of Hystaspes, and it quite agrees with that given by Greek authors.[2]

[1] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1844, pp. 423–426.
[2] Ibid.

(E.)

A List of Exactions and Monopolies farmed out by the Páshá of Móṣul, 1841.

	Piastres.
General stamp on goods . .	275,000
Dyeing blue with indigo . .	224,000
,, with madder roots and printing . . .	23,000
Bleaching	5,000
Building rafts on river . .	50,000
Sale of horses and yarns . .	24,000
Ferry	10,000
Public weighing	30,000
Duty on auctioneers . . .	9,000
,, corn	190,000
Precious metals	20,000
Duty on copper	6,000
,, butchers' meat . .	120,000
,, oils and sale of sweetmeats	40,000
,, sale of candles . .	40,000
,, roasting kabobs . .	3,000
,, dried fruits . . .	20,000

	Piastres.
Tax on every load entering the town . . .	300,000
,, water-melon gardens	13,000
,, other gardens . .	15,000
,, sale or keeping cows	10,000
,, counting flocks . .	300,000
Isnaf, or corporation tax . .	1,050,000
Monopoly on sale of tobacco .	24.500
,, ,, soap . .	350,000
,, ,, coffee .	27,000
,, ,, salt . .	20,000
,, ,, charcoal	27,000
Exactions from Múḥammedans at the new year . . .	60,000
Total . . .	3,195,500

Equal to about £32,000.

Previous to the present Páshá (1841) there was only one small tax levied of the above exactions, on the Isnafs or corporations of trades, under the name of "Salian;" this is an exaction on Múḥammedans only. The Kharáj, which extends only to Christians and Jews, is said to be fixed by the Porte at 110,000 piastres, but the Páshá levies 200,000. He also exacts 40 piastres on every loaded camel leaving the town, which is levied on the person hiring the animal.

Comparison of Imports to Móṣul in 1835 *and* 1841.

	1835	1841
British yarns of all descriptions . . . Bales	500	20
Handkerchiefs, muslin, lappets, &c. . . ,,	80	8
Indigo . . . . . Chests	75	19
Chintz of all kinds . . . . . Bales	250	50
Broad cloth, French . . . . . ,,	56	16
Coffee, Mocha . . . . Cantars of 500 lbs.	100	40
Tin Banco . . . . . ,,	0	4
Sugar, Bengal refined . . ,,	70	25
Red caps from France and Genoa . . . Chests	50	30
Domestics, English . . . . . Bales	80	None.
Maddapollam . . . . . Pieces	4,000	1,500

The enormous monopolies given above, which are in addition to the regular revenues of the country, depopulate the territory and impoverish the people. The tax on indigo-dyeing, for instance, is two-thirds more than the value of indigo itself. Europeans, however, are exempt from these exactions, paying only a fixed and moderate rate of duty.

The principal inhabitants of the páshálik of Móṣul are Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Bedawíns, Yezídís, Nestorians, and Jews. The Turks and Arabs, with a few Kurds and Yezídís, inhabit the plains; but the greater number of the two latter

live in the mountains; the Bedawíns in the desert: the Christians are scattered amongst the two former. The population of the city alone is estimated at 38,500; 1,500 of whom are Jews, 8,000 Christians, and 29,000 Múḥammedans.

(F.)

Statement of Imports and Exports at Constantinople, from and to England.

49 vessels arrived from Liverpool in 1839–40, from September to September; cargoes valued at	£842,000
33 vessels arrived from London in 1839–40, from September to September, cargoes valued at	322,500
18 vessels from England with iron, 4,079 tons, in 1839–40, from September to September, cargoes valued at	36,700
57 vessels from England with coals, 17,329 tons, in 1839–40, from September to September, cargoes valued at	8,800
Total	£1,210,000

And in 1840–41 (September to September):—

51 vessels from Liverpool	value £877,000	
23 vessels from London	„ 223,000	
13 vessels with iron, 3,150 tons	„ 28,300	
58 vessels with coals, 21,744 tons . . .	„ 10,700	
		£1,139,000

The exports during the above periods to England amounted to—

	Piastres.		Packages.		Bales.
In 1839–40,	55,733,344, or £525,786, *i.e.* 106 =	silk	3,842,	goats' wool	4,132
In 1840–41,	56,923,660, or £522,235, *i.e.* 109 =	silk	3,518,	goats' wool	5,830

The principal exports from Constantinople to Persia consist almost exclusively of British articles. The estimated value of these were, for 1839–40, 1840–41, 860,000*l.* per annum, two-thirds of which were for the Persian market. The Persians bring to Constantinople, in exchange, large quantities of Persian silk, Cashmere shawls, galls, tambiki, &c., and money: thus our imports into, and exports from Turkey, are nearly equalized.

During these two years there was, as has been shown, a decrease of about 1,000 tons of iron, and 330 packages of silk, with an increase of about 4,400 tons of coals, and 1,700 bales of goats' wool.

(G.)

In order to convert the friendly assurances which, at different times, had been given by the Court of Teherán into positive and formal stipulations, Count de Sartiges was despatched by the French government, in 1847, to propose to the Persian cabinet to sign a treaty of commerce and navigation, which should secure for us

in Persia the treatment of the most favoured nation, and which would, moreover, give to the French government the power of appointing consular agents at those points where the commercial interests of the two countries might require it. After a negotiation, in the course of which our envoy at Teherán received the most positive testimonies of the desire which animated the Persian government, and particularly from the first minister of the Sháh Hadji-Mizza-Agassi, to preserve the most friendly relations with France, the treaty in question was signed by the respective Plenipotentiaries on the 24th July, 1846. It is composed of six articles, which are the development of the principle founded on the treaties of the most favoured nations, and the tenor of which completely responds to the dignity of the king's government, to the interests of French commerce in Persia, and to the protection of French subjects. Art. 1 secures to the French the right of travelling, carrying on business, residing and establishing manufactories of any kind on the Persian territory, and to be there treated in every respect as subjects of the most favoured nation—that is to say, as Russian subjects, whose privileges were stipulated for in the treaty of commerce signed at Turkman Tchac, February 10, 1828. According to the treaties concluded with Persia by Russia and Great Britain, merchandise imported into Persia by the subjects of these Powers pay 5 per cent. entrance duty into the kingdom, and goods exported the same duty of 5 per cent. Such will be, in this respect, our treatment in Persia, according to the terms of Art. 2, which is drawn up in such a way, that if any reduction of the above duty should be made in favour of another Power, we shall be allowed to participate in that advantage. Articles 3, 4, and 5, have for object to invest the agents of the king's government with an entire jurisdiction over French residents; to guarantee the rights of heirs of Frenchmen who might die in Persia; and to grant reciprocally the power of establishment of consuls on points where their presence might be of respective utility, viz., for France, at Teherán, the seat of the Persian government and the centre of the political interests; at Tauris, the grand entrepôt of the trade of the provinces of Aźerbaïjan, 'Iráḳ, Hamadán, and Kurdistán; and at Bender Bouchin, the port for imports from India and Europe, and with which our colony of Bourbon is prepared to enter into advantageous relations. On her side, France will receive Persian agents at Paris, Marseilles, and Bourbon, if the Sháh should think proper to accredit them. In giving, by royal ratification, a definitive sanction to this treaty, the king's government hopes that the stipulations it contains, at the same time that they attest the friendly dispositions with which the Persian government is animated, are of a nature to secure to France a useful and suitable position in those distant countries, and to extend there our commercial relations. The persevering skill which Count de Sartiges has evinced during his residence at Teherán has tended to produce this advantageous result, confirmed by the sending of an ambassador to Paris, the importance of which has escaped no one in the east. The chief of this mission, Mohammed Ali Khan, was moreover, by the elevation of his mind and his knowledge of European affairs, the personage best calculated to attain the objects proposed by the Persian government.

(H.)

BENGAL.

No. I.—*Comparative Statement of Imports to Calcutta from Arabian and Persian Gulfs in the Year* 1836-7.

		Quantity.	Value.
			Rupees.
Apparel	Haberdashery	..	3,001
Co.'s Rs. 4,712	Rose-water and otter	..	1,711
Books	Books	..	380
Co.'s Rs. 1,698	Bengal pens	..	1,318
Cotton goods	Cotton piece goods	..	735
Co.'s Rs. 1,506	Cotton	..	771
China goods	Tortoiseshell	..	3,798
Co.'s Rs. 3,798	Aloes B. Mds.	211	2,390
	Assafœtida ,,	157	2,513
	Arsenic	..	2,208
	Brimstone B. Mds.	6,589	21,677
	B'dellium ,,	428	1,302
	Coffee ,,	6,450	1,13,188
	Gall-nuts ,,	156	4,091
Drugs	Gall in gall ,,	..	..
Co.'s Rs. 2,00,109	Gums ,,	2,443	37,071
	Medicine	..	7,847
	Saffron	..	936
	Senna leaf B. Mds.	583	2,798
	Drugs	..	3,612
	Sappan-wood B. Mds.	78	234
	Sandal-wood ,,	48	242
	Beads	..	13,569
	Corals	..	1,096
Jewellery	Lamitta	..	1,597
Co.'s Rs. 26,262	Pearls, diamonds, and emeralds	..	10,000
Liquors	Shiraz wine	..	285
Co.'s Rs. 285	Looking-glasses	..	..
Manufactured goods	Mother-o'pearl	915	4,879
Co.'s Rs. 4,879	Copper, Foreign B. Mds.	46	1,669
Metals	Iron, Kentledge ,,	228	456
Co.'s Rs. 2,125	Coir ,,	55	158
Naval stores	Timbers	..	248
Co.'s Rs. 406	Almonds B. Mds.	5,596	40,454
	Confectionery	..	2,685
	Cocoa-nut oil B. Mds.	..	..
	Cocoa-nut kernel ,,	379	1,136
	Dates ,,	29,879	57,481
Oilman's stores	Grocery	..	4,538
Co.'s Rs. 1,11,939	Oilman's stores	..	298
	Raisins	..	4,687
	Seeds, of sort B. Mds.	50	377
	Wax ,,	..	..
	Grain ,,	42	283
Paint and Oil	Earth, red and yellow	..	2,213
Co.'s Rs 2,213	Cardamums B. Mds.	..	..
Spices	Cloves ,,	15	551
Co.'s Rs. 551	Hardware	..	209
Wares	Silver ware	..	120
Co.'s Rs. 329			
Salt	B. Mds.	33,575	1,42,694
Co.'s Rs. 1,42,694	Elephants' teeth ,,	13	1,173
	Chanks	..	..
Sundries	Cowries B. Mds.	6,771	7,727
Co.'s Rs. 11,334	Petty articles	..	2,434
			5,14,840
	Treasure		3,97,973
			9,12,813

BENGAL.

No I.—*Comparative Statement of Exports from Calcutta to Arabian and Persian Gulfs in the Year* 1836-7.

		Quantity.	Value.
			Rupees.
Borax and Tincal	B. Mds.	2	43
Bengal paper		..	120
Brass ware		..	117
Bengal rum	Gallons	..	..
Beads		..	3,585
Cotton	B. Mds.	2	21
Cocoa-nut oil	,,	28	133
Canvas	Bolts	105	771
Drugs		..	130
Grain	B. Mds.	275,558	3,48,767
Gunnies and gunny-bags	Pieces	4,500	472
Ghee	B. Mds.	80	1,216
Ginger	,,	28	299
Hemp, flax, and twine	,,	19	128
Indigo	,,	2,616	5,17,109
Long pepper and roots	,,	..	..
Mats	,,	..	85
Piece goods, cotton	Pieces	109,724	2,22,948
,, silk	,,	167,096	2,69,548
,, embroidered	,,	483	16,149
Provisions, fresh		..	2,590
,, salted		..	101
Shawls, Cashmere	Pieces	70	5,798
Sugar	B. Mds.	25,517	2,35,725
Silk	,,	2	1,214
Saltpetre	,,	25	151
Shell-lac	,,	176	5,636
Seed-lac	,,	12	120
Stick-lac	,,	..	..
Skins and hides		..	2,727
Seed, of sorts	B. Mds.	411	2,357
Sugar-candy	,,	54	866
Sal-ammoniac	,,	910	16,238
Soap	,,	2	17
Segars		..	148
Sundries		..	7,167
Tobacco	B. Mds.	358	1,614
Wax and candles	,,	27	1,307
			16,65,417
Imports re-exported			1,21,165
			17,86,582

MADRAS.

No. II.—*Account of Imports by Sea in* 1836-7.

	Arabia.	Gulf of Persia.
	Co.'s Rupees.	Co.'s Rupees.
Beads	6	16,005
Brimstone	..	654
China and earthenware	5	79
Coffee	22	40,560
Confectionery	15	..
Drugs of sorts	763	6,801
Gall-nuts	..	242
Medicines	..	40
Dyes — Madder	339	..
Dyes — Manjesty	..	2,582
Fruits — Albaker	..	213
Fruits — Almonds	..	4,534
Fruits — Dates	4,256	5,836
Fruits — ,, dry	..	34
Fruits — Fruits of sorts	..	178
Fruits — Kisnusses	..	128
Fruits — Raisins	5	2,827
Glass ware	426	..
Goodauck	120	..
Grain — Grain of sorts	9	213
Grain — Sanegaloo	..	387
Grain — Wheat	..	57
Gum, Hing	..	4,208
Mats	151	..
Metals — Brass	..	81
Metals — Copper	69	..
Metals — Iron	..	1,335
Metals — Kussaud	416	106
Oilman's stores	80	12
Perfumery	4	364
Rose-water	..	287
Piece goods, cotton	108	449
,, silk	20	..
Fish, dry	1,668	..
,, salt	..	128
Onions	6	..
Provisions	83	..
Saltpetre	..	229
Sugar	17	..
Sundries	1,577	2,344
	10,165	90,913
Treasure	60,427	36,500
	70,592	1,27,413

MADRAS.

No. II.—*Account of Exports by Sea in* 1836-7.

	Arabia.	Gulf of Persia,
	Co.'s Rupees.	Co.'s Rupees.
Arrow-root	..	3
Betel-nuts	335	75
Cotton	3,069	..
Cotton twist and yarn	..	150
Drugs of sorts	1,792	244
Ginger, dry	103	1,417
Sappan-wood	661	469
Cocoa-nuts	2,577	47
,, dry	86	598
Tamarind	726	..
Furniture	5	116
Grain of sorts	204	..
Rice	7,66,592	18,399
Jaggary	89	441
Iron	400	..
Coir, Laccadive	770	1,648
,, rope	3,672	3,517
Poon spars	2,781	..
Oil, cocoa-nut	274	105
,, fish	..	177
,, sandal	2,159	570
Piece goods of sorts	2,03,125	32,348
Salampores	77,599	..
Piece goods, silk, of sorts	369	42
Ghee	257	..
Vegetables	2	3
Sandal-wood	25	..
Cardamums	3,623	522
Cassia	3	..
Pepper	17,024	1,483
Timber and planks	2,908	8,595
Turmeric	7,003	2,267
Wax and wax candles	497	..
Wooden ware	16	21
Sundries	1,758	313
	11,00,504	73,570

BOMBAY.

No. III.—*Imports from the Persian Gulf*, 1836-7.

	Weight.		Value.
	Cwt.	lbs.	Rupees.
Coffee	..	170,643	33,466
Dates, dry and wet	179,129	4	3,89,903
Eatables	..	..	29,008
Glass	..	..	615
Gums . Arabic	376	37	4,766
Gums . Olibanum	2,716	77	17,849
Gums . Other sorts	026	11	11,541
Hardware	..	..	106
Indigo	..	5,924	4,985
Ivory, elephants' teeth	31	82	4,940
Medicines and drugs	14,859	3	2,59,094
Metals . Brass, old	6	46	210
Metals . Copper, old	360	40	16,613
Metals . Iron, British bar	35	..	150
Metals . Tin	7	48	205
Mother-o'pearl, shells	463	8	2,539
Oil, naphtha	172	46	5,410
Pearls and coral	..	..	16,370
Perfumery	..	..	5,564
Piece goods, of sorts, 209	..	..	1,686
Saffron	..	661	4,559
Shark-fins and fish-maws	1,849	..	69,086
Silk, raw	..	25,218	1,01,199
Stationery	..	..	131
Sundries	..	..	26,347
Spices, cardamons, cloves, &c.	20,039	96	86,287
Tortoiseshell	..	279	2,369
Tobacco	..	526	287
Wine, Shiraz, 306½ gallons	..	..	832
Wool	..	68,540	6,730
Merchandise			11,02,897
Treasure			20,10,892
Horses			4,45,800
Total			35,59,589
In 1837–8 the imports from the Persian Gulf amounted to			36,02,274
Showing an increase of			42,685

BOMBAY.

No. III.—*Exports to the Persian Gulf*, 1836-7.

	Weight. Cwt.	Weight. lbs.	Value. Rupees.
Apparel	. .	. .	5,864
Beer, 1¼ hhds.	. .	. .	190
Betel-nut	192	28	1,203
Cassia	. .	144,761	21,591
Coals	52	. .	630
Cochineal	. .	···1,829	8,215
Coffee	. .	70,716	15,212
Cocoa-nuts, 88,000	. .	. .	1,269
China-ware	. .	. .	41,018
Copra or dry cocoa-nuts	1,668	84	7,951
Coir	1,052	56	3,612
Cotton	. .	136,200	18,816
Cornelians	. .	. .	350
Earthenware	. .	. .	300
Eatables and confectionery	. .	. .	10,074
Fireworks (China crackers)	. .	. .	240
Ginger	1,535	. .	9,085
Glass	. .	. .	6,258
Grain, of sorts	. .	. .	1,28,492
Gums — Olibanum	180	. .	1,105
Gums — other sorts	258	26	6,052
Gunnies, 1,500	. .	. .	230
Hardware and cutlery	. .	. .	7,707
Hemp	60	. .	365
Indigo	. .	3,763	8,129
Marine stores	. .	. .	556
Medicines and drugs	8,249	78	36,842
Metals — Copper, old	7	56	300
Metals — ,, sheet	57	84	2,925
Metals — ,, tiles and plates	20	111	1,030
Metals — Iron, Swedish bar	4,322	37	11,648
Metals — ,, British bars	2,485	69	11,148
Metals — ,, ,, nails	12	56	150
Metals — ,, ,, of sorts	87	56	735
Metals — Spelter	122	. .	910
Metals — Steel	409	. .	4,715
Metals — Tin	28	5	995
Metals — Lead, pig and sheet	1,538	. .	13,516
Metals — ,, red	16	. .	160
Metals — ,, white	15	. .	220
Molasses or jagree	245	. .	800
Oil, of sorts	. .	. .	15,608
Plate, plated ware, jewellery, and watches	. .	. .	110
Perfumery	. .	. .	225
Pepper	2,636	28	29,959
,, long	13	28	636
Piece goods — British printed cottons, &c., 1,602 pieces	. .	. .	16,640
Piece goods — ,, white ditto, 28,989 pieces	. .	. .	1,89,506
Piece goods — ,, cottons, of sorts, 197,191 pieces	. .	. .	7,82,378
Piece goods — ,, yarn	. .	222,580	2,03,495
Piece goods — Country, of sorts, 318,047 pieces	. .	. .	9,87,880
Piece goods — ,, shawls, Cashmere, 735 pieces	. .	. .	1,04,600
Piece goods — ,, yarn	. .	34,622	13,259
Salt	1,600	. .	250
Silk, raw	. .	40,450	65,391
Spices, viz., cloves and cardamons	342	103	31,005
Spirits, brandy, 53 gallons	. .	. .	244
Stationery	. .	. .	1,560
Sugar	22,460	63	2,71,529
,, candy	16,400	105	2,54,995
Summerheads or umbrellas, China, 1 case	. .	. .	280
Sundries	. .	. .	31,717
Tea	. .	6,928	2,312
Tobacco	. .	2,660	195
Wines, 497¼ gallons	. .	. .	2,014
Wood, of sorts	. .	. .	28,645
Woollens, British, 52 bales	. .	. .	22,300
	Merchandise		34,47,341
	Treasure		42,900
	Total		34,90,241
	In 1837-8 the Exports to the Persian Gulf amounted to		37,33,125
	Making an increase of		2,42,884

BOMBAY.

No. IV.—*Imports from the Arabian Gulf*, 1836-7.

	Weight.		Value.
	Cwts.	lbs.	Rupees.
Coffee	..	977,752	1,96,954
Copra or dry cocoa-nuts	29	56	142
Dates, dry and wet	5,496	13	12,131
Eatables	..	..	1,734
Ginger	22	56	128
Glass	..	..	3,594
Gums, viz. Arabic	7,947	63	99,964
Gums, viz. Olibanum	9,422	92	61,941
Gums, viz. Other sorts	1,646	89	36,734
Hardware and cutlery	..	..	196
Hides, No. 3,260	..	..	2,844
Horns, Gynda	6	5	287
Ivory, elephants' teeth	638	80	98,566
Medicines and drugs	8,238	30	73,225
Metals, old copper	13	32	611
Mother-o'pearl-shells	3,149	36	17,366
Pearls	..	..	22,700
Piece goods, country, of sorts, 441 pieces	..	..	739
Senna	..	571,559	39,773
Silk, raw	..	94	378
Shark-fins and fish-maws	915	72	32,775
Spices, almonds	2,155	16	27,197
Sundries	..	..	27,896
Tortoiseshell	..	2,418	19,997
Vermilion	3	74	632
Wax	2	84	126
Wood, lava	690	100	1,579
Wool	..	12,195	1,195
Merchandise			7,81,404
Treasure			11,02,290
Total rupees			18,83,694
In 1837-38, the imports were			17,76,980
Being a decrease of			1,06,714

BOMBAY.

No. IV.—*Exports to the Arabian Gulf*, 1836-7.

	Weight.		Value.
	Cwts.	lbs.	Rupees.
Apparel	..	..	8,125
Betel-nut	110	84	781
Cassia	..	4,725	6,623
China-ware	..	..	23,037
Cocoa-nuts, No. 450,880	..	...	5,414
Coir	130	..	546
Copra or dry cocoa-nuts	61	28	324
Cornelians	..	..	1,422
Cotton	..	1,430,192	2,03,694
Dates, wet	585	..	1,090
Earthenware	..	..	525
Eatables and confectionery	..	..	5,040
Fireworks (China crackers)	..	..	813
Glass	..	..	270
Ginger	518	84	3,073
Grain of sorts	..	..	1,74,151
Gum, b'dellium	109	107	4,170
Hardware and cutlery	..	..	3,743
Indigo	..	3,368	5,705
Leather	..	..	200
Medicines and drugs	3,282	62	18,295
Metals: Copper of sorts	2	..	100
Metals: Iron, Swedish bar	136	66	970
Metals: ,, British bar	243	29	1,175
Metals: ,, nails	6	84	118
Metals: ,, of sorts	233	25	1,430
Metals: Spelter	290	..	1,778
Metals: Steel	129	..	1,528
Metals: Tin	10	85	400
Metals: Lead, pig and sheet	673	56	5,739
Metals: ,, black	36	74	250
Molasses or jagree	1,880	..	8,129
Oil, of sorts	1,455	105	33,787
Pepper	1,337	56	14,924
,, long	7	37	250
Perfumery and toys	..	..	4,210
Piece goods: British, of sorts, 40,566 pieces	..	..	1,77,989
Piece goods: ,, yarn	..	19,520	17,317
Piece goods: Country, of sorts, 123,380	..	..	3,58,051
Piece goods: ,, shawls, Cashmere, 5 packages	..	..	8,900
Piece goods: ,, yarn	..	12,026	3,927
Silk, raw	..	7,126	11,947
Spices	61	41	8,378
Spirits, brandy, 62½ gallons	..	..	250
Stationery	..	..	1,305
Sugar	1,258	75	14,835
,, candy	1,120	27	15,797
Sundries	..	..	18,168
Tea	..	4,145	1,110
Tobacco	..	825,342	49,689
Wood, of sorts	..	..	17,688
Woollens, British, 1 bale	..	..	160
Merchandise			12,47,340
Treasure			17,790
Total rupees			12,65,130
In 1837-38, the exports were			15,21,580
An increase of			2,56,450

BOMBAY.

No. V.—*Imports from the Coast of Africa*, 1836-7.

	Weight.		Value.
	Cwts.	lbs.	Rupees.
Betel-nut	171	105	1,149
Cocoa-nuts	..	..	586
Gums, of sorts	1,531	..	49,601
Grain, ditto	..	..	3,700
Horns, Gynda	111	48	5,172
Ivory, elephants' teeth	1,805	50	2,70,407
Metals, spelter	46	98	323
Shark-fins	38	..	1,309
Spices, cloves	162	23	9,577
Sundries	..	..	642
Tortoiseshell	..	288	2,439
Wax	19	66	900
Wood	..	..	3,733
Merchandise			3,49,538
Treasure			911
Total rupees			3,50,449
In 1837-38, the imports were			6,35,106
Being an increase of			2,84,657

BOMBAY.

No. V.—*Exports to the Coast of Africa*, 1836-7.

	Weight.		Value.
	Cwts.	lbs.	Rupees.
Apparel	..	..	8,567
Cassia	..	933	139
China-ware	..	..	13,770
Copra or dry cocoa-nuts	30	..	138
Cotton	77	..	1,210
Coir	30	..	125
Dates	210	..	464
Eatables	..	..	1,221
Glass	..	..	542
Ginger	68	14	722
Grain, of sorts	..	..	10,130
Gums, of sorts	6	14	345
Hardware and cutlery	..	..	81,680
Metals: Copper, tiles, and plates	28	84	1,628
Metals: Iron, Swedish bars	266	61	2,000
Metals: ,, British bars	146	65	770
Metals: ,, nails	25	..	250
Metals: Spelter	29	..	192
Metals: Steel	49	..	504
Metals: Tin plates, 19 boxes	..	..	650
Medicine and drugs	163	105	1,858
Oils, Cassia	..	20	100
Piece goods: British white or plain cotton muslin, 11,391 pieces	..	..	49,626
Piece goods: British yarn	..	1,500	1,500
Piece goods: Country, of sorts, 246,640 pieces	..	..	330,065
Pepper	360	..	4,426
Silk, raw	..	154	953
Spices	2	20	260
Sugar	716	14	8,552
,, candy	180	93	2,961
Stationery	..	..	125
Sundries	..	..	60,698
Wood	..	..	1,255
Woollens, British, 20 bales	..	..	5,905
Merchandise			5,93,331
Treasure			25,000
Total rupees			6,18,331
In 1837-38 the exports were			6,45,289
Being an increase of			26,958

No. VI.—*Statement of Ships and Tonnage arrived at, and departed from, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, from and to the undermentioned places, in the Years* 1836–7.

ARRIVED.

Presidency	Countries.	Under British Colours.		Under American Colours.		Under Portuguese Colours.		Under Arab Colours.		Under Native Colours.	
		Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons
Bengal	Arabian and Persian Gulf	5	1,947	..	..	..	..	12	5,295	..	..
Madras	Arabia . .	9	1,536	..	..	..	..	20	3,358	..	..
	Gulf of Persia	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	770	1	100
Bombay	Persian Gulf.	9	2,275	..	..	..	..	2	631	..	..
	Arabian Gulf	13	4,171	2	398	..	..	1	567	..	..
	Coast of Africa	2	477	2	426	..	..	..	..	..	..

DEPARTED.

Presidency	Countries.	Under British Colours.		Under American Colours.		Under Portuguese Colours.		Under Arab Colours.		Under Native Colours.	
		Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons
Bengal	Arabian and Persian Gulf	9	3,890	..	..	..	..	13	5,755	..	..
Madras	Arabia . .	43	6,935	..	..	..	..	140	19,990	..	..
	Gulf of Persia	4	692	..	..	3	645	14	1,626	..	..
Bombay	Persian Gulf.	5	1,290	..	..	..	..	1	542	..	..
	Arabian Gulf	6	1,311	..	..	..	..	3	899	..	..
	Coast of Africa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(I.)

Bushire, July 17, 1836.

SIR,

THE noble and interesting river Euphrates is far too celebrated to require more from me than a fair view of the facilities afforded by it for steam navigation, and of the prospect it offers for establishing an economical and more rapid communication between Great Britain and her Indian possessions, than has hitherto been obtained:—the brilliant prospects of a new channel being opened to our enterprising mercantile world, through a steam establishment on the Euphrates, ought to awaken our best energies.

My personal knowledge of the river Euphrates is limited to the descent made by the Euphrates Expedition, from Bíreh-jik to its estuary, a distance of 1117 miles, performed during the months of March, April, May, and June; but from the information of other officers of the Expedition, not a single impediment exists to steam navigation, upwards from Bíreh-jik to Sumeïsát, that portion of the river appearing far more favourable than we found the first 88 miles, from Bíreh-jik to Beles, which was much intersected with shingle islands and shoals, making the navigation intricate, but always affording us a deep channel from 1 to 3, 5, and occasionally 7 to 9 fathoms, as the river varied its width from 200 yards to 1 and 1½ miles, and sometimes even more. The average current in this part of the river

was about 4 knots, and it takes in the very commanding position of Ḳal'aṭ en Nejm, about 40 miles below Bíreh-jik.

So far the tribes on the banks were evidently so much awed by the appearance of our steamers, that instead of the usual hostility shown to individual travellers, we experienced the greatest hospitality and good will; and there was excited in them an avidity to traffic for our woollen goods, cottons, shawls, cutlery, guns, &c., hitherto quite unknown amongst these wild people.

Next to Bíreh-jik, Beles appeared to me the most important station, offering great facilities for docks and other arrangements, necessary in an efficient halting-place for the steamers which might here end the voyage upwards. It is less than 50 miles from Aleppo, over a perfectly level country, well adapted for either a rail or post road, making a journey easily performed in five or six hours by ordinary means.

From Beles the river improves considerably, exchanging the shingle islands and shoals for sandy islands with bluff terminations and bold shores, thickly covered with tamarisk and poplar, as are also the banks, offering an inexhaustible supply of fuel, with little exception, as far down as 'A'nah, a distance of 406 miles.

At 'A'nah, and below to Baṣrah, the scenery is extremely beautiful, the date-tree prevailing, but frequently other wood in great abundance.

The town of Hít is 103 miles below 'A'nah, and produces salt and bitumen to any extent, from springs about three-quarters of a mile inland.

The bunds and irrigating walls commence some distance above 'A'nah, and end about 10 miles below Hít: their simple and elegant structures make them beautiful features on the river, and they did not cause our vessel the slightest impediment in her descent. One hundred and ninety miles below Hít is Ḥilláh, a very considerable town, having a bridge of boats across the river, which being under the control of the Musellim of the place, can be always opened by his orders on the approach of steamers.

Seventy-six miles below Ḥilláh is Lamlúm, but for some miles above, the river becomes so narrow, and winds so much, that our vessel could be only got round the turnings with great difficulty and risk to the paddles; and after entering the Lamlúm Marshes the channel became so extremely intricate and narrow (sometimes barely exceeding the breadth across the paddle-boxes), that with the three-knot current running in it, and sharp turnings, I consider this part of the river quite unsafe and impracticable for a steamer of our size, but easy work for a much smaller one.

The people about Lamlúm are certainly a wild bad set, and easily excited to hostility; but, with proper caution, a steamer may be always made secure against them.

The windings of the channel through the Lamlúm Marshes make a distance of about 42 miles; but from Ḳaráyem Inlet the river again recovers its former dignity, indeed improves at every step for 135 miles to Ḳúrnah, becoming navigable for steamers of a considerable size, and from thence to the sea, a distance of 101½ miles, for steamers of the largest description.

Baṣrah is about 40 miles below Ḳúrnah, and I consider it admirably suited for the magazines, dockyards, &c., of a large force.

I consider that a rapid steam voyage may be performed, both up and down the Euphrates, at any season of the year.

For the lower part of the river from Baṣrah to Ḳaráyem Inlet, a distance of 174 miles, I should propose an iron steamer of 80 or 90 horse power, about 120 feet long, 20 feet beam, and draught of water in trim 5 feet 6 inches. These dimensions would admit of a fine sea bottom, would give a speed of upwards of 12 knots, and enable her to go to sea in safety, should her services be required in any of the ports, inlets, or rivers in the Persian Gulf. The wind, called Samiel or Samm, which prevails for some months, also makes it necessary to have a powerful vessel for the lower part of the river.

The average current from Baṣrah to El Ḳaráyem Inlet I should set at two knots, therefore this vessel would perform the passage up in nineteen hours, and down in less than fourteen.

The channel of the Lamlúm Marshes, and for some distance above, is so extremely tortuous and intricate, that at Ḳaráyem Inlet I should propose a transfer from the large, to two small steamers: two would be required to carry the contents of the large one, also to give power in case of any attack from the Arabs.

These vessels might be 60 feet long, 10 feet beam, and have power enough to steam upwards of 12 knots, and should not draw more than 2 feet water; as in the low season the Ḳaráblah passage at 'A'nah, and the channel generally for some distance above, and for 110 miles below, would not at certain places have more than 30 inches water. But vessels of this description would of course get over this, and steaming 12 knots an hour, with an average current of 4 knots from El Ḳaráyem Inlet to Beles, a distance of 794 miles, would perform the distance in eight days upwards, and four days downwards; and allowing for the transfer between the vessels and other delays, the passage might be considered as ten days up and five down, adding a day in each case between Ḳaráyem and Baṣrah.

From Ḳaráyem Inlet to Beles I allow only twelve hours steaming each day, and the remainder for taking in fuel, cleaning the engines, &c.

The wheels of these vessels should be protected by extending the outer casing of the paddle-boxes down to the water edge, or even a little below in the centre, in the same manner as the river boats in England.

The passage of ten days up would in practice, I consider, certainly be reduced to eight, as the small steamers with their light draught of water would for some hundred miles be enabled to creep up in the eddies and slack water. However, viewing everything at its lowest average, I should consider (supposing the arrangement in the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean complete), that the communication from Bombay home would be accomplished in thirty-eight days, and out in thirty-three.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) R. F. CLEAVELAND,
Lieutenant Royal Navy.

To Colonel Chesney, &c., &c.,
Commanding Euphrates Expedition.

(J.)

Euphrates Steamer, Bushire, July 17, 1836.

SIR,

HAVING been requested by you to state my opinion as to the practicability of navigating the river Euphrates, and also what I consider to be the best method of permanently establishing a line of communication on that noble river, I now offer these few remarks, founded on my observations during the descent of the expedition from Port William to Baṣrah in the months of March, April, May, and June.

From Bíreh-jik to Beles, a distance of 88 miles, we met with considerable difficulty, the river being extremely intricate for navigation in consequence of the innumerable deceitful shoals and banks, both under and above the surface of the water. We had no pilot, however, in this part of the river, consequently the vessels touched on several shoals which would in future be avoided.

But this part of the river (in establishing a route between Great Britain and India) is not required to be navigated, as we have Beles, and Ja'ber 35 miles below Beles, both places well adapted for depôts, and much nearer to Aleppo than Bíreh-jik, with good roads.

It remains, therefore, to be decided whether Beles or Ja'ber should be the upper station on the river. I prefer the latter, as it saves 35 miles of rather difficult navigation, and is but 8 miles further from Aleppo. It also has greater facilities in forming a depôt, and is considered more healthy than Beles.

Considering, therefore, Ja'ber as the upper station on the river, there remain 938 miles of navigation from that place to Baṣrah. In this distance I consider we have but two impediments which are worth noticing. The first is the Ḳaráblah rocks, 2 miles above 'A'nah, and the second the Lamlúm Marshes.

The Ḳaráblah rocks have 10 feet water over them in the high season, and 3 feet at the lowest, the stream running over them at the rate of 7 miles per hour.

We have already a diving-bell at this place, which at a small expense might clear away the rocks so as to give a passage of 4½ or 5 feet water in the low season. But even as this place is at present in the low season, a steamer drawing 2½ feet water, if she *could not* steam, might be warped up by means of a hawser secured in the centre of the stream above the rocks, with not more than two hours loss of time.

In the high season I think a steamer could get up without having recourse to the warp.

The bed of the river from Ḳaráblah, 30 miles downwards, is very rocky, many showing above water; these, however, may be avoided with a little caution. The rocks of El' Uzz, 9 miles below Ḥadísah, are the next worse to Ḳaráblah, but they do not offer any serious impediment.

From El' Uzz to Lamlúm, or rather to 4 miles above the latter town, we have 288 miles of a beautiful river, the average depth in this distance being three fathoms, with the exception of some places, a little below the town of Hít, where 10 and 12 feet would be the average.

The marshes commence 4 miles above the town of Lamlúm; they extend about 28 miles in a straight course, and 50 by the main channel.

In these marshes the river divides itself into innumerable small canals, leaving the main channel averaging about 120 feet in breadth, but in some places not above 35 feet: the banks during the high season are in many places covered with water, they should therefore be shown by pickets. All through the marshes the bank is not raised above 6 inches from the surface of the water, which renders it unsafe for a steamer's paddles, particularly as there is a current running in the narrow parts at the rate of 3 knots per hour, with very sharp turnings every 200 yards.

All this may be avoided by cutting a canal of about 23 miles in length through a soft loamy soil, and which might be done with great facility by the Arabs who inhabit these marshes, and are constantly employed digging canals for irrigating their rice fields.

These marshes end 5 miles above a creek called Ḳaráyem Inlet, which place is well adapted for a depôt. And here ends every shadow of a difficulty, as from this place downwards there is a fine broad stream with an average depth of 3½ fathoms, and a current varying between 2 and 3 miles per hour.

In forming a steam communication by this river, I should consider Baṣrah to be the best place for the lower depôt, having greater facilities for that object than Ḳúrnah or any place between, although a sea steamer might with ease go up the river much further than Ḳúrnah.

From the latter place to Ḳaráyem Inlet, a distance of 184 miles, I should propose to be navigated by a low-pressure iron steamer, her dimensions being about 110 feet in length with 21 feet beam, and drawing not more than 5 feet water. A vessel of these dimensions would not only be fit to navigate the river to Ḳaráyem Inlet, but could make sea voyages if required.

From Ḳaráyem Inlet two small iron steamers should navigate the Lamlúm Marshes to the first town above them called Díwáníyah in the high season, and in the low season they should go on to a depôt, formed just above the Ḳaráblah Rocks, where, I think, a fourth steamer should be ready to take the contents of the two small ones up to Ja'ber. This steamer might in the high season meet the smaller ones at Díwáníyah, and by this means expedite the voyage; for the fourth steamer being a much larger vessel would be faster than the smaller vessels. Díwáníyah is very well adapted for a depôt; it is about 68 miles above Ḳaráyem Inlet.

The dimensions of the two small steamers should be about 65 feet in length and 22 feet beam across the paddle-boxes, drawing not more than 2½ feet water: they should have high-pressure engines; so that, with the above dimensions, I think they might have a speed of 10 knots per hour.

The fourth or upper steamer should also have high pressure, her dimensions being 100 feet in length with 26 feet beam across the paddle-boxes, drawing not more than 3½ feet water. Particular attention should be paid to having all the steamers' paddles well guarded.

I do not consider it would be practicable to navigate any part of the river above

Karáyem Inlet during the night, but, with the vessels above mentioned, I think 80 miles could be made each day against the current, which would enable the voyage from Basrah to Ja'ber to be accomplished in thirteen or fourteen days; and down the river, at the rate of 120 miles per day, would give nine days.

Depôts for wood and bitumen should be formed every 20 miles between Ja'ber and Hít, both of which can be obtained with great facility from the Arabs on that part of the river, and at a very low price. From Hít downwards coal should be placed at convenient distances, according to the quantity each steamer can carry.

During the descent, we found the Arabs not only peaceable, but even in many instances anxious to secure our protection: this conduct towards us, however, was caused by our formidable appearance. It would, therefore, be advisable to have the steamers well armed, having each one great gun, with as many swivels, small arms, &c., as convenient.

They always evinced great eagerness to barter their provisions, and in fact everything they possessed, for our Glasgow merchandise, which consisted of handkerchiefs and shawls principally; so that I am convinced considerable commerce would be carried on with great success on the river.

Taking all these things into consideration, I should say it would be highly advisable to navigate this river, as being the speediest and most secure route between Great Britain and her Indian possessions.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) E. P. CHARLEWOOD,
Mate, Royal Navy.

To Colonel Chesney, R. A.,
Commanding the Euphrates Expedition.

(K.)

Euphrates Expedition, Bushire, July 15, 1836.

SIR,

HAVING received a request that I should give you my opinion as to the best means of establishing a steam communication on the river Euphrates, I offer these few remarks founded on my own observations during our descent of that splendid river, and I do this with some diffidence as, until my connexion with the Euphrates Expedition, I never had much turned my attention to steam affairs.

I assume as beyond a doubt that the Euphrates is navigable at the high season for steam-boats of build and dimensions suited to the different parts. This, the descent of the Euphrates steamer on the falling waters between March and July has sufficiently proved, in such a way as to leave little doubt in my mind that at the lowest season the river could be navigated, or at all events be easily made navigable.

The distance from Bír to Basrah by the windings of the stream is about 1056

miles (the river being still navigable much above Bír), but for the shortest communication with the Mediterranean, it never would be advisable to ascend higher than about 5 miles below where the steamers lay at Beles, 963 miles from Baṣrah; and it might eventually be found more advantageous to ascend no higher than Ja'ber Castle, about 35 miles below Beles, which would reduce the steaming distance from Baṣrah to 935 miles.

But I should consider the most eligible starting point for the river steamers would be at or near the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates at Ḳúrnah, 39 miles above Baṣrah; and if Ja'ber were the place fixed on, the whole river navigation would then be reduced to 896 miles; the sea steamers might then come up to Ḳúrnah with ease.

The reasons for preferring Ḳúrnah to Baṣrah are—1st. There is no bank at Baṣrah alongside which a steamer might lie to take in fuel, &c.; she would be obliged to anchor in the open river; whereas Ḳúrnah, besides being more sheltered, has good steep banks, both in the Tigris and Euphrates, on which splendid wharfs might be built. 2ndly. I should imagine Ḳúrnah to be a much more healthy place than Baṣrah. 3rdly. Ḳúrnah, from its situation, commands the mouths both of the Euphrates and the Tigris: this in case of a hostile power coming down either river would be an immense advantage; it would also be a much more convenient depôt for the steamers which would navigate both rivers; for it is presumed that the navigation of the Euphrates would soon cause a line of steamers to run also up to Baghdád.

To navigate the Euphrates *properly* at the high season,[1] it would be requisite, in my opinion, to have four steamers, to be thus disposed:—

A good-sized powerful steamer to start from Ḳúrnah, and proceed 135 miles to Ḳaráyem Inlet, just below the Lamlúm Marshes, where she would meet two small ones expressly made for navigating the marshes, the difficulties of which extend about 50 miles by the windings of the main channel, or about 25 in a straight line.

From Lamlúm a large powerful steamer, going 11 or 12 knots, would proceed at once and with speed to the station at Beles. It would be perhaps advisable to have two such vessels, always keeping one at each end of the line, and one could relieve the other in case of her being disabled, &c.

From what I have heard of the state of the river at the low season, I should say that the large steamer might navigate from the Lamlúm Marshes to Hilláh at all times, and from thence it would be necessary to have two small ones of great power for the rest of the ascent, or the two Lamlúm steamers might continue their progress the whole way up instead of keeping them in the marshes.

In the passage from Ḳúrnah to the Lamlúm Marshes, the steamer might draw 5 feet water, or even more, and should go at least 10 knots; it should be built of iron.

The steamers for the Lamlúm Marshes ought not to exceed 65 or 70 feet in length and 20 feet beam over the paddles, and they ought not to draw more than

[1] I consider the *navigable* high season from the beginning of March to the beginning of July.

3 feet water: if intended to go up the river at the low season they should only draw 1½ foot.

The large steamer for the high season above Lamlúm might draw 3 to 3½ feet water, and should possess great power, going 11 or 12 knots. I mention 3½ feet because I am aware of the difficulty of making a vessel of great power draw little water without her being too large; the great weight of the boilers and engines in proportion to the size of the vessels, being much against their being sufficiently buoyant.

The two steamers intended for the upper portion of the river at the low season should certainly not draw more than 1½ foot water, should go at least 10 knots, on account of passing the falls which occur at this period, such as Ḳaráblah, 'A'nah, and between the bunds or irrigating parapet-walls above Hít.

They might be 90 feet long and 15 broad, or 23 feet over the paddles. As, however, it would probably not be thought worth the expense to have these two vessels at all, the size of those intended for the Lamlúm Marshes would answer, provided they had sufficient power.

The vessels should answer helm quickly, and their paddles ought to be protected by being either built into the sides, or by having guards below the water edge, like the small steamers on the Thames.

As to their armament, we found the Arabs so different from what we had expected, and so anxious to secure our protection, that it might be lightly passed over, did we not know that they would certainly take advantage of the vessels and attack them if they imagined they were in a defenceless state.

They should therefore each have at least one swivel gun forward or aft, as convenient, to fire grape and canister, with four one-pounder swivels, and two wall-pieces; a good portion of muskets or carbines, pistols, swords, &c., for the crew, and if Congreve rockets could be kept from spoiling by the carriage or heat, a supply of them would be invaluable.

The smallest boat might then defy all that the Arabs could bring against her.

The engine-room should of course be amply provided with engineers, stokers, and coal-trimmers, these last probably from Lascars; but there should always be a sufficiency of European seamen to insure confidence in the event of a skirmish. There should be three officers on board each vessel, as a constant look-out is required, although, after a time, steady quarter-masters might be brought to take care of the vessels all the way, particularly as good pilots are to be got all down the river below Deïr.

But the opening of the Euphrates, if once commenced in earnest, should be on a liberal scale.

An agent should be placed at Beles, another at Ḳúrnah, and a third at 'A'nah, to secure the necessary depôts of wood, bitumen, &c. I should also recommend a large store of coal to be placed at the lower extremity of the river in case of need, otherwise wood must be rafted down from the upper part of the stream.

The impediments, such as the rocks of Ḳaráblah, those of Is Geria, and others, should be cleared away, and a canal cut through the Lamlúm Marshes.

This might be be done easier than may be imagined, as the inhabitants are quite accustomed to canal cutting for the purpose of irrigating the land.

A straight one of 25 or 30 miles, having its banks well dammed up, would ensure a deep and safe passage, from which irrigating cuts might be made for the cultivation of the adjoining grounds.

The advantages which would ensue from the establishment of a regular steam communication on the Euphrates would, I am convinced, amply repay any outlay and trouble which might attend the commencement.

The avidity with which the inhabitants of the different towns on the river bought our Manchester woollen goods, &c., sufficiently proves that a great opening is presented to our commerce. Aleppo, Baghdád, Baṣrah, and, should the Kárún be navigated, Iṣpahán, would soon become marts for British produce, and the influence of the English name be thus increased and extended.

Taking these things into consideration, it appears to me that England would not have cause to regret having made the Euphrates the high road to her Indian possessions, even should it afterwards be found that letters and passengers might be conveyed with more speed by the line of the Red Sea.

It is almost needless to go into the question of the sea steamers, which will best be decided by experience; but I should say at least two powerful steamers ought to navigate between Bombay and Kúrnah; and the Mediterranean line should be extended to Scanderoon or the Bay of Antioch.

The transport of letters and passengers could be easily managed by an agent at Beles under the consul at Aleppo, and perhaps an agent or vice-consul at Antioch.

A splendid road might be made over the 100 miles which separate the Euphrates from the Mediterranean: I should consider a railroad impracticable, but I think a canal might be cut, incurring, however, a great outlay. This would complete the communication by water of England with India by the *shortest possible* line.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) JAS. FITZJAMES,
Royal Navy.

Colonel Chesney, R.A.,
Commanding the Euphrates Expedition.

(L.)

Baṣrah, August 31, 1836.

SIR,

ACCORDING to your desire I proceed to give you my observations upon the capability of navigating the river Euphrates. These observations have reference only to the season of high water, and may be comprised within very narrow limits; since, I believe, that no difficulties present themselves in carrying out this important object.

The whole line from Ja'ber to a little below Díwániyah is a long course free from impediments. There are some few places, where, to conduct a vessel safely and

surely it is necessary to be acquainted with the line of the deep channel, such as at Ḳaráblaḥ, 'A'nah, and two places above both, where reefs of rocks stretch across the river; but where, I believe, a channel does exist sufficiently deep to float such a vessel as the "Euphrates." There are, along the line I have mentioned, many projecting ranges of arches, formerly used in irrigating the neighbouring lands, and there are some insulated rocks, but in no case offering impediments of a serious nature when their positions are well understood.

Below the line I have mentioned, until arriving at the termination of the Lamlúm Marshes, the river is more difficult, owing to the very sharp windings and the greater narrowness, so that in this part I do not consider that the "Euphrates" steamer is suited for the navigation. Yet there would be no difficulty for a shorter vessel. From below the Lamlúm Marshes to Baṣrah the river presents a fine, wide, deep, and easy course; and a still larger vessel than the "Euphrates" might easily perform the voyage.

The current never exceeds 4½ or 5 knots, except in the most rapid places, and the "Euphrates" has found no difficulty, not only in stemming it, but in making 5 knots against it by the land.

Probably at the low season it would be found that the "Euphrates" drew too much water; and I think that the vessel employed in making the voyages up and down should not draw more than 22 or 24 inches; but of this I cannot so well form an opinion, as I am not aware what depth there will be at the low season.

With regard to fuel.—All the way from Ja'ber to a little above 'A'nah there is abundance of jungle-wood at intervals. It is chiefly tamarisk, and was reported by the engineer, upon our descent, to be well suited for the engines. The different Sheïks engaged to collect supplies for us, and to cut it into lengths, so that we might, in ascending, experience no delay. Probably we shall find, that they will have failed in their engagements the first time; but certainly, when they see that the vessels return punctually and take their wood, paying a good remunerating price, these Sheïks will be careful to have the depôts regularly prepared. As far as 'A'nah coal may always be carried up from Baṣrah, but it will be found cheaper to float down rafts from the jungle country to the places found convenient for depôts. The practice of floating down rafts is usual amongst the people of the country as far as Hít.

The last point which requires to be mentioned is the disposition of the Arabs, and I see no reason to form a less satisfactory opinion than upon the other points I have already reported.

Perhaps it may be supposed that doubts regarding the intention of the steamer in her descent, added to the alarm which certainly possessed the people to a great extent, may have rendered our voyage more prosperous than would be the case in future; but I am not of this opinion. The doubt and alarm which now exist would no doubt subside, and finding that they experienced no evil from the peaceful passage of the vessels, but on the contrary, that provisions were bought from them, and services required for which they regularly received a proper hire, they would be induced to look for the return of vessels with friendly feelings, and desire to

cultivate a good understanding, in order to enjoy as much as possible the profits which the steamers would bring in their train.

There are questions of a professional nature, such as the dimensions required for a vessel suited to the navigation of the river, which I have not the means of answering except in a general way. Thus, for instance, a power equal to that of the "Euphrates" would be ample, but the draught of water should be confined to 22 or 24 inches; the length of the vessel must be less than that of the "Euphrates," and she must answer her helm readily, and be capable of turning quickly.

I have now, I think, mentioned all the points to which it occurs to me to refer; and I think it will be seen, perhaps, that the navigation of no river was ever commenced under such favourable circumstances.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) J. B. BUCKNALL ESTCOURT,
Captain 43rd Light Infantry.

Colonel Chesney, R.A.,
Commanding the Euphrates Expedition.

(M.)

Bushire, July 17, 1836.

SIR,

THE general question of the navigation of the river Euphrates, and of the advantages to be derived from that navigation, is of such a nature that, in acceding to your request to give an opinion upon a subject rather foreign to my usual pursuits, my diffidence is to a certain degree overcome by the well-defined view which the nature of the circumstances have allowed me to take, even after a short acquaintance with the river and the inhabitants of its banks.

The river Euphrates is evidently a navigable stream. I am acquainted with it from Sumeïsát, in the Taurus, to its embouchure in the Persian Gulf, a distance of upwards of 1,200 miles; and in that extent there are only two real difficulties, both of which are superable, by undergoing an expense quite disproportioned to the importance of rendering efficient at all seasons of the year, and throughout so lengthened a course, the navigation of this noble river.

The first obstacle is the Ḳaráblah Rocks at 'A'nah, where there is already a diving-bell at hand, and through which, I believe, it is the opinion of the naval officers that a steamer might, even at low water, be warped, with a loss of not more than two hours, in case of her not being able to steam through them.

The second is the narrowness of the bed, and the numerous windings which it forms in going through the Lamlúm Marshes; but these difficulties, which will not bear comparison with what has already been overcome in our own country—for example, in the Forth below Stirling, or the Clyde, at low water, above Dumbarton—only proved themselves so to the "Euphrates" steamer, which is of large dimensions, and had her paddles unprotected.

In the details connected with the rendering the navigation of the river available to its full extent, the difficulties of the Lamlúm Marshes may be overcome by three modes:—

1st. The navigation by a steamer of proper dimensions and make, as will no doubt be laid before you by those competent to judge on a question entirely of a professional character.

2ndly. By digging a canal across the territory of Lamlúm; and 3rdly, by taking advantage of the offer made by the páshá of Baghdád to dig a canal across the alluvial flat which in the parallel of that city extends from the Tigris to the Euphrates.

The latter mode of navigating the united rivers appears to me fraught with many advantages, the Lamlúm Marshes are avoided, and the city of Baghdád is brought into closer relations with Baṣrah and with Hindústán, both in point of intercommunication and commerce.

For the efficient navigation of the Euphrates, three river steamers besides the sea steamers will be requisite—one at a station below the marshes, another to go through the marshes themselves, and one of greater power for the upper part of the river.

By taking the road of the Ḥái or the Tigris, and crossing from thence by canal to Felújáh, one steamer succeeding the sea steamer at the junction of the former with the Euphrates would reach the second station, and be succeeded by one more to the upper station.

In a commercial point of view, the close communication thus established with so great an emporium of trade as Baghdád is of the very first importance, nor is the connexion that would be established between Baṣrah and Baghdád of a trifling character; but there are also on the river between Ḳúrnah and Felújah large towns, as Sheïkh-el-Shuyúkh and Ḥilláh, and powerful tribes, as the Montefik Arabs, who have long been actuated by the spirit of commercial enterprise, and whom it would perhaps not be judicious to overlook.

There is, indeed, amongst almost all the tribes a cupidity that is easily aroused, and which would stir the people up to new exertion in order to obtain comforts and luxuries with which they would then first become acquainted, and could not be slow in appreciating. The boasted frugality and indifference of the Arab are not proof against the inventions of an improved mechanism in cutlery or fire-arms; and nowhere is there displayed a greater anxiety for gay dresses and ornaments: this taste is indeed almost a passion with both sexes. With abundant instances of the operation of these incentives we have also seen examples of feelings common to human nature (a nature which is less barbarous here than is commonly supposed) of the love of decorating their children, and of a desire to improve their condition; nor is there here any of the Bedawín apprehension of doing what may be considered derogatory to the discipline handed down by their ancestors, or capable of affecting their warlike independence.

Three localities have been pointed out as the northerly station of the navigation, Ja'ber, Beles, and Bír. They are all feasible: I should give the preference to Beles: the station is not unhealthy; the alluvial soil would allow of docks being

dug with facility. The tribes are pastoral, but only partially nomadic, and might be easily rendered agricultural. The distance from Aleppo and the Mediterranean is at a minimum, and the country is adapted for post-roads, railroads, or a canal.

The whole character of the descent of the river made by the "Euphrates" steamer, demonstrated in the most decisive manner that the great moral difficulties which it was supposed would have to be overcome, only exist in the exaggerated alarms created by the predatory habits of the Bedawín of the Desert, or degenerated tribes like those of Sinjár. The Arabs, I firmly believe, never dreamt, and are incapable, except when guided to it by superior wisdom, of a combined plan of operations. But it was an unexpected spectacle which was offered at the opening of the navigation, in the coming forward of the sheïks and elders of the most reputable and powerful tribes to cultivate the acquaintance and seek the protection of the commander of the Expedition.

When a melancholy accident deprived the Expedition of half of its physical power, the same impression continued in operation; and instead of a demand of tribute or customs, as was so confidently anticipated by some, the tribes were ready even with pecuniary sacrifices to seek the protection of the British flag.

That little dependence can be placed upon the Arabs, is, with regard to many of the most affluent tribes only, the calumny of an irritated or an ignorant traveller. At all events it must be kept in mind, that the first who may bring those uninformed nations in contact with a civilization which excites their love and admiration, is at least the most likely to establish lasting associations in their bosoms in connexion with the early dawn of a new order of things.

The advantages which are presented by the opening of the navigation of the river Euphrates, belong to universal civilization, as well as to an increase of national power. The waters of this great river flow past the habitations of upwards of four millions of human beings, amongst whom their own traditions have transmitted the sense of a revolution to be effected by the introduction of a religion of humility, of charity, and of forbearance.

The intellectual powers of the descendants from the most noble stocks of the human race are not extinct in their present fallen representatives, and it would be difficult to say to what extent civilization might flourish when revived in its most antique home. The mental privileges of the Arab, overwhelmed by moral despotism and political insecurity, are not less than those of their Assyrian, their Babylonian, or their Palmyrean ancestors.

The national importance of this navigation is of the most comprehensive character. Every one acquainted with the history of the communication of nations, which as Montesquieu has ably pointed out, is the history of commerce, must be aware that those circumstances which led to the annihilation of the commerce of the east, would be revolutionized by the opening now proposed to be effected; and that while civilization might be confidently expected to return to its almost primeval seat, it would do so under a very different aspect, and with vastly improved means over the days of Opis and Ophir, or of Caucasium and Callinicum.

All these advantages are to be obtained by the navigation which you have entered upon, and of which you have proved the practicability. The establish-

ment of a friendly intercourse with the natives would also be effected, to secure which and to keep up supplies of fuel and provisions, two or three resident agents might be stationed at distant points on the river, besides one station at the junction of the Hai and the Euphrates.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) WILLIAM AINSWORTH,
Surgeon and Geologist to the
Euphrates Expedition.

Colonel Chesney, R.A.,
Commanding the Euphrates Expedition.

(N.)

COMMERCIAL OPENINGS IN WESTERN ASIA.

Navigability of the rivers of Mesopotamia.

THE exploratory voyages in descending and ascending the rivers Kárún, Tigris, and Euphrates, have sufficiently proved the practicability of their navigation with vessels of a suitable construction. With regard to the latter, Lieutenant now Commander C. D. Campbell, of the Indian Navy, having ascended the river from the bar to Beles, in the spring of 1841, a distance of 1030 miles, using chiefly wood and bitumen as fuel, stated in a letter to the author: "I quite agree with your officers regarding the description of vessels, and have proposed a small one for the rapids. Even without this I will bring the packets in sixteen days from Basrah to Beles, after a little more experience of the river."

Lieutenant Campbell's ascent of the Euphrates to Beles.

The steamer now proposed by Mr. Laird of Birkenhead as most suitable for the river, and which would combine all the advantages of the larger vessel recommended by the officers of the Expedition, particularly by Commanders Cleaveland and Charlewood, should be of the following dimensions:—

	Feet.
Length on deck	130
Length on water-line, about . .	110
Beam	20
Depth at sides and ends	5

With a raised deck amidships over cabins and engines. Engines, a pair of 25-horse power, with tubular boilers.

The vessel to be divided into thirteen compartments by water-tight bulkheads, longitudinal and athwartship, and constructed on the principle of the Hon. East India Company's steam-vessel Napier, now doing good service on the Indus.

The principal of construction is to round the vessel up at each extremity by an easy curve, leaving only a small portion amidships flat, by which means she is enabled to glide over the water and turn in so small a space that she is more manageable than a vessel of 90 to 100 feet long built on the ordinary construction.

The rudder is hung on a bar loose, so as to drop to a level with the keel, and in case of striking the ground it is merely raised up, and again falls into its place without receiving any injury.

The vessel being of a light construction, the draft of water would not exceed

2 feet when loaded, and the cabins would afford good and airy accommodation for officers and crew. A speed of 12 knots may be obtained when loaded, draft of 2 feet, and the boilers would be so constructed as to work regularly at a pressure of 10 to 12 lbs. per square inch; but being proved to stand at least 40 lbs. pressure, they may be worked as high as 20 lbs. when rapids or an increased strength of current are to be encountered. The cost of such a vessel in England complete, will be 4,000*l.*; and when launched on the river Euphrates, about 6,000*l.*

Suitability of the line for mail communication,

The reports of the officers of the Expedition, given in the preceding part of the Appendix, have pointed out the advantages of this line for mail communication with India, either as an auxiliary to the Red Sea, or, in case of any interruption occurring in that line, and they have indicated at the same time an important opening to our commerce by the steam navigation of these rivers. It now remains to show the scope for British enterprise afforded by the great rivers of Mesopotamia.

and for commercial enterprise.

The existing trade between India and the Persian Gulf has been already noticed;[1] and in the impetus which it is hoped this commerce would receive from the opening of the rivers, Ormúz, at the entrance of the Gulf, would in some degree participate. This place, once so celebrated for its opulence and extensive trade, is now a miserable fishing island, farmed by the imám of Muskat from the king of Persia. He derives, however, a considerable revenue from the exportation of salt in large quantities to different parts of the Gulf. It abounds in iron and copper ore. The harbour is good, and there is excellent anchorage on the north side of the town. The Portuguese had possession of the island from 1507 to 1622, when they were expelled by Sháh 'Abbás and the English, and the greater part of the trade was transferred to Gamrún or Bander 'Abbás. The English, French, and Dutch had factories there, of which the Dutch factory alone remains in a state of preservation, being used as a residence by the Imám. Yet the trade is still considerable: in 1827 the Imám of Muskat, to whom the port belongs, collected a revenue of 8,000 or 10,000 dollars. Its exports are Persian carpets, tobacco, and dried fruits; its imports, Indian cloths, piece goods, and China ware; the annual value of these articles was, at the same period, estimated at about three lakhs of rupees. Although the rise of Bushire has diverted commerce from Bander 'Abbás, it is still one of the routes to the centre of Persia; and when, a few years since, Bushire continued for some time in a disturbed state, the former recovered some of its earlier importance. In the neighbourhood of the little village of Khamír, higher up the Gulf, are sulphur mines, extensively worked, the sulphur being exported in large quantities to Muskat. Beyond this again is the large island of Kishm, its principal towns being Kishm, Laft, and Bassadore; the latter with a good port and station for the Indian navy. The harbour of Kishm is also good, and its site well chosen. It was formerly of greater commercial importance than at present, but its bázár is still well supplied with fruits from the interior of Persia; while good wines, all kinds of dried

Ormúz, its former and present trade.

Its commerce transferred to Bander 'Abbás.

Articles of export and import.

Kishm. Its harbour, and state of its commerce.

[1] Appendix (H.)

fruits, silk and cotton stuffs, with very fine soft carpets of the richest patterns and dye, are to be had there in abundance: the latter measuring 6 or 7 feet long by 3 feet broad, were sold for twenty dollars each.[1] A considerable part of the trade of the Gulf is centred in Bushire, which supplies Shiráz and a large portion of Persia with European and Indian goods, receiving silk and bullion in return. It is frequented by ships from all parts of India. Lieutenant Kempthorne mentions having seen fourteen native merchant vessels in its port at once, and the author at a later period has seen almost as many.

Trade of Bushire with Persia, &c.

The following is a statement from the house of Constantine and Co., Bushire, March, 1841:—

Exports from Bushire to India, &c.

(*Number of Ships not stated.*)

Bushire and Bombay.—15 to 20 bagalás employed, carrying Persian horses, 800 to 1,000 yearly, from 25 to 35 Company's rupees' freight each; ships charging 40 to 45 rupees each.

,, 1,500 bales Persian silk of 75 lbs. each; some years 2,000 bales or more.

,, Almonds, quince seed, gall-nuts.

,, Bullion, coins of all kinds, quantity uncertain, probably 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.*

,, Dried fruits, raisins, nuts, &c., rose-water, wine, aniseed-water, gums, drugs, &c.

Bushire and Calcutta.—Two or three ships yearly; returns are bills on Bombay, and the same articles as mentioned above to Bombay.

Bushire and Batavia.—A ship yearly; takes back dates, wheat, ghee, with some other articles, and bullion.

The imports into Bushire are European and Indian manufactures, and produce of all kinds.

Port of Mohammerah and the river Kárún.

The next port is Mohammerah, 41 miles up the Euphrates, at the mouth of the Kárún, a place already possessing considerable trade, which is capable of great increase. This river has been found to be navigable for steamers as far as Shuster, which would form an admirable centre for trade, and where the appointment of an English resident would be attended with great advantages to commerce.

Its suitability for navigation.

In 1830 the author descended the Kárún in a large Arab vessel carrying cargo, and it has since been navigated on three occasions by steamers.

Dr. Layard, writing to an eminent English merchant in 1843, thus describes the capabilities of the country:—

Dr. Layard's description of Susiana.

"I believe Susiana to be a province highly capable of the most varied cultivation, the soil is rich, labour cheap, the inhabitants well disposed, and the country traversed by several noble navigable rivers; but some protection is needed, and the Persian government should be induced to require the appointment of a consul at Shuster. The land is highly favourable for the cultivation of cotton, which is now much neglected, but which might be much improved. I made many inquiries as to the growth of hemp, guided by your notes, which Mr. Hector kindly

[1] Sketch of Islands, &c., at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, by Lieutenant Whitelock, I. N., Royal Geographical Journal, vol. VIII., pp. 170–177, compared with Survey along the Eastern Shores of the Persian Gulf, by Lieutenant G. B. Kempthorne, East India Company's Marine, Ibid., vol. V., p. 275, &c.

allowed me to copy, and I found the country well adapted for its cultivation. Indigo of a good quality is also produced about Dizfúl, and many articles might be raised in the country if the inhabitants were encouraged."

Decline of the trade of Baṣrah.

Twenty-one miles beyond Mohammerah is the port of Baṣrah, once an emporium of trade in the time of the East India Company's factory, but which has gradually declined since its removal. It would, however, probably regain some of its former importance with the establishment of steam, especially as it is remarkable for the fertility of its soil; although from the superior position of Ḳúrnah (39 miles above Baṣrah), and commanding both the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, it is probable that the latter will be found more advantageous, particularly as vessels can there lie alongside the houses for loading and unloading in deep water. From Ḳúrnah, steamers would ascend the Tigris in four days to Baghdád, where trade is already carried on to some extent, but which possesses commercial resources capable of great development. Its imports and exports, with the revenue derived from them, have been detailed in vol. I., pp. 109, 110. In addition to the articles there mentioned, sugar, coffee, and indigo are imported from Bengal. In one year, about 3,000 bags of Bengal sugar of 10 maunds (19 lbs.) each, 2,000 tubs of sugar-candy of 5 maunds each, 300 bags of indigo, 2 cwt. each, amounting in value to about 47,000*l.*, were imported into Baghdád, besides coffee, tea, loaf-sugar, &c.: indigo and cotton might be cultivated with less expense, and as advantageously as in Egypt.

Superior position of Ḳúrnah for commerce.

Baghdád, its imports, &c.

Opening for British commerce at Mósul.

The next place of importance on the Tigris is Móṣul; and here a considerable opening for British commerce exists. The present consumption of English goods in Móṣul and the adjacent country is more than sufficient to support a mercantile establishment, although these goods are at present carried thither from Aleppo, Damascus, or Baghdád, by native traders of small capital, who pay a very heavy duty of 14 per cent., and are purchased from third or fourth hands, by which the prices to the consumers are so enormously enhanced, as to place the articles almost beyond their reach. A piece of print worth thirteen shillings in Manchester, is sold in Móṣul for thirty-two shillings. The English merchants, however, only pay 3 per cent. The houses at present receiving British goods in Syria are nearly all commission houses, and consequently unable to sell so cheaply by 10 per cent. as the regular merchant; which is a serious disadvantage to Arab trade. If mercantile houses were established at Móṣul and Diyár-Bekr, goods arriving from England, even without the proposed facilities of steam, could be transported at a comparatively small cost from Alexandretta to Dyár-Bekr, and thence down the river to Móṣul; or the caravans would go direct from Alexandretta to Móṣul, and the consumers would thus obtain British manufactures at little more than one-half of what they pay at present, and the consumption would naturally increase. The trade of such an establishment would probably soon extend into Persia, where Russian trade is now increasing. Calicoes printed near Moscow were in 1839 sold in Kurdístán and Mesopotamia. The products of these countries would afford advantageous returns to England in gall-nuts, sheep's wool, and madder-roots. Of the former 1,500 cantars, about 350 tons, are brought annually from Móṣul alone to Aleppo for shipment to Europe, and an

Existing impediments to trade.

Russian goods in Kurdístán.

exchange with high-priced foreign goods is effected advantageously to both parties. Prime black galls can be purchased in Mósul at 950 piastres per cantar of 187½ okes (an oke of Mósul is 480 drachms); and including all expenses of carriage to Alexandretta, they would, when ready for shipment, amount to 1,300 piastres per cantar, or fifty-two shillings per cwt. Sheep's wool is abundant and of very fine quality, and gives a handsome profit, even under the present disadvantageous circumstances. Madder roots, fine goats' wool, yellow wax, and arsenic are also articles of profitable export from Mósul and Diyár-Bekr. The articles most in demand among the natives are printed and dyed calicoes, muslins (lappets), printed handkerchiefs, bleached maddapolams, forty yards, fine, cotton velvets, grey domestics (calicoes), and light cloths, such as are called ladies' cloth in England; there is also a considerable demand for zebras, a cotton stuff made in Glasgow and Paisley. In Mósul they use a good deal of water-twist yarn No. 20/30 for making a light jaconet which they print for head-dresses; there is also a considerable consumption of cochineal by the printers and dyers in that town. In any mercantile establishment in Mósul, it would be necessary to have a person at home acquainted with the taste of the natives, to select the goods. The great attention paid by the Russians to the taste of these countries, has been one great cause of their success in trade.

Articles of produce exported from Mósul, &c.

Articles of British manufacture in demand.

Causes of the Russian success in trade.

The commerce of Mósul would necessarily extend to and be connected with Márdín and Diyár-Bekr. The existing trade of the former place is considerable, and might be increased. It is accessible from Mósul in 54 hours by Chilloaga and Nísibín, and 18 hours from Márdín brings the traveller to Diyár-Bekr. The population of this town is about 28,000 and an idea of its present trade may be formed from the following custom-house return of imports:—

Existing trade of Márdín and Diyár Bekr.

	Piastres.
European manufactures, Constantinople . .	2,500,000
Coffee and Sugar	200,000
Indigo and Indian piece goods	2,900,000
	2,900,000 or £29,000

It has been stated by residents at Diyár-Bekr that this trade is capable of being increased to double the above amount. At Betlís also British calicoes are sold to a moderate extent, and there is some demand for shawls, woollen cloths, printed calicoes, gay-coloured silks and satins, and refined sugar. At Ḳará Ḥiṣár, Sívás, and Tókát, British manufactures are also in request. The yellow berry is cultivated here, and at the latter place an extensive dyeing establishment exists. The articles most in demand here are British calicoes and muslin, printed cottons and indigo. The copper from Arghaná is refined here and transported to Sámṣún for shipment. Here there is but a small consumption of foreign goods, although much commercial activity exists from the transit of merchandise from and to Constantinople. In four months the steamer brought 2,480 packages for the interior, and carried back 4,850 to Constantinople, the latter being wholly the produce of the country. Another opening exists here for British trade, all the iron at present

Probable increase of trade at Diyár Bekr.

British articles in demand at Betlis, Kará Ḥisár, &c., &c.

Commerce between Sámsún and Constantinople.

used being Russian. In the interior, Zíleh is a place of some commerce. An annual fair is held there in the middle of November, which lasts fifteen days; from 40,000 to 50,000 persons visit it from all the commercial cities of Syria and Asia Minor. The trade is carried on by barter. Grain is produced in abundance in the plains near Zíleh. Silk is manufactured largely at Amásíyeh, but chiefly for barter at Zíleh and other towns, a small quantity only being exported to Constantinople.[1]

Fair of Zíleh.

Silk manufactory of Amásíyeh,

and opening for commerce at Angora.

An increasing but an exclusively private trade is carried on from Liverpool to Iskenderún, and thence to Aleppo, also to Beïrút and Damascus; while Angora offers a promising position for commercial enterprise. Its trade was formerly considerable, and British merchants were established there, but it has been neglected, and its only traffic at present is with Russia: Russian goods are described as very expensive. The staple produce of the country consists of—

Twisted Merino, Nos. 1 and 2 . . .	40	piastres per hukka, or	480 drachms.
Merino wool	12	,,	,,
Yellow berry	25	,,	,,
Wool	5	,,	,,
Wax	5	,,	,,

There is a good market for refined sugar, West India coffee, handkerchiefs, chintz, calico, cotton velvets, silk dresses, cloth for the army, and cutleries of all sorts, producing, it is said, a profit of 200 per cent. The European imports were stated by respectable merchants, in many towns in Asia Minor, to be very much larger than the value of native products exported, in the ratio of 1,000 to 10,000 in value. It is therefore evident that great advantages to commerce would arise from the establishment of an English consul or vice-consul at Angora, and the encouragement and protection which would thus be given to trade. At present a thousand native merchants are employed, all making large profits, where one English merchant would suffice. This part of Asia Minor is well peopled, and the inhabitants are industrious. The people, also, are anxious for European goods, but from passing through so many hands they are at present too dear for their means. Russian cutlery is much in demand, there being no supply of British manufacture.

Advantages of an English consul or vice-consul at Angora.

An English merchant, who has occasionally supplied goods for Asia Minor, recommends loaf sugar, coffee, white Manchester cloths, as tungils, jaconets, sheetings, &c., and printed calicoes, such as those purchased by the Greek merchants (the patterns of which should be selected by some one acquainted with the taste of the country), as being most suitable at present for the markets of Móṣul and the neighbouring towns. The same gentleman has given it as his opinion, that the sale of 100,000*l.* worth of goods, which otherwise would not be manufactured, would more than repay the country the whole expenses of the Euphrates expedition, without taking into account the merchants' profits. This calculation was made with reference to the present trade, which, however, ultimately, would be largely increased.

The sale of goods would pay the expenses of the Euphrates Expedition.

Notwithstanding all the existing disadvantages, boats with merchandize are con-

[1] Journey from Erz-Rûm to Trebizond, &c., by Henry Slater, Esq.; Royal Geographical Journal, vol. X., p. 442, &c.

tinually tracked up the rivers in Mesopotamia; but the fleets going up the Tigris against the stream from Basrah to Baghdád consume from thirty to forty days, while a steamer would perform this distance in four days and a half. Good freights are therefore secured for steamers, and a valuable opening presented for trade, since an Arab population of about twelve millions is to be supplied.[1] The actual trade to Baghdád was, in 1838, 12,000 bales or packages, brought up the Tigris at a freight of 1*l.* per bale.

Suggestions for the formation of a commercial company.

Under such promising circumstances, it seems that a company might advantageously be formed, with a small capital (say of 25,000*l.* in 50*l.* shares), for commercial purposes. One steamer might be employed on the Euphrates, commencing at Beles, the port of Aleppo, for the descent. One between Mohammerah and Baghdád, and a third on the Kárún; a fourth steamer being kept as a reserve, to give occasional rest to the officers, men, and machinery of the others. The general voyage of the steamer on the Euphrates might be between Beles and Hilláh, a town of considerable trade, 60 miles below Felújah, descending to the ports of Mohammerah and Basrah as occasion might require. Felújah is the place of transit to Baghdád, which is nearly opposite to it, at a distance of 23½ miles. An eligible communication would thus be opened with the other steamer navigating the Tigris. From Iskenderún or Suweidïyeh on the Syrian coast to Beles, a distance of 100 miles, every facility exists for conveyance. The transit may occupy six days from the sea to the Euphrates, and five or six more to Baghdád: forty days is an average passage for merchant vessels from England to Syria, making in all fifty-two days to that internal market. Supplies would also reach Baghdád direct from England by way of the Persian Gulph. This channel also embraces the whole intercourse with India and the Arabian coast, both as to goods and passengers: the traffic and employment for steamers might possibly be greater here than on the Euphrates above. The products of Arabia and the inland countries have been already given in the custom-house returns.[2]

Communication between the Euphrates and Tigris.

Traffic between Tarábuzún and Constantinople.

The steamers in the Black Sea, running between Tarábuzún and Constantinople, and between the latter city and Smyrna, are always crowded with Turks and other Ottoman subjects, often taking with them their harems or families; the Arabs also appreciated the superior convenience of steam travelling in the time of the Expedition, and availed themselves of it as often as allowed. They may, therefore, be expected to afford a regular and considerable item of passage-money.

Another item will arise from the per centage on specie, pearls, shawls, and other valuables, in which there is a constant traffic or transit in those countries.

The establishment of the navigation would probably lead to that of English mercantile houses at all the chief places of trade on the Euphrates, and other rivers and branches at the interior stations; so that agents would be found to take charge of the depôts and the transaction of the general business of the Company at moderate remuneration, either by commissions or salary—two exist already.

Proposed improvements to facilitate the navigation of the Euphrates.

Independently of the natural facilities for the navigation, still greater advantages may attend the opening of a canal from the neighbourhood of Felújah to Baghdád.

[1] Vol. I., Appendix VIII., p. 724.

[2] Appendix (G.)

As the commerce increases, some improvements might be desirable, such as a cut through the Lamlúm Marshes, and the removal of some rocks in the river. Four iron steamers for commercial purposes, 75 feet long, 13 feet beam, with engines of 25-horse power, and not to draw more than two feet water, may be placed on the river at a cost of about 9,500*l.*; and four iron tug or accommodation boats for occasional use, of 60 tons, for about 2,000*l.*

	£.
Freight of materials and workmen to Mohammerah by a vessel of 500 tons	2,000
Expenses during the voyage	200
Expense of fitting up the vessels and return of the workmen, &c.	2,500
Cost of four steam vessels at Birkenhead	9,500
Cost of four tug or accommodation boats	2,200
Total	£16,400
Outfit of one steamer and one tug	£4,100

The expense of each steamer is estimated at about 2,529*l.*, or, adding one-third for the vessel supposed to be in reserve, 3,372*l.* annually; while the probable returns of each steamer for twelve months have been calculated at 8,544*l.*

These calculations have been formed solely on the existing native trade along the rivers, without taking into account its probable increase from direct and rapid intercourse.

The calculation of the annual expenditure is founded upon that of the Euphrates Expedition; and the returns are from different data collected during that enterprise.

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